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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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ON THE NATURAL INEQUALITY OF MEN.

The political speculations set forth in Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, and in the more noted essay, *Du Contrat Social*, which were published, the former in 1754 and the latter eight years later, are, for the most part, if not wholly, founded upon conceptions with the origination of which he had nothing to do. The political, like the religious, revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century in France came from England. Hobbes, primarily, and Locke, secondarily (Rousseau was acquainted with the writings of both), supplied every notion of fundamental importance which is to be found in the works which I have mentioned. But the skill of a master of the literary art and the fervour of a prophet combined to embellish and intensify the new presentation of old speculations; which had the further good fortune to address itself to a public as ripe and ready as Balak himself to accept the revelations of any seer whose prophecies were to its mind.

Missionaries, whether of philosophy or of religion, rarely make rapid way, unless their preachings fall in with the prepossessions of the multitude of shallow thinkers, or can be made to serve as a stalking-horse for the promotion of the practical aims of the still larger multitude, who do not profess to think much, but are quite certain they want a great deal. Rousseau's writings are so admirably adapted to touch both these classes that the effect they produced, especially in France, is easily intelligible. For, in the middle of the

eighteenth century, French society (not perhaps so different as may be imagined from other societies before and since) presented two large groups of people who troubled themselves about politics—in any sense other than that of personal or party intrigue. There was an upper stratum of luxurious idlers, jealously excluded from political action and consequently ignorant of practical affairs, with no solid knowledge or firm principles of any sort; but, on the other hand, open-minded to every novelty which could be apprehended without too much trouble, and exquisitely appreciative of clever reasoning and clear exposition. Such a public naturally welcomed Rousseau's brilliant developments of plausible first principles by the help of that *à priori* method which saves so much laborious investigation.[1] It just suited the 'philosophes,' male and female, interchanging their airy epigrams in salons, which had about as much likeness to the Academy or to the Stoa, as the 'philosophes' had to the philosophers of antiquity.

I do not forget the existence of men of the type of Montesquieu or D'Argenson in the France of the eighteenth century, when I take this as a fair representation of the enlightened public of that day. The unenlightened public, on the other hand, the people who were morally and physically debased by sheer hunger; or those, not so far dulled or infuriated by absolute want, who yet were maddened by the wrongs of every description inflicted upon them by the political system, which so far as its proper object, the welfare of the people, was concerned was effete and powerless; the subjects of a government smitten with paralysis for everything but the working of iniquity and the generation of scandals; these naturally hailed with rapture the appearance of the teacher who clothed passion in the garb of philosophy; and preached the sweeping away of injustice by the perpetration of further injustice, as if it were nothing but the conversion of sound theory into practice.

It is true that anyone who has looked below the surface[2] will hardly be disposed to join in the cry which is so often raised against the 'philosophes' that their 'infidel and levelling' principles brought

[1] In his famous work on *Ancient Law* the late Sir Henry Maine has remarked, with great justice, that Rousseau's philosophy 'still possesses singular fascination for the looser thinkers of every country;' that 'it helped most powerfully to bring about the grosser disappointments of which the first French Revolution was fertile,' and that 'it gave birth, or intense stimulus, to the vices of mental habit all but universal at the time, disdain of positive law, impatience of experience, and the preference of *à priori* to all other reasoning' (pp. 89–92). I shall often have to quote *Ancient Law*. The first edition of this admirable book was published in 1861, but now, after eighteen years of growing influence on thoughtful men, it seems to be forgotten, or wilfully ignored, by the ruck of political speculators. It is enough to make one despair of the future that Demos and the Bourbons seem to be much alike in their want of capacity for either learning or forgetting.

[2] Those who desire to do so with ease and pleasure should read M. Rocquain's *L'esprit révolutionnaire en France avant la Révolution*. It is really a luminous book,

about the French Revolution. People, like the Marquis d'Argenson, with political eyes in their heads, saw that the Revolution was inevitable before Rousseau wrote a line. In truth, the Bull 'Unigenitus,' the interested restiveness of the Parliaments and the extravagancies and profligacy of the Court had a great deal more influence in generating the catastrophe than all the 'philosophes' that ever put pen to paper. But, undoubtedly, Rousseau's extremely attractive and widely read writings did a great deal to give a colour of rationality to those principles of '89[1] which, even after the lapse of a century, are considered by a good many people to be the Magna Charta of the human race. 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' is still the watchery of those, and they are many, who think, with Rousseau, that human sufferings must needs be the consequence of the artificial arrangements of society and can all be alleviated or removed by political changes.

The intellectual impulse which may thus be fairly enough connected with the name of the Genevese dreamer has by no means spent itself in the century and a half which has elapsed since it was given. On the contrary, after a period of comparative obscurity (at least outside France), Rousseauism has gradually come to the front again, and at present promises to exert once more a very grave influence on practical life. The two essays to which I have referred are, in appearance, very little known to the present generation of those who have followed in Rousseau's track. None the less is it true that his teachings, filtered through innumerable channels and passing under other names, are still regarded as the foundations of political science by the existing representatives of the classes who were so much attracted by them when they were put forth. My friend, Mr. John Morley, who probably knows more about Rousseau and his school than anybody else,[2] must have been entertained (so far as amusement is possible to the subject of the process of 'heckling') when Rousseau's *plats*, the indigestibility of which he exposed

which ought to be translated for the benefit of our rising public men, who, having had the advantage of a public school education, are so often unable to read French with comfort. For deeper students there is, of course, the great work of M. Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine.*

[1] Sir H. Maine observes that the 'strictly juridical axiom' of the lawyers of the Antonine era ('omnes homines naturâ æquales sunt'), after passing through the hands of Rousseau, and being adopted by the founders of the Constitution of the United States, returned to France endowed with vastly greater energy and dignity, and that 'of all "the principles of 1789" it is the one which has been least strenuously assailed, which has most thoroughly leavened modern opinion, and which promises to modify most deeply the constitution of societies, and the politics of States' (*Ancient Law*, p. 96).

[2] If I had not reason to think that Mr. Morley's *Rousseau*, and Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law*, especially the admirable chapters 3 and 4, must be unknown to many political writers and speakers, and *à fortiori* to the general public, there would be no excuse for the present essay, which simply restates the case which they have so exhaustively treated.

so many years ago, were set before him as a wholesome British dish; the situation had a certain piquancy, which no one would appreciate more keenly.

I happened to be very much occupied upon subjects of a totally different character, and had no mind to leave them, when the narrative of this occurrence and some letters to which it gave rise, appeared in the *Times*. But I have very long entertained the conviction that the revived Rousseauism of our day is working sad mischief, leading astray those who have not the time, even when they possess the ability, to go to the root of the superficially plausible doctrines which are disseminated among them. And I thought it was my duty to see whether some thirty years' training in the art of making difficult questions intelligible to audiences without much learning, but with that abundance of keen practical sense which characterises English workmen of the better class, would enable me to do something towards the counteraction of the fallacious guidance which is offered to them. Perhaps I may be permitted to add that the subject was by no means new to me. Very curious cases of communal organisation and difficult questions involving the whole subject of the rights of property come before those whose duty it is to acquaint themselves with the condition of either sea or freshwater fisheries, or with the administration of Fishery Laws. For a number of years it was my fate to discharge such duties to the best of my ability; and, in doing so, I was brought face to face with the problem of landownership and the difficulties which arise out of the conflicting claims of commoners and owners in severalty. And I had good reason to know that mistaken theories on these subjects are very liable to be translated into illegal actions. I cannot say whether the letters which I wrote in any degree attained the object (of vastly greater importance, to my mind, than any personal question) which I had in view. But I was quite aware, whatever their other results, they would probably involve me in disagreeable consequences; and, among the rest, in the necessity of proving a variety of statements, which I could only adumbrate within the compass of the space that the *Times* could afford me, liberal as the editor showed himself to be in that respect. What I purpose to do in the course of the present article, then, is to make good these shortcomings; to show what Rousseau's doctrines were; and to inquire into their scientific value—with, I hope, that impartiality which it beseems us to exhibit in inquiries into ancient history. Having done this I propose to leave the application of the conclusions at which I arrive to the intelligence of my readers, as I shall thus escape collision with several of my respected contemporaries.[1]

[1] From Mr. Herbert Spencer's letter in the *Times* of the 27th of November, 1889, I gather that he altogether repudiates the doctrines which I am about to criticise. I rejoice to hear it; in the first place, because they thus lose the shelter of his high

I have indicated two sources from which our knowledge of Rousseau's system may be derived, and it is not worth while to go any further. But it is needful to observe that the dicta of the author of the *Contrat Social*, published in 1762, are not unfrequently very hard—indeed I might say impossible—to reconcile with those of the author of the *Discours*, which appeared eight years earlier; and that, if any one should maintain that the older essay was not meant to be taken seriously, or that it has been, in some respects, more or less set aside by the later, he might find strong grounds for his opinion. It is enough for me that the same *à priori* method and the same fallacious assumptions pervade both.

The thesis of the earlier work is that man, in the 'state of nature,' was a very excellent creature indeed, strong, healthy, good and contented; and that all the evils which have befallen him, such as feebleness, sickness, wickedness, and misery, result from his having forsaken the 'state of nature' for the 'state of civilisation.' And the first step in this downward progress was the setting up of rights of several property. It might seem to a plain man that the argument here turns on a matter of fact: if it is not historically true that men were once in this 'state of nature'—what becomes of it all? However, Rousseau tells us, in the preface to the *Discours*, not only that the 'state of nature' is something which no longer exists, but that 'perhaps it never existed, and probably never will exist.' Yet it is something 'of which it is nevertheless necessary to have accurate notions in order to judge our present condition rightly.' After making this singular statement, Rousseau goes on to observe: 'Il faudrait même plus de philosophie qu'on ne pense à celui qui entreprendrait de déterminer exactement les précautions à prendre pour faire sur ce sujet de solides observations.' And, certainly, the amount of philosophy required to base an argument on that which does not exist, has not existed, and, perhaps, never will exist, may well seem unattainable—at any rate, at first sight. Yet, apart from analogies which might be drawn from the mathematical sciences—where, for example, a straight line is a thing which has not existed, does not exist, and probably never will exist, and yet forms a good ground for reasoning; and the value of which I need not stop to discuss—I take it that Rousseau has a very comprehensible idea at the bottom of this troublesome statement. What I conceive him to mean is that it is possible to form an ideal conception of what

authority; secondly, because, after this repudiation, anything I may say in the course of the following pages against Rousseauism cannot be disagreeable to him; and, thirdly, because I desire to express my great regret that, in however good company, I should have lacked the intelligence to perceive that Mr. Spencer had previously repudiated the views attributed to him by the land socialists. May I take this opportunity of informing the many correspondents who usually favour me with comments (mostly adverse, I am sorry to say) on what I venture to write, that I have no other answer to give them but Pilate's: 'What I have written I have written'? I have no energy to waste on replies to irresponsible criticism.

ought to be the condition of mankind;[6] and that, having done so, we are bound to judge the existing state of things by that ideal. That assumption puts us on the 'high *priori* road' at once.

I do not suppose that any one is inclined to doubt the usefulness of a political ideal as a goal towards which social conduct should strive, whether it can ever be completely realised or not; any more than any one will doubt that it is useful to have a moral ideal towards which personal conduct should tend, even though one may never reach it. Certainly, I am the last person to question this, or to doubt that politics is as susceptible of treatment by scientific method as any other field of natural knowledge.[7] But it will be admitted that, great as are the advantages of having a political ideal, fashioned by an absolute rule of political conduct, it is perhaps better to do without one, rather than to adopt the first phantasm, bred of fallacious reasonings and born of the unscientific imagination, which presents itself. The benighted traveller, lost on a moor, who refuses to follow a man with a lantern is surely not to be commended. But suppose his hesitation arises from a well-grounded doubt as to whether the seeming luminary is anything but a will o' the wisp? And, unless I fail egregiously in attaining my purpose, those who read this paper to the end will, I think, have no doubt that the political lantern of Rousseauism is a mere corpse candle and will plunge those who follow it in the deepest of anarchic bogs.

There is another point which must be carefully borne in mind in any discussion of Rousseau's doctrines; and that is the meaning which he attaches to the word 'inequality.' A hundred and fifty years ago, as now, political and biological philosophers found they were natural allies.[8] Rousseau is not intelligible without Buffon,

[6] Compare *Ancient Law*:—'The Law of Nature confused the Past and the Present. Logically, it implied a state of Nature which had once been regulated by Natural Law; yet the jurisconsults do not speak clearly or confidently of the existence of such a state' (p. 73). 'There are some writers on the subject who attempt to evade the fundamental difficulty by contending that the code of Nature exists in the future and is the goal to which all civil laws are moving' (p. 74). The jurisconsults conceived of Natural Law 'as a system which ought gradually to absorb Civil Laws' (p. 76). 'Its functions were, in short, remedial, not revolutionary or anarchical. And this unfortunately is the exact point at which the modern view of a Law of Nature has often ceased to resemble the ancient' (p. 77).

[7] In the course of the correspondence in the *Times* to which I have referred, I was earnestly exhorted to believe that the world of politics does not lie outside of the province of science. My impression is that I was trying to teach the public that great truth, which I had learned from Mill and Comte, thirty-five years ago; when, if I mistake not, my well-meaning monitor was more occupied with peg-tops than with politics. See a lecture on the 'Educational Value of the Natural History Sciences' delivered in 1854 (*Lay Sermons*, p. 97).

[8] The publication of Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* began in 1749. Thus Rousseau was indebted to the naturalists; on the other hand, in the case of the elder Darwin, who started what is now usually known as Lamarck's hypothesis, the naturalist was set speculating by the ideas of the philosopher Hartley, transmitted through Priestley. See *Zoonomia*, I. sect. xxxix. p. 483 (ed. 1796). I hope some day to deal at length with this curious fact in scientific history.

with whose earlier works he was evidently acquainted, and whose influence in the following passage is obvious:—

It is easy to see that we must seek the primary cause of the differences by which men are distinguished in these successive changes of the human constitution; since it is universally admitted that they are, naturally, as equal among themselves as were the animals of each species before various physical causes had produced, in some of them, the varieties which we observe. In fact, it is not conceivable that these first changes, by whatever means they were brought about, altered, at once and in the same way, all the individuals of a species; but some having become improved or deteriorated, and having acquired different qualities, good or bad, which were not inherent in their nature, the others remained longer in their original state; and such was the first source of inequality among men, which is more easy to prove thus, in a general way, than to assign exactly to its true causes. (*Discours*, Preface.)

In accordance with this conception of the origin of inequality among men, Rousseau distinguishes, at the outset of the *Discours*, two kinds of inequality:

the one which I term *natural*, or *physical*, because it is established by nature, and which consists in the differences of age, health, bodily strength, and intellectual or spiritual qualities; the other, which may be called *moral*, or *political*, because it depends on a sort of convention, and is established, or at least authorised, by the consent of mankind. This last inequality consists in the different privileges which some enjoy, to the prejudice of others, as being richer, more honoured, more powerful than they, or by making themselves obeyed by others.

Of course the question readily suggests itself: Before drawing this sharp line of demarcation between natural and political inequality, might it not be as well to inquire whether they are not intimately connected, in such a manner that the latter is essentially a consequence of the former? This question is indeed put by Rousseau himself. And, as the only answer he has to give is a piece of silly and insincere rhetoric about its being a question fit only for slaves to discuss in presence of their masters, we may fairly conclude that he knew well enough he dare not grapple with it. The only safe course for him was to go by on the other side and as far as the breadth of the road would permit; and, in the rest of his writings, to play fast and loose with the two senses of inequality, as convenience might dictate.

With these preliminary remarks kept well in view, we may proceed to the discussion of those fundamental theses of the 'Discourse' and of the 'Social Contract' which Rousseau calls the 'principes du droit politique.' Rousseau defines his object thus:—

Je veux chercher si dans l'ordre civil il peut y avoir quelque règle d'administration légitime et sûre, en prenant les hommes tels qu'ils sont et les lois tels qu'elles peuvent être. Je tacherai d'allier toujours dans cette recherche ce que le droit permet avec ce que l'intérêt prescrit, afin que la justice et l'utilité ne se trouvent point divisées.

[1] *Contrat Social*, livre 1er. Compare Hobbes's dedication of *Human Nature* written in 1640:—'They who have written of justice and policy in general, do all invade

In other words, our philosopher propounds 'sure,' that is 'absolute,' principles which are, at once ethically and politically, sufficient rules of conduct, and that I understand to be the precise object of all who have followed in his track. It was said of the Genevese theorist, 'Le genre humain avait perdu ses titres; Jean-Jacques les a retrouvés;' just as his intellectual progeny declare that the nation ought to 'resume' the landed property of which it has, unfortunately, lost the title-deeds.

We are now in a position to consider what the chief of these principles of the gospel according to Jean Jacques are:—

1. All men are born free, politically equal, and good, and in the 'state of nature' remain so; consequently it is their natural right to be free, equal, and (presumably, their duty to be) good.[10]

2. All men being equal by natural right, none can have any right to encroach on another's equal right. Hence no man can appropriate any part of the common means of subsistence—that is to say, the land or anything which the land produces—without the unanimous consent of all other men. Under any other circumstances, property is usurpation, or, in plain terms, robbery.[11]

3. Political rights, therefore, are based upon contract; the so-called right of conquest is no right, and property which has been acquired by force may rightly be taken away by force.[12]

I am bound to confess, at the outset, that, while quite open to conviction, I incline to think that the obvious practical consequences of these propositions are not likely to conduce to the welfare of society, and that they are certain to prove as injurious to the poor as to the rich. Due allowance must be made for the possible influence of such

each other and themselves with contradictions. To reduce this doctrine to the rules and infallibility of reason there is no way, but, first, put such principles down for a foundation, as passion, not mistrusting, may not seek to displace, and afterwards to build thereon the truth of cases in the law of nature (which hitherto have been built in the air) by degrees, till the whole have been inexpugnable' However, it must be recollected that Hobbes does not start from *à priori* principles of ethics, but from the practical necessities of men in society.

[10] *Contrat Social*, v. pp. 98, 99. The references here given are to the volumes and pages of Mussay Pathay's edition (1826) *Discours, passim*; see especially p. 268.

[11] *Discours*, pp. 257, 258–276. How many wild sermons have been preached on this text:—'Ignorez-vous qu'une multitude de vos frères périt ou souffre du besoin de ce que vous avez de trop, et qu'il vous fallait un consentement exprès et unanime du genre humain pour vous approprier sur la subsistance commune tout ce qui alloit au-delà de la vôtre?'

[12] *Discours*, pp. 276, 280; *Contrat*, chap. iii.:—'Telle fut ou dut être' (charming alternative!) 'l'origine de la société et des lois, qui donnèrent de nouvelles entraves au foible et de nouvelles forces au riche, détruisirent sans retour la liberté naturelle, fixèrent pour jamais la loi de la propriété et de l'inégalité, d'une adroite usurpation firent un droit irrévocable, et, pour le profit de quelques ambitieux, assujettirent désormais tout le genre humain au travail, à la servitude et à la misère' (*Discours*, p. 278). Behold the quintessence of Rousseauism—method and results—with practical application, legible by the swiftest runner!

prejudice as may flow from this opinion upon my further conviction that, regarded from a purely theoretical and scientific point of view, they are so plainly and demonstrably false that, except for the gravity of their practical consequences, they would be ridiculous.

What is the meaning of the famous phrase that 'all men are born free and equal,' which gallicised Americans, who were as much 'philosophes' as their inherited common sense and their practical acquaintance with men and with affairs would let them be, put forth as the foundation of the 'Declaration of Independence'? I have seen a considerable number of new-born infants. Without wishing to speak of them with the least disrespect—a thing no man can do, without, as the proverb says, 'fouling his own nest'—I fail to understand how they can be affirmed to have any political qualities at all. How can it be said that these poor little mortals who have not even the capacity to kick to any definite end, nor indeed to do anything but vaguely squirm and squall, are equal politically, except as all zeros may be said to be equal? How can little creatures be said to be 'free' of whom not one would live for four and twenty hours if it were not imprisoned by kindly hands and coerced into applying its foolish wandering mouth to the breast it could never find for itself? How is the being whose brain is still too pulpy to hold an idea of any description to be a moral agent either good or bad? Surely it must be a joke, and rather a cynical one too, to talk of the political status of a new-born child? But we may carry our questions a step further. If it is mere abracadabra to speak of men being born in a state of political freedom and equality, thus fallaciously confusing positive equality—that is to say, the equality of powers—with the equality of impotences; in what conceivable state of society is it possible that men should not merely be born, but pass through childhood and still remain free? Has a child of fourteen been free to choose its language and all the connotations with which words became burdened in their use by generation after generation? Has it been free to choose the habits enforced by precept and more surely driven home by example? Has it been free to invent its own standard of right and wrong? Or rather, has it not been as much held in bondage by its surroundings and driven hither and thither by the scourge of opinion, as a veritable slave, although the fetters and the whip may be invisible and intangible?

Surely, Aristotle was much nearer the truth in this matter than Hobbes or Rousseau. And if the predicate 'born slave' would more nearly agree with fact than 'born free,' what is to be said about 'born equal'? Rousseau, like the sentimental rhetorician that he was, and half, or more than half, sham, as all sentimental rhetoricians are, sagaciously fought shy, as we have seen, of the question of the influence of natural upon political equality. But those of us who do not

care for sentiment and do care for truth may not evade the consideration of that which is really the key of the position. If Rousseau, instead of letting his children go to the *enfants trouvés*, had taken the trouble to discharge a father's duties towards them, he would hardly have talked so fast about men being born equal, even in a political sense. For, if that merely means that all new-born children are political zeros—it is, as we have seen, though true enough, nothing to the purpose; while, if it means that, in their potentiality of becoming factors in any social organisation—citizens in Rousseau's sense—all men are born equal, it is probably the most astounding falsity that ever was put forth by a political speculator; and that, as all students of political speculation will agree, is saying a good deal for it. In fact, nothing is more remarkable than the wide inequality which children, even of the same family, exhibit, as soon as the mental and moral qualities begin to manifest themselves; which is earlier than most people fancy. Every family spontaneously becomes a polity. Among the children, there are some who continue to be 'more honoured and more powerful than the rest, and to make themselves obeyed' (sometimes, indeed, by their elders) in virtue of nothing but their moral and mental qualities. Here, 'political inequality' visibly dogs the heels of 'natural' inequality. The group of children becomes a political body, a *civitas*, with its rights of property, and its practical distinctions of rank and power. And all this comes about neither by force nor by fraud, but as the necessary consequence of the innate inequalities of capability.

Thus men are certainly not born free and equal in natural qualities; when they are born, the predicates 'free' and 'equal' in the political sense are not applicable to them; and as they develop, year by year, the differences in the political potentialities with which they really are born, become more and more obviously converted into actual differences—the inequality of political faculty shows itself to be a necessary consequence of the inequality of natural faculty. It is probably true that the earliest men were nomads. But among a body of naked wandering savages, though there may be no verbally recognised distinctions of rank or office, superior strength and cunning confer authority of a more valid kind than that secured by Acts of Parliament; there may be no property in things, but the witless man will be poverty-stricken in ideas, the clever man will be a capitalist in that same commodity, which in the long run buys all other commodities; one will miss opportunities, the other will make them; and, proclaim human equality as loudly as you like, Witless will serve his brother. So long as men are men and society is society, human equality will be a dream; and the assumption that it does exist is as untrue in fact as it sets the mark of impracticability on every theory of what ought to be, which starts from it.

And that last remark suggests that there is another way of re-

garding Rousseau's speculations.. It may be pointed out that, after all, whatever estimate we may form of him, the author of works which have made such a noise in the world could not have been a mere fool; and that, if, in their plain and obvious sense, the doctrines which he advanced are so easily upset, it is probable that he had in his mind something which is different from that sense.

I am a good deal disposed to think that this is the case. There is much to be said in favour of the view that Rousseau, having got hold of a plausible hypothesis, more or less unconsciously made up a clothing of imaginary facts to hide its real nakedness. He was not the first nor the last philosopher to perform this feat.

As soon as men began to think about political problems, it must have struck them that, if the main object of society was the welfare of its members (and until this became clear, political action could not have risen above the level of instinct [13]), there were all sorts of distinctions among men, and burdens laid upon them, which nowise contributed to that end. Even before the great leveller, Rome, had actually thrown down innumerable social and national party-walls, had absorbed all other forms of citizenship into her own, and brought the inhabitants of what was then known as the world under one system of obligations—thoughtful men were discovering that it was desirable, in the interests of society, that all men should be as free as possible, consistently with those interests; and that they should all be equally bound by the ethical and legal obligations which are essential to social existence. It will be observed that this conclusion is one which might be arrived at by observation and induction from the phenomena of past and present experience. My belief is that it is the conclusion which must be reached by those means, when they are rightly employed—and that, in point of fact, the doctrines of freedom and equality, so far as they were preached by the Stoics and others, would have had not the least success, if they had not been so far approved by experience and so far in harmony with human instincts, that the Roman jurists found they could work them up with effect into practical legislation. For the *à priori* arguments of the philosophers in the last century of the

[13] It is not to be forgotten that what we call rational grounds for our beliefs are often extremely irrational attempts to justify our instincts. I cannot doubt that human society existed before language or any ethical consciousness. Gregarious animals form polities, in which they act according to rules conducive to the welfare of the whole society, although, of course, it would be absurd to say that they obey laws in the juridical sense. The polities of the masterless dogs in Eastern cities are well known. And, in any street of an English town, one may observe a small dog chased by a bigger, who turns round the moment he has entered his own territory and defies the other; while, usually, after various manifestations of anger and contempt, the bigger withdraws. No doubt the small dog has had previous experience of the arrival of assistance under such circumstances, and the big one of the effects of sticks and stones and other odd missiles; no doubt, the associations thus engrained are the prime source of the practical acknowledgment of ownership on both sides. I suspect it has been very much the same among men.

Republic, and the first of the Empire, stand examination no better than those of the philosophers in the centuries before and after the French Revolution. As is the fashion of speculators, they scorned to remain on the safe if humble ground of experience, and preferred to prophesy from the sublime cloudland of the *à priori*; so that, busied with deduction from their ideal 'ought to be' they overlooked the 'what has been,' the 'what is,' and the 'what can be.'

It is to them that we owe the idea of living 'according to nature'; which begot the idea of the 'state of nature'; which begot the notion that the 'state of nature' was a reality, and that, once upon a time, 'all men were free and equal'—which again begot the theory, that society ought to be reformed in such a manner as to bring back these halcyon days of freedom and equality; which begot *laissez faire* and universal suffrage; which begot the theory so dear to young men of more ambition than industry, that, while every other trade, business, or profession requires theoretical training and practical skill, and would go to the dogs if those who carry them on were appointed by the majority of votes of people who know nothing about it and very little about them—the management of the affairs of society will be perfectly successful, if only the people who may be trusted to know nothing, will vote into office the people who may be trusted to do nothing.

If this is the political ideal of the modern followers of Rousseau, I, for my part, object to strive after it, or to do anything but oppose, to the best of my ability, those who would fain drive us that way. Freedom, used foolishly, and equality, asserted in words, but every moment denied by the facts of nature, are things of which, as it seems to me, we have rather too much already. If I mistake not, one thing we need to learn is the necessity of limiting individual freedom for the general good; and another, that, although decision by a majority of votes may be as good a rough-and-ready way as can be devised to get political questions settled, yet that, theoretically, the despotism of a majority is as little justifiable and as dangerous as that of one man; and yet another, that voting power, as a means of giving effect to opinion, is more likely to prove a curse than a blessing to the voters, unless that opinion is the result of a sound judgment operating upon sound knowledge. Some experience of sea-life leads me to think that I should be very sorry to find myself on board a ship in which the voices of the cook and the loblolly boys counted for as much as those of the officers, upon a question of steering, or reefing topsails; or where the 'great heart' of the crew was called upon to settle the ship's course. And there is no sea more dangerous than the ocean of practical politics—none in which there is more need of good pilotage and of a single, unfaltering purpose when the waves rise high.

The conclusion of the whole matter, then, would seem to be that

the doctrine that all men are, in any sense, or have been, at any time, free and equal, is an utterly baseless fiction. Nor does the proposition fare much better if we modify it, so as to say that all men ought to be free and equal, so long as the 'ought' poses as a command of immutable morality. For, assuredly, it is not intuitively certain 'that all men ought to be free and equal.' Therefore, if it is to be justified at all *à priori*, it must be deducible from some proposition which is intuitively certain; and unfortunately none is forthcoming. For the proposition that men ought to be free to do what they please, so long as they do not infringe on the equal rights of other men, assumes that men have equal rights and cannot be used to prove that assumption. And if, instead of appealing to philosophy we turn to revealed religion, I am not aware that either Judaism or Christianity affirms the political freedom or the political equality of men in Rousseau's sense. They affirm the equality of men before God—but that is an equality either of insignificance or of imperfection.

With the demonstration that men are not all equal under whatever aspect they are contemplated, and that the assumption that they ought to be considered equal has no sort of *à priori* foundation —however much it may, in reference to positive law, with due limitations, be justifiable by considerations of practical expediency—the bottom of Rousseau's argument, from *à priori* ethical assumptions to the denial of the right of an individual to hold private property, falls out. For Rousseau, with more logical consistency than some of those who have come after him, puts the land and its produce upon the same footing. 'Vous êtes perdus si vous oubliez que les fruits sont à tous, et que la terre n'est à personne,' says he.

From Rousseau's point of view, this is, in fact, the only rational conclusion from the premisses. The attempt to draw a distinction between land, as a limited commodity, and other things as unlimited, is an obvious fallacy. For, according to him,[14] the total habitable surface of the earth is the property of the whole human race in common. Undoubtedly, the habitable and cultivable land amounts to a definite number of square miles, which, by no effort of human ingenuity, at present known or suspected, can be sensibly increased beyond the area of that part of the globe which is not covered by water; and therefore its quantity is limited. But if the land is limited, so is the quantity of the trees that will grow on it; of the cattle that can be pastured on it; of the crops that can be raised from it; of the minerals that can be dug from it; of the wind; and of the water power, afforded by the limited streams which flow from the limited heights. And, if the human race were to go on increasing in number at its present rate, a time would come when there would not be standing ground for

[14] As to Hobbes, but on different grounds.

any more; if it were not that, long before that time, they would have eaten up the limited quantity of food-stuffs and died like the locusts that have consumed everything eatable in an oasis of the desert. The attempt to draw a distinction between land as limited in quantity, in the sense, I suppose, that it is something that cannot be imported—and other things as unlimited, because they can be imported—has arisen from the fact that Rousseau's modern followers entertain the delusion that, consistently with their principles, it is possible to suppose that a nation has right of ownership in the land it occupies. If the island of Great Britain is the property of the British nation, then, of course, it is true that they cannot have more than somewhere about 90,000 square miles of land, while the quantity of other things they can import is (for the present, at any rate) practically, if not strictly, unlimited. But how is the assumption that the Britons own Britain, to be reconciled with the great dictum of Rousseau, that a man cannot rightfully appropriate any part of this limited commodity, land, without the unanimous consent of all his fellow men? My strong impression is that if a parti-coloured plébiscite of Europeans, Chinese, Hindoos, Negroes, Red Indians, Maoris, and all the other inhabitants of the terrestrial globe were to decree us to be usurpers, not a soul would budge; and that, if it came to fighting, Mr. Morley's late 'hecklers' might be safely depended upon to hold their native soil against all intruders, and in the teeth of the most absolute of ethical politicians, even though he should prove from Rousseau,

> Exceedingly well
> That such conduct was quite atrocious.

Rousseau's first and second great doctrines having thus collapsed, what is to be said to the third?

Of course, if there are no rights of property but those based on contract, conquest, that is to say, taking possession by force, of itself can confer no right. But, as the doctrine that there are no rights of property but those based on the consent of the whole human race—that is, that A. B. cannot own anything unless the whole of mankind formally signify their assent to his ownership—turns out to be more than doubtful in theory and decidedly inconvenient in practice, we may inquire if there is any better reason for the assertion that force can confer no right of ownership. Suppose that, in the old seafaring days, a pirate attacked an East Indiaman—got soundly beaten and had to surrender. When the pirates had walked the plank or been hanged, had the captain and crew of the East Indiaman no right of property in the prize—I am not speaking of mere legal right, but ethically? But if they had, what is the difference when nations attack one another; when there is no way out of their quarrel but the appeal to force, and the one that gets the better seizes more or less of the other's territory and demands it as the price of peace? In the latter

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case, in fact, we have a contract, a price paid for an article—to wit peace—delivered, and certain lands taken in exchange; and there can be no question that the buyer's title is based on contract. Even in the former alternative, I see little difference. When they declared war, the parties knew very well that they referred their case to the arbitrament of force; and if contracts are eternally valid, they are fully bound to abide by the decision of the arbitrator whom they have elected to obey. Therefore, even on Hobbes's or Rousseau's principles, it is not by any means clear to my mind that force, or rather the state of express or tacit contract which follows upon force successfully applied, may not be plausibly considered to confer ownership.

But if the question is argued, as I think it ought to be, on empirical grounds—if the real question is not one of imagined *à priori* principle, but of practical expediency—of the conduct which conduces most to human welfare—then it appears to me that there is much to be said for the opinion that force effectually and thoroughly used, so as to render further opposition hopeless, establishes an ownership[15] which should be recognised as soon as possible. I am greatly disposed to think, that when ownership established by force has endured for many generations, and all sorts of contracts have been entered into on the faith of such ownership, the attempt to disturb it is very much to be deprecated on all grounds. For the welfare of society, as for that of individual men, it is surely essential that there should be a statute of limitations in respect of the consequences of wrong-doing. As there is nothing more fatal to nobility of personal character than the nursing of the feeling of revenge—nothing that more clearly indicates a barbarous state of society than the carrying on of a *vendetta*, generation after generation, so I take it to be a plain maxim of that political ethic which does not profess to have any greater authority than agreeableness to good feeling and good sense can confer, that the evil deeds of former generations—especially if they were in accordance with the practices of a less advanced civilisation, and had the sanction of a less refined morality—should, as speedily as possible, be forgotten and buried under better things.

'Musst immer thun wie neu geboren' is the best of all maxims for the guidance of the life of States, no less than of individuals. However, I express what I personally think, in all humility, in the face of the too patent fact, that there are persons of light and leading—with a political authority to which I can make not the remotest pretension, and with a weight of political responsibility which I rejoice to think can never rest on my shoulders—who by no means share my opinion, but who, on the contrary, deem it right to fan the sparks of revenge which linger among the embers of ancient discords;

[15] Submission to the Revolution of 1688 by Jacobites could be advocated ethically on no other ground, though all sorts of pretexts were invented to disguise the fact.

and to stand between the dead past and the living present, not with the healing purpose of the Jewish leader, but rather to intensify the plague of political strife, and hold aloft the brazen image of the father's wrongs, lest the children might perchance forget and forgive.

However, the question whether the fact that property in land was originally acquired by force invalidates all subsequent dealings in that property so completely, that no lapse of time, no formal legalisation, no passing from hand to hand by free contract through an endless series of owners, can extinguish the right of the nation to take it away by force from the latest proprietor, has rather an academic than a practical interest, so long as the evidence that landed ownership did so arise is wanting. Potent an organon as the *à priori* method may be, its employment in the region of history has rarely been found to yield satisfactory results; and, in this particular case, the confident assertions that land was originally held in common by the whole nation, and that it has been converted into severalty by force, as the outcome of the military spirit rather than by the consent, or contract, characteristic of industrialism, are singularly ill-founded.

Let us see what genuine history has to say to these assertions. Perhaps it might have been pardonable in Rousseau to propound such a statement as that the primitive landowner was either a robber or a cheat; but, in the course of the century and a half which has elapsed since he wrote, and especially in that of the last fifty years, an immense amount of information on the subject of ancient land-tenure has come to light; so that it is no longer pardonable, in any one, to content himself with Rousseau's ignorance. Even a superficial glance over the results of modern investigations into anthropology, archæology, ancient law and ancient religion, suffices to show that there is not a particle of evidence that men ever existed in Rousseau's state of nature, and that there are very strong reasons for thinking that they never could have done so, and never will do so.

It is, at the least, highly probable that the nomadic preceded any other social state; and, as the needs of a wandering hunter's or pastor's life are far more simple than any other, it follows that the inequalities of condition must be less obvious among nomads than among settled people. Men who have no costume at all, for example, cannot be said to be unequally clothed; they are, doubtless, more equal than men some of whom are well clothed and others in rags, though the equality is of the negative sort. But it is a profound mistake to imagine that, in the nomadic condition, any more than in any other which has yet been observed, men are either 'free' or 'equal' in Rousseau's sense. I can call to mind no nomadic nation in which women are on an equality with men; nor any in which young men are on the same footing as old men; nor any in which family groups, bound to-

gether by blood ties, by their mutual responsibility for bloodshed and by common worship, do not constitute corporate political units, in the sense of the city[16] of the Greeks and Romans. A 'state of nature' in which noble and peaceful, but nude and propertyless, savages sit in solitary meditation under trees, unless they are dining or amusing themselves in other ways, without cares or responsibilities of any sort, is simply another figment of the unscientific imagination. The only uncivilised men of whom anything is really known are hampered by superstitions and enslaved by conventions, as strange as those of the most artificial societies, to an almost incredible degree. Furthermore, I think it may be said with much confidence that the primitive 'landgrabber' did not either force or cheat his co-proprietors into letting him fence in a bit of the land which hitherto was the property of all.

The truth is we do not know, and, probably, never shall know completely, the nature of all the various processes by which the ownership of land was originally brought about. But there is excellent ground for sundry probable conclusions[17] in the fact that almost all parts of the world, and almost all nations, have yielded evidence that, in the earliest settled condition we can get at, land was held as private or several property, and not as the property of the public, or general body of the nation. Now private or several property may be held in one of two ways. The ownership may be vested in a single individual person, in the ordinary sense of that word; or it may be vested in two or more individuals forming a corporation or legal person; that is to say, an entity which has all the duties and responsibilities of an individual person, but is composed of two or more individuals. It is obvious that all the arguments which Rousseau uses against individual landownership apply to corporate landownership. If the rights of A, B, and C are individually *nil*, you cannot make any more of your 0 by multiplying it by 3. (A B C)—the corporation—must be an usurper if A, B, and C taken each by himself is so. Moreover, I think I may take it for granted that those who desire to make the State universal landowner, would eject a corporation from its estates with even less hesitation than they would expel an individual.

The particular method of early landholding of which we have the most widespread traces is that in which each of a great number of moderate-sized portions of the whole territory occupied by a nation

[16] I may remind the reader that, in their original senses, *vicus* and *civitas* mean, not an aggregation of houses, but a corporation. In this sense, the City of London is formed by the freemen of the City, with their Common Councillors, Aldermen, and Lord Mayor.

[17] For the difficulties which attach to the establishment of such probable conclusions, see the remarkable work of M. Fustel de Coulanges—*Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'Histoire: Les Germains.*

is held in complete and inalienable ownership[18] by the males of a family, or of a small number of actual or supposed kindred families, mutually responsible in blood feuds, and worshipping the same God or Gods. No female had any share in the ownership of the land. If she married outside the community she might take a share of the moveables; and, as a rule, she went to her husband's community. If, however, the community was short of hands, the husband might be taken into it, and then he acquired all the rights and responsibilities of the other members. Children born in the community became full members of it by domicile, so to speak, not by heredity from their parents. This primitive 'city' was lodged in one or more dwellings, each usually standing in a patch of inclosed ground; of arable land in the immediate neighbourhood of the dwellings; while pasture and uncleared forest land lay outside all. Each commune was as jealous of its rights of ownership as the touchiest of squires; but, so long as the population was as scanty in proportion to the occupied territory, as was usually the case in ancient times, the communities got along pretty peaceably with one another. Any notion that all the communities which made up the nation had a sort of corporate overlordship over any one, still more that all the rest of the world had any right to complain of their 'appropriation of the means of subsistence,' most assuredly never entered the heads of our forefathers. But, alongside this corporate several ownership, there is strong ground for the belief that individual ownership was recognised, to a certain extent, even in these early times. The inclosure around each dwelling was understood to belong to the family inhabiting the dwelling; and, for all practical purposes, must have been as much owned by the head of it as a modern entailed estate is owned by the possessor for the time being. Moreover, if any member of the community chose to go outside and clear and cultivate some of the waste, the reclaimed land was thenceforth recognised as his, that is to say, the right of ownership, in virtue of labour spent, was admitted.[19]

Thus it is obvious that, though the early landholders were, to a great extent, collective owners, the imaginary rights of mankind to universal landownership, or even of that of the nation at large to the whole territory occupied, were utterly ignored; that, so far from several ownership being the result of force or fraud, it was the system established with universal assent; and that, from the first, in all probability, individual rights of property, under certain conditions, were fully recognised and respected. Rousseau was, therefore, correct in suspecting that his 'state of nature' had never existed—it never did, nor anything like it. But it may be said, supposing that all this is true, and supposing that the doctrine that Englishmen have

[18] Inalienable, that is, without the consent of the whole owning community.

[19] Rousseau himself not only admits, but insists on the validity of this claim in the *Contrat Social*, liv. i. chap. ix.

no right to their appropriation of English soil is nonsense; it must, nevertheless, be admitted that, at one time, the great body of the nation, consisting of these numerous landowning corporations, composed of comparatively poor men, did own the land. And it must also be admitted that now they do not; but that the land is in the hands of a relatively small number of actually or comparatively rich proprietors, who constitute perhaps not one per cent. of the population. What is this but the result of robbery and cheating? The descendants of the robbers and cut-throat soldiers who came over with William of Normandy, have been true to their military instincts, and have 'conveyed' the property of the primitive corporations into their own possession. No doubt, that is history made easy; but here, once more, fact and *à priori* speculations cannot be made to fit.

Let us look at the case dispassionately, and by the light of real history. No doubt, the early system of land tenure by collective several ownership was excellently adapted to the circumstances in which mankind found themselves. If it had not been so, it would not have endured so long, nor would it have been adopted by all sorts of different races—from the ancient Irish to the Hindoos, and from the Russians to the Kaffirs and Japanese. These circumstances were in the main as follows: that there was plenty of land unoccupied; that population was very scanty and increased slowly; that wants were simple; that people were content to go on living in the same way, generation after generation; that there was no commerce worth speaking of; that manufactures were really that which they are etymologically—things made by the hands; and that there was no need of capital in the shape of money. Moreover, with such methods of warfare as then existed, the system was good for defence, and not bad for offence.

Yet, even if left to itself, to develop undisturbedly, without the intrusion of force, fraud, or militarism in any shape, the communal system, like the individual owner system or the State-owner system, or any other system that the wit of man has yet devised, would sooner or later have had to face the everlasting agrarian difficulty. And the more the communities enjoyed general health, peace, and plenty, the sooner would the pressure of population upon the means of support make itself felt. The difficulty paraded by the opponents of individual ownership, that, by the extension of the private appropriation of the means of subsistence, the time would arrive when men would come into the world for whom there was no place, must needs make its appearance under any system, unless mankind are prevented from multiplying indefinitely. For, even if the habitable land is the property of the whole human race, the multiplication of that race must, as we have seen, sooner or later, bring its numbers up to the maximum which the produce can support; and then the interesting problem in casuistry, which even absolute political ethics

may find puzzling, will arise: Are we, who can just exist, bound to admit the new-comers who will simply starve themselves and us? If the rule that any one may exercise his freedom only so far as he does not interfere with the freedom of others is all-sufficient, it is clear that the new-comers will have no rights to exist at all, inasmuch as they will interfere most seriously with the freedom of their predecessors. The population question is the real riddle of the sphinx, to which no political Œdipus has as yet found the answer. In view of the ravages of the terrible monster over-multiplication, all other riddles sink into insignificance.

But to return to the question of the manner in which individual several ownership has, in our own and some other countries, superseded communal several ownership. There is an exceedingly instructive chapter in M. de Laveleye's well-known work on 'Primitive Property,' entitled 'The Origin of Inequality in Landed Property.' And I select M. de Laveleye as a witness the more willingly, because he draws very different conclusions from the facts he so carefully adduces to those which they appear to me to support.

After enumerating various countries in which, as M. de Laveleye thinks, inequality and an aristocracy were the result of conquest, he asks very pertinently—

> But how were they developed in such countries as Germany, which know nothing of conquerors coming to create a privileged caste above a vanquished and enslaved population? Originally we see in Germany associations of free and independent peasants like the inhabitants of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden at the present day. At the close of the middle ages we find, in the same country, a feudal aristocracy resting more heavily on the soil, and a rustic population more completely enslaved than in England, Italy, or France (p. 222)

The author proceeds to answer the question which he propounds by showing, in the first place, that the admission of the right of individuals and their heirs to the land they had reclaimed, which was so general, if not universal, created hereditary individual property alongside the communal property, so that private estates arose in the waste between the sparse communal estates. Now, it was not every family or member of a community that was enterprising enough to go out and clear waste lands, or that had the courage to defend its possessions when once obtained. The originally small size of the domains thus acquired, and the strong stimulus of personal interest, led to the introduction of better methods of cultivation than those traditional in the communes. And, finally, as the private owner got little or no benefit from the community, he was exempted from the charges and *corvées* laid upon its members. The result, as may be imagined, was that the private proprietors, aided by serf-labour, prospered more than the communities cultivated by their free members, seriously hampered them by occupying fresh waste lands, yielded more produce, and furnished wealth, which, with the help of the

majorat system, remained concentrated in the hands of owners who, in virtue of their possessions, could maintain retainers; while, freed from the need to labour, they could occupy themselves with war and the chase, and, as nobles, attend the sovereign. On the other hand, their brethren, left behind in the communes, had little chance of growing individually rich or powerful, and had to give themselves up to agricultural toil. The Bishop of Oxford, in his well-known *Constitutional History of England* (vol. i., p. 51), puts the case, as his wont is, concisely and precisely: 'As the population increased, and agriculture itself improved, the mark system must have been superseded everywhere.' No doubt, when the nobles had once established themselves, they often added force and fraud to their other means of enlarging their borders. But, to begin with, the inequality was the result, not of militarism, but of industrialism. Clearing a piece of land for the purpose of cultivating it and reaping the crops for one's own advantage is surely an industrial operation, if ever there was one.

Secondly, M. de Laveleye points out that the Church was a great devourer of commune lands:—

'We know that a member of the commune could only dispose of his share with the consent of his associates, who had a right of resumption; but this right could not be exercised against the Church. Accordingly, in these days of religious fervour, the faithful frequently left to the Church all that they possessed, not only their house and its inclosure, but the undivided share in the *mark* attached to it' (p. 225). Thus an abbot, or a bishop, became co-proprietor with the peasants of a commune; and, with such a cuckoo in the nest, one can conceive that the hedge-sparrows might have a bad time. 'Already by the end of the ninth century one third of the whole soil of Gaul belonged to the clergy' (p. 225). But, if the men who left their property to the Church believed that they got their *quid pro quo* in the shape of masses for their souls, as they certainly did; and if the Churchmen believed as sincerely (and they certainly did) that they gave valuable consideration for the property left them, where does fraud come in? Is it not again a truly industrial operation? Indeed, a keen-witted and eminent Scotch judge once called a huge bequest to a Church 'fire insurance,' so emphatically commercial did the transaction appear to him.

Thirdly, personal several property was carved out of the corporate communal property in another fashion, to which no objection can be taken by industrialism. Plots of arable land were granted to members of the commune who were skilled artificers, as a salary for their services. The craft transmitting itself from father to son, the land went with it and grew into an hereditary benefice.

Fourthly, Sir Henry Maine [20] has proved in a very striking manner,

[20] See *Early History of Institutions*, especially Lecture vi.

from the collection of the Brehon Laws of ancient Ireland, how the original communal landownership of the sept, with the allotment of an extra allowance of pasture to the chief, as the honorarium for his services of all kinds, became modified, in consequence of the power of keeping more cattle than the rest of the sept, thus conferred on the chief. He became a lender of cattle at a high rate of interest to his more needy sept-fellows, who when they borrowed became bound to do him service in other ways and lost status by falling into the position of his debtors. Hence the chief gradually acquired the characteristics of what naturalists have called 'synthetic' and 'prophetic' types, combining the features of the modern gombeen-man with those of the modern rack-renting landlord, who is commonly supposed to be a purely imported Norman or Saxon product, saturated with the very spirit of industrialism—namely, the determination to get the highest price for an article which is to be had. As a fact, the condition of the native Irish, under their own chiefs, was as bad in Queen Elizabeth's time as it has ever been since. Again, the status of the original commoners of the sept was steadily altered for the worse by the privilege which the chief possessed, and of which he freely availed himself, of settling on the waste land of the commune such broken vagabonds of other tribes as sought his patronage and protection, and who became absolutely dependent upon him. Thus, without war and without any necessity for force or fraud (though doubtless there was an adventitious abundance of both), the communal system was bound to go to pieces, and to be replaced by individual ownership, in consequence of the operation of purely industrial causes. That is to say, in consequence of the many commercial advantages of individual ownership over communal ownership; which became more and more marked exactly in proportion as territory became more fully occupied, security of possession increased, and the chances of the success of individual enterprise and skill as against routine, in an industrial occupation, became greater and greater.

The notion that all individual ownership of land is the result of force and fraud appears to me to be on a level with the peculiarly short-sighted prejudice that all religions are the results of sacerdotal cunning and imposture. As religions are the inevitable products of the human mind, which generates the priest and the prophet as much as it generates the faithful; so the inequality of individual ownership has grown out of the relative equality of communal ownership in virtue of those natural inequalities of men, which, if unimpeded by circumstances, cannot fail to give rise quietly and peaceably to corresponding political inequalities.

The task I have set myself is completed, as far as it can be within reasonable limits. I trust that those who have taken the trouble to follow the argument, will agree with me that the gospel of Jean

Jacques, in its relation to property, is a very sorry affair—that it is the product of an untrustworthy method, applied to assumptions which are devoid of foundation in fact; and that nothing can be more profoundly true than the saying of the great and truly philosophical English jurist, whose recent death we all deplore, that speculations of this sort are rooted in 'impatience of experience, and the preference of *à priori* to all other methods of reasoning.'

Almost all the multitudinous causes which concurred in bringing about the French Revolution are happily absent in this country; and I have not the slightest fear that the preaching of any amount of political fallacy will involve us in evils of the magnitude of those which accompanied that great drama. But, seeing how great and manifold are the inevitable sufferings of men; how profoundly important it is that all should give their best will and devote their best intelligence to the alleviation of those sufferings which can be diminished, by seeking out, and, as far as lies within human power, removing their causes; it is surely lamentable that they should be drawn away by speculative chimæras from the attempt to find that narrow path which for nations, as for individual men, is the sole road to permanent wellbeing.

T. H. Huxley.

THE GERMAN DAILY PRESS.

I.

SOME time ago I was invited by the editor of this Review to give an account of the state of the German Press, and, after due consideration, I cannot find it in my heart to refuse the request. For although, in the present state of Europe, bristling as it does with arms, it must seem more than ever a Utopian idea to talk of attempts to bring nations into greater harmony with each other, and although, with this in view, I could never make up my mind to join any Peace League, however honourable, yet it appears to me that, of all such attempts, the least useless is that which endeavours to give the readers of one nation a just idea of the conditions of another. I believe that most men gain on nearer acquaintance, and in a still higher degree is this the case with nations, not only because they are more difficult to comprehend, but because those who should comprehend them—namely, the many-headed general public, which goes under the name of Nations—have such remarkably thick heads. The very first condition for the arrival at such a comprehension is, of course, a mutual understanding of the modes of expression commonly employed—I do not mean the understanding of *idioms*, because that is a purely mechanical exercise. In the present day more than ever before nations talk with one another through their periodical press. Formerly this was the affair of diplomatists, and when their Latin gave out they took to the cannon. Even this latter mode of argument has been to a great extent seized on by the press. The cannon which thundered in 1870 were loaded by the Parisian journalists, and it is to be feared that the bombs which the Panslavist writers are employed in filling from year's end to year's end in the leading articles written at Moscow or St. Petersburg will, sooner or later, explode into actual conflagration.

When laments are made about the mischief resulting from the mutual bad feeling caused by the press of another country, I have often heard it said by way of defence, 'But these journalists are not the nation; they are only a handful of irresponsible people who live on sensation.' A bad answer, truly. So long as states have existed, their peoples have been responsible for their government. *Quidquid delirant reges* is an Employers' Liability Act that is written in the

Book of Fate, and, however unjust it may be in individual cases, it will never admit of much alteration. You may tell us ten times over that your ministers are scoundrels or blockheads, who owe their elevation to chance, and are disowned by the majority of the nation: if you attack us at the command of your ministers, we must fly to arms. The French were very indignant at the Germans for not retiring in quiet contentment to their hearths and homes after the battle of Sedan, when that bad Napoleon, who was alone to blame for everything, had received the due reward of his deeds. But the nation had to suffer for having allowed him to act as he did, not to mention the fact that they would certainly have emphatically claimed as their right a share in his victories, had he gained any. Therefore, to all kind invitations to join Peace Leagues or to attend Peace Congresses, I invariably reply: 'All that we, the governed, discuss among ourselves is a mere waste of breath. The only thing that will have any practical effect in rooting out the existing frantic international hatred is, that each nation should strive to provide itself with a rational government at home, and until this is accomplished the tenderest declarations of affection which the chosen spirits of one nation exchange with the chosen spirits of another are so much labour in vain, and they will neither hinder disaster nor heal the mischief already done.' But nowadays, as is well known, the press is a part of the government, even in more or less despotically governed countries, and all that has been said above fits it as closely as it does rulers and statesmen. It would not, indeed, be right to assert that every nation had the government it deserved; one might as well say that a child that had come into the world with a club foot had not deserved to have two perfect extremities. But so long as we cannot avoid punishing thieves and murderers without regard to the acceptance or denial by philosophers of the theory of free will, so long will nations remain as responsible for the faults and sins of their press as for those of their rulers, and when they seek to escape from the consequences of these faults and sins, we must answer: 'Provide yourselves with a better press, or endure in silence the punishment for its misdeeds.'

But you will now ask, 'If this is the case, if, in face of this fatality of action, our information about your press, or your information about ours, is powerless to help, what is the use of talking about it? How will it aid us to know that all that has been done to rouse our mutual indignation was not intentional, but must be laid to the charge of certain misunderstandings and delusions?' My answer to that is as follows. The press of our country derives no small portion of the authority and influence which it exercises over its own countrymen from the value set on it abroad, and its home importance shows its practical working by reacting on the nervous system of the foreign press. I have remarked that those organs who regard it as

their most meritorious task to set their neighbours by the ears make it their business to hunt up in foreign newspapers such remarks as are calculated to make bad blood at home, and, while they consciously or unconsciously keep their readers in the dark as to the obscurity or worthlessness of their sources of information, they do their best to accentuate all international misunderstandings and ill-humours. It has frequently happened to me to be called to account by foreigners for a writing or a newspaper article as if it were a manifestation of German opinion, which no reasonable being in the Empire knew anything about, much less had taken any notice of. Some rag-picker or other had pulled the notice in question out of the gutter, and set it up before the eyes of foreign countries in fiery letters visible from afar. And the like happens to us also, and hundreds of pens labour all the year round to spread filth like this.

Here, perhaps, a little may be done—a *little*, I say, not *great* things; for *great* things are never *done*; they *come* one knows not how, and are therefore irresistible.

II.

To describe the status of the press of any country is to describe its political status also. This needs no explanation. Whatever, therefore, is said on this subject must receive its stamp from the general political development and physiognomy of the country. Germany differs from the other civilised countries of the West in the circumstance that it has only attained to an imperfect state of unity and liberty, that it has only lately got rid of its patriarchal, monarchical form of government, and that it owes the modest portion of unity which up to the present has fallen to its share, not to victorious internal revolutions, but to the reaction of external contests fought on international battle-fields, which induced the hereditary rulers to consent to the limitation of their powers more from opportunistic reasons than from fear of irresistible struggles for freedom. That this threefold cause is still active is shown by the fact that public opinion, in proportion to the power of the state, is considerably weaker in Germany than in those other countries. The press is indeed here, as everywhere, a great power; but it is so here, as everywhere, only in the hand of the powerful, and as public opinion, as opposed to the power of the state, has not yet attained in any high degree to a consciousness of its importance, so the German Press has, up to the present time, shown itself to be a strong weapon in the hands of the government rather than in those of any opposition party. The energy of opposition displayed by the Roman Catholic Church and by Social Democracy did not proceed from the power of their press, but from the ease with which the servants of the Church and the leaders of the

workmen were able personally to make propaganda among those around them. It is the same with the press as it is with the Parliament, and, as credit depends entirely on actual strength, so the credit of the press, like that of the Parliament, is much less in Germany than in the other great Western states. Here, as in all following considerations, I pass over in silence the question as to the gain or loss occasioned by such a state of things, because we are only concerned with the representation of facts and not with their valuation.

The weakness of independent national consciousness contributes as much as the multiplicity of the centres of public life to the enfeebling of public opinion and the organs that should express it. Even if Germany possessed real unity like Italy, the Regionalism which, until quite lately, pervaded everything, would still maintain its right. It maintains it, even in Italy, very strongly, although Rome, as a capital, is much nearer to the hearts of all Italians than Berlin is to the hearts of many Germans. It is, therefore, a recognised fact that the Berlin press exercises no predominant influence over the German public at large either morally or politically. If certain organs with specially noteworthy information make their way through the whole of Germany, it is not because they appear in Berlin, but because they are notoriously the mouthpiece of the government, and of a government with such an interesting personality at its head, that all its movements are followed with the greatest attention not only by Germany, but also by the rest of the world. When that interesting personality is no longer there, the organs made use of by him will most probably fall under the universal law of regional limits. One can see this pretty well from the fact that organs which do not appear in Berlin, but which also serve as heralds to the ruling personality, have extended the circle of their radiance. But, apart from this, the regionalism which existed in the press before the erection of the German Empire still maintains its ground, and those newspapers which formerly guided the public opinion of its outer limits have not lost any of their authority. The Berlin newspapers have gained nothing, at least nothing that can be compared with the way in which the great London journals represent the voice of the country to Great Britain, her colonies, and the whole world. I say nothing of Paris, because Paris, as the great absorbing central organ of France, does not present a state of things desirable for imitation. With the exception, then, of the well-known organs of the eminent ruling personality, there does not exist in Germany a single newspaper of which one could say that the information contained in it would be likely to come under the notice of a large proportion of those who would be specially interested in the matter under discussion. Here and there something particularly noteworthy may be quoted from a Berlin newspaper by another; but that happens also to journals published in Hamburg, Frankfort, or Magdeburg, and is of very little

account compared with the influence of the great organs of other capitals, which are aware that their spirit and their thoughts will penetrate the minds of the country at large, because they are read everywhere, and that their ideas are sure to come on 'Change in the market of public life. A newspaper not published in Germany at all, like the Vienna *Neue freie Presse*, can boast of a large and devoted circle of readers such as few native journals possess. It is just this extramural position which procures for it a wide circulation entirely independent of regional limits, and the vivacious tone it derives from its Viennese atmosphere exactly suits the taste of a certain circle of readers, who seldom find in the productions of German publicists an opportunity for indulging their liking for refinement in style and contents. It is true that there are in Berlin several non-government organs that possess adherents all over the Empire; but, although they had their seat in Berlin even before it became the capital of the Empire, they do not owe their numerous *clientèle* to this, but to the circumstance that they are the recognised organs of a party that is closely united by ties, in most cases of a confessional nature, and its members are in a measure bound to bend their ear to the mouthpiece of their party. But everything that merely contributes to a free and untrammelled exercise of the mind dies almost at the boundaries of Berlin. There is a certain number of journals in Berlin that are abundantly furnished with all necessary intellectual and financial intelligence, but the population of the provinces only accidentally learn now and then something of their contents, and have no idea to what party they belong, and yet the inhabitants of the capital derive their mental sustenance from them, and imagine themselves to be in full communion of ideas with all the rest of their fellow-countrymen. Now and then some enterprising newspaper owner manages to break through the charmed circle by employing a highly perfectioned apparatus of industrial propagation; but these are rare exceptions, and depend entirely on the individuality of the persons concerned in them; and even brilliant successes do not lead to the certain result of binding the circle of readers into one great community of thought all over the country.

One can well imagine how the sum total of all these conditions reacts on the profession of journalism. Talent is not wanting, and the information necessary to the work is probably more generally diffused in Germany than in any other country in the world. I believe I am not exaggerating if I say that there lie hidden among the editors of newspapers, as among many other classes of society in Germany, notably the teacher class, greater stores of historical and geographical knowledge than could be found in those of England and France put together. In the quiet times between the wars of the first Empire and the year 1866 (the short episode of 1848 excepted), a certain kind of learned journalism was a much more satisfactory career than it is at present,

because a widely extended and superior class of readers was then as much attracted by learning in the columns of the daily papers as by politics, perhaps even more so.[1] In those days, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (which Schiller helped to start), published in a Bavarian provincial town by Von Cotta, the renowned firm for publishing German classical works, was able to extend its circulation throughout all the German Federal States—Austria included—and thence throughout the whole cultivated world. Its editors and contributors attained a literary renown. Traces of those past glories still exist, but they are only *beaux restes*. The tumult of party politics has drowned all this, and forced all literary work of the higher kind into the net of Regionalism. It is no longer permitted to journalists to satisfy either their literary ambition or their desire for a widely extended sphere of influence, and those few who succeed in making themselves generally known, because they act as thunderers in the service of Olympus, are, with rare exceptions, of an inferior quality; for Olympus follows in great things as in small the maxim of the first Napoleon, that his assistants needed no intelligence, because he had enough for all, and theirs might make them unreliable. There exist both in and out of Berlin clever and learned men, who, for a generation past, have been writing for the press without their names having become known beyond the circle of the initiated. One of the greatest pleasures connected with this profession in other great countries, and, in fact, its real *raison d'être*, is entirely wanting here, and a certain peevish spirit which manifests itself in the German Press is probably accounted for by this circumstance. It very seldom happens that a journalist attains a high political position—indeed old bureaucratic and aristocratic traditions would bar his way to that—but even a transition to a parliamentary career is rarer here than elsewhere.

In connection with these circumstances stands the fact, that our great newspapers are only in very exceptional cases the organs of particular parliamentary parties. They will perhaps patronise one of them at some special time, but they would regard it as lowering to their dignity to be charged with serving any party. There exists a sort of mutual jealousy. It continually happens that the editors of a newspaper protest against being considered to stand in the service of a certain party, or that a party will protest against the supposition that it is represented by a certain newspaper. German individualism, and the extreme improbability of being able to pass from a liberal career into the political hierarchy, tend here, as in many other situations, to dissipate forces and weaken all satisfaction in work. I think I have already remarked that German correspondents in foreign countries write their reports with more knowledge of

[1] The old so-called *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin has, after the title which it has borne ever since it was first started, the words *Von Staats- und Gelehrten-Sachen* (on state and literary affairs).

their business than their other colleagues; but they mostly see the events they describe through sad-coloured spectacles.

The insufficiency of the German Press resulting from the conditions above described is made up for to a certain extent by the publicity of the Parliament, more especially of the Reichstag. Whatever is spoken there penetrates into every corner of the Empire, though occasionally in a somewhat mutilated form, and this alone is a sufficient reason for the existence of the Reichstag, though it possesses less authority than any other house of popular representatives. It is the only place where a man, even though he is not on the side of the government, may be quite certain of gaining a hearing. It supplies the place of a central press, and its functions are the more important because it has full liberty of speech—a benefit which, as is well known, is nowadays only permitted to the press within very restricted limits. In this, as in so many other things, the Germans have retrograded during the two decades that have elapsed since the French war. To illustrate this more fully would lead us into politics, and this we must avoid. We will not touch on politics further than is absolutely necessary to the elucidation of the foregoing subject. The ever-increasing elasticity with which a new generation of lawyers are wont to interpret certain paragraphs of the criminal code makes it a very risky undertaking to discuss public affairs anywhere but in the Reichstag. It is possible for a writer in the twinkling of an eye, without wishing it or dreaming of it, so to offend a big man, or a little man, or even sometimes a big-little man, that he has to pay for it with several months' loss of freedom, and this kind of justice has so nursed and fostered the sensitiveness of the body of officials and also of private individuals, that the discussion of grievances has become a very ticklish affair. I should not advise a journalist to write that he considered any public or private building to be painted in very bad taste. He might bring upon himself an action for giving offence from the person who had it painted, from the painter, and from the occupier of the house. Not very long ago, a court of law decided that a writer could be refused admittance to a theatre subventioned by the public money, although he had paid for his ticket, because he had criticised the actors so sharply that he had spoilt the pleasure of the public in the performance. The detriment to the public welfare resulting from the difficulties put in the way of criticism is, perhaps, partly compensated for by a certain amount of advantage gained by the press. I have repeatedly heard from French observers of the German Press the remark, that the cautious and dexterous attitude of certain German organs—independent ones of course—reminded them of the perfection of style to which analogous French productions gradually accustomed themselves during the time of the second Empire, when the sword of justice was always suspended above their heads. The art of expressing what one has to say with the keenest

circumspection, without robbing it of its point, tends greatly to the perfecting of style and the refinement of thought. It is indeed a sort of slavish art; but it *is* an art; and neglect of style has so long been one of the failings of German journalism, that we may feel under an obligation even to this unwelcome spur to improvement.

III.

Throughout the world complaints are made about the excesses of the press. As in Germany it is only the government newspapers that enjoy complete freedom, the conjecture is probably not unfounded that the charge of depreciating and stigmatising opponents may be laid to their door with more right than to any other. Nevertheless the reproach is made, and with equal conviction on all sides. The more the franchise is extended in any country, the greater will be the tendency to carry political discussions, in the last instance, to the election contests; and, where universal suffrage exists, newspaper polemics are most prone to degenerate into disorderly fights. The more the press is localised, the more odious will be these pugilistic displays. There exist in every party, from the ultra-Conservatives to the ultra-Radicals, individuals who, from a kind of instinct, employ all their efforts to disgust the more refined and sensitive natures with active politics, so that the field may remain clear for the most hardened spirits. The best means of attaining this end is to assail undesired candidates in the public press with the most barbarous calumnies. In this way all but those who are thick-skinned, or those who are rendered invulnerable by having some special aim in view, are deterred from seeking election. Those countries where parliamentary franchise is widely extended—even England, if I have read rightly—have been obliged to acknowledge that the level of popular representation stands lower now than it did in former days. Those times of relative quiet are over in which a high degree of eloquence, a courteous manner to all, and an elevated average of culture, adorned Parliaments, and procured for their members an exceptional position in society. The ever-raging election squabbles that go on in the press are probably to blame for this state of things, but other not less important changes contribute likewise towards it. The perfecting of the technical side of life becomes ever more and more an important and determining factor in the common weal, and lessens the decisive authority of political systems and constitutional forms; and this causes men who are conscious of possessing great stores of energy to feel less inclined to devote that energy to a political career than to any other. Consequently we see indifference to political struggles everywhere on the increase among the cultivated classes. Only one condition rouses them to interest in politics—namely, anxiety for the maintenance of peace, lest a violent disturbance should upset the equilibrium of the

commonwealth. We do not exclusively gain by this blunting of public spirit, as anyone can see with a little reflection. Madame de Staël once said that, in a land where women were beheaded for political causes, there was a sufficient reason for women to meddle in politics; and this remark may be varied in manifold ways. But the increase of indifferentism under the repelling action of offensive public discussion is peculiarly displeasing in a country like Germany which is still young and inexperienced in political life, and which does not yet possess in its institutions, and, before all, in its state of general feeling, any firm and broad guarantees for liberal development.

Since the difficulties connected with starting a newspaper were done away by the Press Law, passed in the first mildly liberal period of the Empire, the number of small and insignificant newspapers has increased incalculably. In the more well-to-do parts of the country, it is no uncommon thing to find in places with a thousand or fifteen hundred inhabitants that two local newspapers are written, or rather printed; for the editors do their work mostly with the scissors, or else with the polygraphic correspondence that is furnished by all parties at the lowest prices. One can easily understand that in such little newspapers, side by side with some useful information, a great deal of undigested material and personal scandal of the lowest description are put into circulation.

The German has a greater thirst for information than any creature under the sun. Whether in the theatre, or on a journey, or wherever he may be, besides satisfying his love of sight-seeing or his curiosity, he always wants to get something to add to his stock of knowledge. It is not without reason that Baedeker has driven all other guide-books out of the field. Our theatre bills put in, wherever they can manage to do so, a detailed description of the time and place of action, and the relative positions of the several *dramatis personæ*, and the couplets of the most extravagant farce mostly contain some moral lesson. This attribute naturally manifests itself most clearly in the daily press. With the exception of those who are politicians by profession, most persons with us read only one newspaper. The German understands, in the purchase of newspapers as in the purchase of books, how to combine thirst for knowledge with economy. In the streets of Paris, between the hours of five and seven in the evening, one meets thousands of persons with bundles of newspapers that they have just bought under their arms, and they hold up one before their eyes with both hands, and read it as they go along. I cannot recollect ever to have seen such a thing in Berlin during the last twenty years, except in times when great wars kept men's minds on the stretch. I believe the thirst for liquid which seems to be rooted in the German organism contends with the thirst for information, to the disadvantage of the latter, and a great deal of spare petty cash is absorbed in the liquid. But most persons are faithful subscribers to

one newspaper, and if a man only takes one, of course he likes to have it to suit his own views. And quite right too, for it is one of the greatest enjoyments one can have in this vale of tears to read every morning at breakfast in printed words, which, after all, never lose their nimbus, an ably-written leading article, charged with the *pluralis dignitatis* which entirely proves that one's opinions are right in every way.

This is very likely the reason that the leading article is more cultivated in the German daily papers than in any others. Every paper (with rare exceptions), from the greatest to the smallest, from Berlin to the smallest burgh,[2] heads its pages with a leading article. In the case of the burgh, it would mostly come out of a central leading-article manufactory, which furnishes whole districts or groups of parties with its wares wholesale. If the paper appears both morning and evening, it has two leading articles. They are by no means always devoted to the discussion of the newest questions of the day. That would not suit the reader's thirst for knowledge. He wants to be entertained and instructed, not only about the so-called burning questions of his own immediate interests, but about everything else as well. Formerly the German newspapers occupied themselves with foreign countries much more than with their own. That has fortunately been modified since there has been a German Empire and a German policy; but a good deal of it still remains, and there is no harm in it, particularly if it be possible to induce the Germans to combine a more lively interest in their own concerns with their curiosity about foreign affairs. I believe one could still find many thousands of Germans who know that Mr. Goschen is Chancellor of the Exchequer for one Englishman who would know that Herr von Scholz is the Prussian Finance Minister. The existence of this interest is no evil provided it does not divert attention from home affairs into other channels, and that it lives on in the spirit that gave it birth—namely, that unprejudiced impartial view of foreign relations which contributes to a just appreciation of one's own circumstances, and a fitting attitude towards other countries. But this unprejudiced and impartial view has been considerably affected by the great national disputes that have been taking place lately; and when the knowledge of foreign affairs is made use of to further internal party strife, more harm than good results from the interest taken in the concerns of other countries, because more error and misrepresentation are accumulated than when nations only trouble themselves about their own politics. As the Germans are more thorough in their pursuit of information about foreign countries, so the erroneous impressions which they get hold of are more thorough and therefore more harmful in their effects. The lively interest which Germans of all classes, even the lowest orders of the people, take in the affairs of other nations, is partly the after-effect of their own long political decline, during which they fed

their minds on the experiences of more highly developed States. But other distinctive traits have also a great deal to do with it, specially their knowledge of foreign languages, their love of travel, and their capacity for self-adaptation. Quite lately, renewed efforts have been made to purify the German language from the numerous foreign words that have become incorporated in it; and this is done in the name of what is called 'national spirit'—a very good and justifiable feeling in itself, but one which in course of time has been misused and spoilt by the introduction of base ingredients. No doubt, newspapers which have so much to do with foreign affairs have contributed to this intermixture of foreign elements. However praiseworthy these efforts may be, it would certainly be a great pity if endeavours were made at the same time to restrict the acquirement and study of foreign languages. Luckily, nothing has been said about that at present. But it would be just as deplorable to contend with the desire for information about foreign affairs in order to increase the interest for national matters—for the two can very well be combined. Those two distinctive traits—the capacity for acquiring foreign languages, and the understanding for foreign concerns—are a portion of the heritage of the old German temperament; and it would be an offence against it to try methodically to drive them out of it. Every nation has its merits and its demerits; and he who tries to deprive it of the former because their working seems to him harmful for the moment, upsets the equilibrium to the advantage of the remaining undiminished faults. The naively limited acquaintance with the conditions of other countries which characterises the French is inseparable from their merits. To try to inoculate a German who has not these merits with the faults that the French possess would be a lamentable undertaking. Nevertheless, we are now experiencing these attempts, and the press bears the marks of them. One can comprehend that it may be considered salutary to correct artificially faulty, one-sided tendencies, just as one bends a stick that has become crooked in the opposite direction, in order to bring it back to the right line. But one must take good care that the stick does not get broken, or (as in cases of medical treatment) that the cure is not worse than the complaint, and that no new and more dangerous disease be produced than the one which had to be rooted out. Without falling into the mystical language which ascribes to nations certain missions in the world, to which they have been predestinated by providence, one may yet say that every great nation, during the period of its development, has a certain natural task to perform—that part of the universal work of culture which is most suited to its national temperament—according to the principle of division of labour which holds good in the general economy of the world, where each has to do the work for which he is best fitted. If we accept this view, we must feel that Germany, with the great power it has attained, is certainly called to exercise

that special kind of influence which its inborn facility for apprehending the conditions and peculiarities of *other* nations might make so beneficial. As a German, one may express this wish without risk of wronging one's nation; for one points out to it a position in the world which might make the newly acquired power of the German Empire a blessing both at home and abroad. All that was formerly bound up with the idea of the German Empire under the designation of 'The Holy Roman Empire' might be realised in the higher and better sense. Germany would not aim, as then, at sharing with the Papal Chair the government of the world, but it would afford every people a fair chance for the development of its existence by throwing its great power into the scale of the fate of nations on the side of peace and justice.

This is the great task which, in truth, and in spite of all, does harmonise with the spirit of the German nation, and which lies before the men who have helped more or less to found the new Empire. And the movement, which we have to employ the foreign word *Chauvinism* to designate, is so evidently the result of extraneous, artificial, and merely temporary causes, that we may fairly hope to see it gradually subside. The way in which Germany and England are at this moment again drawing together is a symptom that these hopes are not founded on mere illusions. If the good understanding between these two nations can be established on a firm basis—and to this end it is only necessary to sweep away artificially created prejudices—it would be a source of congratulation, not only to Germany and England, but to the whole civilised world.

Here the press can lend no inconsiderable aid, and may repair some of the faults it has committed during the past years. I believe that, so far as the German Press is concerned, it needs only to be left to itself to clear the road for a good understanding. And this brings me to a matter that must be touched on, if the present sketch is not to be still more imperfect than it in any case must be where so wide a subject has to be discussed in so limited a space. A word that continually recurs in every number of a German newspaper is the word 'Offizios' (semi-official). It has only become current in Germany of late years, and has been borrowed, like the thing which it designates, from the French. It signifies a piece of information proceeding in reality from a government, but not openly given to the world with its authority. The more a government seeks to influence public opinion through the press, the more it experiences the unpleasantness of having to put its name to all that it would like to have said. Since the suppression of the popular movement of 1848, the German governments have been fully aware that no final settlement of German affairs was obtained by the arbitrary dissolution of the Frankfort National Assembly, and the resuscitation of the old Diet. The struggle for the hegemony between Austria and Prussia has

never ceased since that epoch, and many German statesmen, not only in Austria and Prussia, but also in the smaller German states, particularly in Saxony and Bavaria, well understood the value of the press as an instrument for furthering the end they had in view; and not least that particular one for whom was reserved the part of hero in the dramatic solution of the German problem. The semi-official pens were divided at that time into the two classes of Greater and Lesser Germany, which meant the same as Austrian and Prussian. Time has done away with this antagonism, but the institution of the semi-official press has not been done away with; it is only used for a different purpose. The Prussian government, since it has become the government of the German Empire also, had, for a time, certain recognised organs which spoke in its name, as, for instance, the so-called *Provinzial Correspondenz*. But as party spirit increased in the country, and the tone became sharper, this authentic responsibility grew very burdensome, and the more the government yielded to the temptation of working by the convenient secret method, the more adept did it become in the art of using it. A circumstance that helped to strengthen this temptation was that the Prussian government had obtained in the so-called Guelph fund a considerable amount of money which does not depend on the consent of Parliament, and for the use of which they have not to give any account. It would be difficult to prove that the greater part of the interest of the sequestered property of the Hanoverian dynasty is employed for press expenses; but we shall not be far wrong if we assume that no inconsiderable fraction of this secret service money is devoted to the maintenance of the semi-official organs and press.[2] The complaints that are made about the excesses of the semi-official press are notorious, but we will not discuss them here, for the reasons above mentioned. Complaints about national evils ought to be made only in the national forum. He that carries them abroad brings on himself the suspicion of wishing to arraign his country before foreign tribunals, and that, even to one not a Chauvinist, would seem neither fitting nor to the purpose. It is clear that a journalist, acting on daily instructions, and dependent on subventions, will be more inclined to excess of language than one inspired only by his own views, be they ever so narrow. The separation of action from responsibility immensely increases the temptation to run amuck, and the superiors who guide the pen do not consider themselves to blame for the violence of language by which their subordinates offend. Every semi-official press that is largely subventioned and widely circulated contributes, therefore, to render journalism more violent and venomous, and the circumstance of its connection with the State being known makes it have a particularly demoralising effect on the public mind. Cultivated circles, in this

[2] The total amount of interest available for secret service from this fund is 50,000*l.* sterling a year.

way, become accustomed to a tone which they would otherwise scout as most objectionable, and the bad tone is contagious, and soon transplants itself from the style to the way of thinking. It is this evil in the ever-increasing influence of the semi-official press which all independent thinkers in Germany so deeply deplore, while the opponents of the government seek to indemnify themselves by directing against the 'semi-officials' (a name which has never been formally recognised by the government) all the attacks which the severity of the Press Laws prevents them from directing against the government itself. It would be, however, a serious mistake to suppose that a greater amount of corruption exists in the German Press than in that of other lands. The experience that I have accumulated in most of the civilised States of Europe makes me venture to assert that corruptibility through money is a rarer exception in Germany than in any other country. This arises from various peculiarities—mostly good ones—of the German's ways and manners, specially from the generally prevailing simplicity of life. Even the newspapers that serve the Stock Exchange keep their hands relatively cleaner than those of other countries. Among the semi-official press there is, however, a whole series of newspapers, and those the most considerable, which, though they do not serve the government for the sake of direct pecuniary advantages, are nevertheless not behind the most highly subventioned journals in zeal both of a right and of a wrong description. One must not forget that Germany is now standing under the influence of a moral authority which impresses whole classes of the people to such an extent as to lead them to renounce all criticism.

All nations have passed through times like these, England no less than the rest. When I read in the extracts from the Rev. Sydney Smith's works the following expression of opinion: 'It is the easiest of all things, too, in this country, to make Englishmen believe that those who oppose the government wish to ruin the country,' I find some consolation for the evils which we are lamenting in Germany, although I do not overlook the fact that the interval of eighty years considerably blunts the effect of the *solamen miseris*.

L. BAMBERGER.

Interlaken, September 1889

N.B. To those who desire further information about the status of the German press, I venture to recommend the following works:—

Heinrich Wuttke: Die deutschen Zeitschriften und die Entstehung der öffentlichen Meinung. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zeitungswesens. Leipzig, 1875. The author is a violent opponent of Prussia, and of the change of constitution which has been made in Germany since 1866.

Die Publizistik der Gegenwart: Würzburg, Verlag von L. Woerl, 1881. The author writes from an ultramontane point of view.

Der Werth der Berliner politischen Presse von Aehajus. Berlin, Verlag von Brachvogel und Ranft, 1889. The author, who writes under a pseudonym, writes from an advanced Liberal point of view.

THE MELBOURNE GOVERNMENT: ITS ACTS AND PERSONS.

SINCE the epoch when the strong-handed giant of Reform laid his victorious hand upon the House of Commons in the first general election after the passing of the great statute of 1832, the average duration of a Ministry[1] has been three years within a month. Three Administrations have gone far ahead of this term, and have exceeded six: those of Lord Beaconsfield (1874–80), of Lord Palmerston (1859–65), and of Lord Melbourne (1835–41). The earliest of these in date was also the longest, as it reached from April 1835 to the end of August 1841, and nearly touched the limit of six and a half years.

Notwithstanding the happy continuity of some portions of British policy, and of the main lines of administration, yet each accession of a party to power denotes a real change, and our several Governments, differenced by material shades of character, form cardinal units of our history. They largely vary in their claims upon the esteem and gratitude of posterity. A considerable time has to elapse, and the death of all leading actors is almost an indispensable condition, before the controversies, which may arise on their merits, can be objectively, that is to say historically, treated. The balance is pretty sure to be fairly cast at last; but, during the intervening time, unequal measure may be meted out, and injustice may unwittingly be done.

The Government of Lord Grey and the Government of Sir Robert Peel enjoy, and rightfully enjoy, the reputation of great Governments. That title has heretofore by no means been accorded to the Government of which Lord Melbourne was the head from 1835 to 1841. Very recently one competent and careful writer, Mr. Buxton, whose traditions must have toned his mind towards the predispositions of a favourable witness, has recorded an unfavourable judgment. Mr. Buxton[2] says, without a mitigating trait:—

[1] I exclude that of Lord Grey, as it had lived out more than half its time when reformed Parliaments began.

[2] *Finance and Politics*, i. 38. Mr. Praed, in some points of view a parallel to Charles Buller, was a person of uncommon distinction and promise, carried off by death in 1839. I had the honour of being associated with him in the year 1838 on a

Their policy was—

> To promise, pause, prepare, postpone,
> And end by letting things alone;
> In short, to earn the people's pay
> By doing nothing every day.

Such was the language of Mr. Praed as a vigorous Tory satirist, adopted by Mr. Buxton. Sir George Trevelyan, in his admirable *Life of Lord Macaulay*,[3] calls the period 'that melancholy epoch;' and quotes the less dispassionate testimony of Carlyle, who describes the time as one of endless 'jargoning, debating, motioning, and counter-motioning,' all aimed at attainment or retention of office. Three such writers, it may plausibly be said, make up among them a public opinion of more than average respectability. To that opinion, however, not without some fear and trembling, I shall take upon *me*, as an act of justice, to demur.

I certainly shall not deny that the Melbourne Government had great faults; faults which, indeed, have obscured or even hidden its vastly preponderating merits. After half a century it may not be too early to make an effort calmly to try the question in detail, whether that Government ought to be held in high or in low estimation.

Indeed the consideration of it is pressed upon us by the almost simultaneous appearance of two works of great interest, and of real importance as contributions to the history of the time: the *Papers of Lord Melbourne*, with a Preface by Lord Cowper; and the *Life* wisely termed *of Lord John Russell*, which Mr. Spencer Walpole has given to the world. I postpone any special notice of these works until after I have submitted a few remarks on what would now be called the political situation of those times; only premising that though I sat in Parliament during all the years now before us, yet my own part in the proceedings was so absolutely insignificant that I do not lie under the temptations, and have no fear of exciting the suspicion, of egotism.

The seven sessions of the second Melbourne Ministry were, I submit, a great school of Parliamentary government. I do not recollect, and I even doubt whether our history can produce, a period in which the struggle between a Ministry and an Opposition was so intense, so prolonged, and so unremitting. It may be said, I think, that there was no relaxation at all in the stress of the conflict, except at the period when the case of Stockdale *versus* Hansard gave a commanding

small and unofficial committee of the National Society, appointed to prepare a scheme of reforms in popular education. Among other changes, we prepared a conscience clause, which may be deemed worthy of notice because of its early date. It was favoured by Bishop Blomfield, and likely to be carried. But it was prematurely divulged through the injudicious zeal of a clergyman, afterwards promoted to the Episcopal order, and in its feeble infancy was at once smothered by a counter agitation. My friend Sir Thomas Acland is the only survivor, besides myself, of that committee.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 61.

importance to the question of Parliamentary privilege. It appealed straight to the innermost heart of Sir Robert Peel, than whom our constitutional and representative system never had a more loving child, or a more devoted champion. It set him in warm accord for the moment with Lord John Russell. It even led him into declarations which pitch the important doctrine of privilege so high, as in the opinion of some to be wanting in the just reserve, and carefulness of measure, for which he was usually so remarkable.

It is a commonplace of careless observers that the contest between *ins* and *outs*, as they are called, is never other than a faction-fight; and it may be thought that, in describing the struggle of parties as at this time peculiarly keen and sustained, I mean that it was more than usually selfish and sordid. But my estimate of it is precisely the reverse. Whether rightly or wrongly I think that, in the point most essential of all points to the public welfare, it was perhaps the best time I have ever known. The struggle was sharp, not because the leaders were men of extreme opinions, or of violent appetite for office, but because they combined these two characteristics: that they were strong men and that they were earnest men. They believed in what they taught; and they fought hard to give it the upper hand. They were men emitting much light for the guidance of the nation: and neither on the one side nor the other were they disposed to hide it under a bushel. As to their strength, it can hardly be disputed that there never had been an Opposition 'front-bench' so formidable in oratorical, administrative, and statesmanlike power during the present century. I pass by the unreal and equivocating time of the Addington Administration; and I conceive that to find a parallel to the weight and force of three such men as Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Stanley, and Sir James Graham,[1] we must go back to the time when Mr. Pitt, himself an infant Hercules, was confronted by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Sheridan. On this occasion, as on that, the arduous business of defence fell principally to one man. That one was Lord John Russell. He received admirable support in the critical province of Irish affairs from Lord Morpeth (afterwards Lord Carlisle), then at the zenith of his reputation and his strength, which at later periods seemed to undergo some decline. He had companions on the Treasury Bench of great ability in Lord Palmerston and Lord Howick. But his was the brunt of the battle. No man ever led the House of Commons with a more many-sided activity, or a more indomitable pluck, than the Lord John Russell of the Melbourne Government. And in one capital respect the two parties were alike happy. Lord John was the leader of the Government, Sir Robert

[1] There was also at this period a decided preponderance of legal strength on the Tory side. Sir Edward Sugden, Sir W. Follett, Mr. Pemberton Leigh (afterwards Lord Kingsdown), Mr. Cresswell, and Sir F. Pollock formed a very remarkable, if not an unequalled, combination.

Peel of the Opposition. These were two singularly high-minded men, whose errors, where they erred, were errors of human infirmity, and whom nothing would have tempted to swerve, even for a moment, from the laws of conscience and of honour. Taking them in their combination, I have always thought it hard to match them in our subsequent annals. I have also considered that, in each of the two parties who followed them, the standard of public duty, as compared with secondary considerations, then reached perhaps the highest elevation at which it has been my good fortune to observe it.

Let us turn then to the men with whose names, in their different ways, the history of that Government is principally connected.

Conventionally, the place of honour belongs to Lord Melbourne. But, although he was for nearly seven years Prime Minister of this country, he has not in public estimation ranked among our great statesmen. One reason of this may be that while in a social sense a great *viveur*, and a man of extraordinary charm, he had neither ambition, which aims at the substance of power, nor political vanity, which rejoices in its show. But the man could not have been a small man who took by consent the office of Prime Minister in a Cabinet which after the disruption of 1834 still numbered among its members Lord Althorp, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell. With one great public service, and one only, he is credited by the nation. He was the instructor of the Queen—who ascended the throne just after her eighteenth birthday—in the great constitutional lessons, to which for half a century Her Majesty has been the first of our Sovereigns to give an effect at once conspicuous and complete. The high performance of the pupil has always been believed to reflect the loyalty, the capacity, the judgment, and the tact, of the instructor. Again it may be said the man who was adequate to such a task as this could not have been an ordinary man. And the light which has since been thrown, in publications which introduce Baron Stockmar, on the views of our Constitution taken by that personage, and the presumable direction of his proceedings as an adviser in the Palace, tends only to enhance the honour due, in this capital respect, alike to Her Majesty and to Lord Melbourne.

Lord Cowper has performed a public service, and has materially aided the future historian of these times, in permitting and promoting the publication of the Melbourne Papers, as well as by his graceful, but, he will forgive me for saying, too slight, prefatory sketch. There can be no doubt that this volume will materially raise the reputation of Lord Melbourne, and will help to place him where he ought to be. He was not, says Mr. Torrens,[5] orator, or jurist, or financier. Nor was he a great legislator, or a great Parliamentary leader, or a highly consistent politician. Nay, it is something strange to find the man, who had followed Mr. Fox with ardour during a number

[5] Preface to his Life

of his later years, enrolled among the supporters of the Six Acts. Yet it may be said that in several important respects he was a model statesman.

That praise and nothing less is due to him in the conduct of his difficult relations with William the Fourth. He never deviates, either in substance or in appearance, from respect and deference. He inspires the King with a confidence in him but sparingly extended to most of his colleagues. But he never forgets for a moment that he is their organ and their standing representative in the closet of the monarch, never insinuates comparisons to their prejudice. In all this province of duty, a Prime Minister is, as such, in charge of their reputations and their credit, each and all. But Lord Melbourne never curries favour, never withholds the frank expression of an unacceptable truth, though he dresses it with tact and grace in the least unacceptable language. All this correspondence is conducted in a spirit of true chivalry, and when the King has taken offence at an act performed by Lord Melbourne and one among his colleagues he is careful to take upon himself the lion's share of the blame.[6]

Nor was he less exactly loyal in his dealings with and between his colleagues. He must have had the kindliest of natures, which all the temptations of politics could not seduce or poison. He is also full of allowance and consideration for opponents. The difficulty indeed is to find an ill word about anybody. Even when he condemns, he seems to shrink from the pain of stating the particulars which are to justify his condemnation. He has not a particle either of gall or of egotism. He had no doubt that notable woman's gift of steering off the rocks and shoals of conversation. He had also a large reserve of real prudence, which made him silent upon many questions wanting solution, if he had the hope that by silence they would solve themselves. But he had likewise a large reserve of power, of sense, and even of courage. His letters to Lord Brougham,[7] conveying to him the decree of political extinction, are nothing less than tremendous; yet they are also as a whole singularly adroit; and, strange to say, notwithstanding their crushing and smashing force, they can scarcely be termed offensive. Few indeed among our statesmen could have written these remarkable letters, which perform the work of the hangman in the spirit of the warrior and the gentleman.

From all that is known to us, it may fairly be inferred that Lord Melbourne, in two at least of the essential attributes of his position, could not be surpassed: his relation to his Sovereign, and his relation to his colleagues. In these he seems to have combined chivalry and kindliness with great firmness and with singular shrewdness, tact, and skill. He seems also to have earned the praise of an excellent administrator: but this is a gift, though not too common, yet less delicate and rare.

[6] *Melbourne Papers*, pp. 333, 334. [7] *Papers*, pp. 257 *seqq.*

When we pass into a wider circle, and ask what was his sense of the needs and capacities of the nation which he was called to govern as a Minister, or of humanity at large, the answer must be far less satisfactory. In opinion and the larger sympathies, men such as Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen had greatly more of Liberalism in their composition than the head of the Government which they opposed. His sympathies indeed were very warm; but they were those of the near-sighted man who discerns only what is close to his own eye. The declaration made to Archbishop Whately, that the abolition of slavery was great folly, reappears in this volume,[8] though with a hint from the editor that it may not have been serious. Doubtless he may have been playing with the susceptibilities of an excitable Archbishop; but defective appreciation of a great subject is surely manifested in the method of his play. And an anecdote well salted with 'damns,' about the Poor Law Amendment Bill, is of a somewhat similar flavour.[9] The question indeed arises how and why he found his way into the Liberal party of the day. Perhaps no better answer can be given than that he had felt the attraction of the genius of Mr. Canning, without sharing his care for constitutional liberty abroad; and that a high fidelity to friends severed him from the Duke of Wellington, when in 1828 the Duke thought fit to break the official tie that united him to the followers of Mr. Canning. He had indeed in early life been a follower of Mr. Fox. But the points in which his early leanings remained traceable at a later period were not numerous. He did not love national quarrels. He was incapable of religious intolerance. And he seems to have had a real sympathy with Ireland, where he had gained a just popularity in 1827 when holding the office of Chief Secretary. Along with these traits of a Foxite, he had an eye for a real political necessity. In proof of this I will introduce an anecdote which I had from the mouth of Lord Russell. In the session of 1846, when Sir Robert Peel had proposed the repeal of the Corn Law, a meeting of Whig Peers was held at Lansdowne House, Lord Russell (then Lord John) being present. One spoke after another in favour of throwing out the Bill when it reached the House of Lords. But Lord Melbourne, who had been himself a stiff champion of the Corn Law, delivered himself *inter alia* as follows: 'My Lords, it was a damned thing that Peel should have proposed the repeal of the duty on foreign corn. But he has done it, and the consequence is that you will all have to vote for it.' So closed the debate: and so, at the proper time, went the voting. Torrens takes no notice of this

[8] P. 376.

[9] 'The latter (Lord Ossington) used to relate that encountering Lord Melbourne when about to mount his horse at the door of the office, he called his attention to some required modifications in his new Poor Law Bill. Lord Melbourne referred him to his brother George. "I have been with him," was the reply, "but he damned me, and damned the Bill, and damned the paupers." "Well, damn it, what more could he do?" was the rejoinder.'—*Papers*, p. 155 *n.*

curious passage in Lord Melbourne's life, and was probably uninformed. The account given by Greville[10] misses the point of Lord John's narrative, which was the prevailing bias against the Bill, and the reversal brought about by the characteristic speech of Melbourne.

The fact plainly is that Lord Melbourne was a man full of character, but not of character proof against criticism all round. Yet the type was one of much latent force, of high charm, of acute and exact perceptions, and in his public relations of a singular delicacy. This I take to have been the feeling which induced him to lay out before William the Fourth, on the crisis after the death of Lord Spencer in 1834, a description of the situation which much facilitated, and which also helps to excuse, the unwise step the King then adopted. On the whole, the Minister was less interesting than the man: and the volume of Papers would have gained in interest, if a greater share of it could have been devoted to the man, and a smaller one to the Minister.

One thing more I have to say of him. Large allowance is to be made for those who were bred under the sinister influences of the great French war. That war, although not so intended, became effectively a crusade against liberty in the internal government of this country; and, as Darwin says of himself in another respect, those organs or tendencies of the mind, which were favourable to freedom, dwindled into insignificance through disuse. Men whose manhood began with or since the period of emancipation and enfranchisement, if they indulge a temper of indifference or of cynicism in public affairs, are without excuse.

I turn now to the Government which bears his name, but with the political action of which for good or evil he seems to have had but a secondary connection; except that we cannot, I think, withhold from him a fair share of the honour due to its administrative conduct in Ireland. It was almost the only period in the history of that country, when the spirit of administration was national and Irish, at least at the centre of action, in the same sense, spirit, and degree, that the administration of England and Scotland carries with it the corresponding epithets, as an inseparable incident and first condition of its existence. For these lands it was the garment of every day; for Ireland it was a rare and priceless gem. Dublin Castle, in the days of Drummond, earned the blessings, not the curses, of the people.

> Ostendent terris hunc tantum Fata; neque ultra
> Esse sinent.

Undoubtedly this brought to the Ministry the indispensable support of O'Connell in the House of Commons. But, as a living witness to the history of the period, I record with sorrow that it was adverse to the influence and power of the Melbourne Government in this country, and was among the steadily operative causes of their

[10] *Journals*, Second Part, vol. ii. p. 394.

decline. England had not then unlearned her traditional hostility to the Irish. It may even be doubtful whether, if we had retained down to the present day the narrow electorate of 1832, her voice would have been given, as it has been given since 1887, in a decisive manner, though with limited opportunities, on behalf of Irish freedom in a sense reaching far beyond what was dreamed of half a century ago. With reference then to administration in Ireland, it seems likely the historian of the future may determine that the Melbourne Ministry performed a splendid though unappreciated service.

In the province of legislation for Ireland, they passed the Tithe Act, the Municipal Corporations Act, and the Poor Law Act. The first of these cannot be put down as an important item on the credit side of their account. Indeed, I have to mention it farther on as justly liable, in a special point of view, to grave censure. Far different are the other two. The Irish Poor Law was brought to birth in the Cabinet after much pain and struggle, as appears pretty clearly from the narrative of Mr. Torrens.[1] It was opposed, for reasons I have never fully understood, by Mr. O'Connell. It opened many questions of difficulty; but it asserted and established for Ireland the great principle that the land was liable for the relief of those who were recognised as its proper objects, and this assertion could under the circumstances hardly have been due to any other initiative than the philanthropic energy of Lord Russell. In order, however, to appreciate the claim of the Melbourne Government to honour for whatever good legislation it accomplished, we must bear in mind the extraordinary difficulties of its position, especially in the first moiety of its existence. In the House of Commons lay its only strength, and the opinion of England, adverse from the first, became more and more hostile with the lapse of time. The sentiments of the King were known and counted on in a manner disused under the reign of Her Majesty. The Opposition, a very large minority, were led with temper and consummate skill; and though the Government still had in the House of Commons a majority, though one without a margin, it was not a House of Commons backed by the state and movement of public opinion out of doors. The House of Lords, guided not by Peel but by the astuteness of Lord Lyndhurst, performed obstructive functions with more than usual daring; and the election of 1837, which increased the strength of the Conservatives, showed thereby that, at least in England, the performance was approved.

It surely, then, required no common resolution to fight for six years the battle of local self-government for Ireland by the Municipal Corporations Bill. The boon indeed was limited as well as delayed, but the principle was invaluable; and the counterplan of the Conser-

[1] *Life of Melbourne*, ii. 241–43.

vative Opposition was one upon which at this date no politician of any school can look back without astonishment. In the face of a centralisation already intolerable, and of the distinct pledge given at the Union that Ireland was to be consoled for the loss of her national Legislature by the blessing of equal laws, the plan of the Peel Opposition, under the inspiration of the Irish Tories, was that the corporations of the country should be not reconstructed but abolished. Mr. Torrens well calls this plan a 'new measure of national outlawry.'[12] After six long years of toil, the Act was passed. It bore upon it the most odious mark of civil and national inequality in the denial to Irish municipalities of powers universally given in Great Britain, but it was invaluable as initiating for Ireland the principle of local self-government, and supplying her for the first time since 1800 with a representative system, which was to live and to work within her own borders. The Irish chapter of this Ministerial history was upon the whole one of no profit, but of signal honour.

Turning now to Great Britain, we are met first by the great Act which in 1835 reformed the English corporations, and which entailed the passing of a similar measure for Scotland in 1836. In English affairs, the policy of Sir Robert Peel was moderate and enlightened; so that Toryism had to fight its battle in the House of Lords. It was a fierce, but happily an ineffectual, contest which it waged. The importance of the measure has been found to surpass all anticipation. Those duties, which the old corporations were apt to perform ill, the new ones have performed well. These, however, were very narrow functions. The renovated municipalities, while they have disappointed all the prophecies of political intermeddling, have entered upon a vast sphere of new duties, to which they have proved fully equal. It might be hard to point to a great public work undertaken, or a public want supplied, however grievous it might be, under the system abolished by the Melbourne Government. In the supply of one alone of these wants, the most indispensable of all, a due provision of water, the single corporation of Manchester has spent, or has nearly finished spending, the sum of eight millions sterling. The effect of this change has been everywhere visible in the health, the order, and the loyalty of the population, which has also derived from it the highest of all civic benefits, namely the education of the private citizen in the discharge of public duty, and the consequent advance of the nation, at least the oppidan nation, in political knowledge, and in that capacity which habit gives and fosters. When we take into view the new sense and new range of social necessities, which this pregnant century in its onward course has developed, it is hard to conjecture what would have become of our overburdened Parliament but for the relief afforded to it, in regard to a crowd of purposes, by the strong shoulders of our local municipalities.

[12] *Ibid* p. 185.

One of the earlier works of the Melbourne Government was to reconstitute the Marriage Law of the country, so far as regards the legal methods of concluding the contract which forms the doorway into the estate of matrimony. They broke up also the twin monopoly of the established Church, burdensome alike to itself and to those outside its pale, by establishing a system of civil registration for births and deaths. For, strange as it may seem, as it was only with the opening of this century that the State began to take a rude account of the population, so it was only on the accession of the Melbourne Government that it enacted a scheme for noting the entry of its subjects into the world, and their departure therefrom.

The legislation of this Ministry in its bearing on the national Church, however, was far from being merely privative. To it she owes the important measure which commuted the tithe, and thereby, in relieving agriculture from the serious grievance of a tax upon the gross produce of all new investments of capital, gave a new and strong guarantee to the existing appropriation. Most important changes were also introduced, for the first time in the history of the Church, into the organisation of the Episcopate and of the cathedrals. Under the report of a commission appointed by Sir Robert Peel, the incomes of bishops, in some cases extremely small, and in others invidiously large and about to grow into enormity, were subjected to regulation, and the system of incessant translation, so hostile to the just independence of the Bench, was got rid of. In 1840, a very large and complex measure in relation to cathedrals was worked through the House of Commons by the energy of Lord John Russell. In conjunction with a near friend, both of my youth and of my old age, Sir Thomas Acland, I followed this measure with a lively interest. We made sanguine efforts to amend it, and I have the clearest recollection of the confiding and comprehensive spirit in which the Leader of the House endured the representations, and in various cases accepted the suggestions, of the young critics, though they sat on the opposite side of the House. Upon these measures have been founded the vast operations of the Ecclesiastical Commission, reconstructed in a most liberal spirit by Lord John Russell; which have so powerfully aided in transforming the whole exterior aspect of the Church of England throughout the populous districts of the country. It was an incidental merit of the system that the abominable practice of improvident fines was got rid of, and a large mass of property was saved from the encroachments of lessees. Pluralities were likewise at this period restrained by law; and the gross abuse which had alienated Wales from the Church, was checked in one of its worst branches, the appointment of English clergymen to Welsh-speaking parishes. Upon the whole, I think it can hardly be doubted by any impartial reviewer of our ecclesiastical legislation, that the Melbourne Government deserved, without obtaining, the gratitude of the Church and the

clergy. That body, indeed, displayed a willingness and even a zeal in self-reform, which compares most favourable with the case of some other distinguished professions: but its political prejudices were such as to remain insurmountable. They were blind to the fact that, apart from the great organic periods, which ended with the Act of Uniformity under Charles the Second, the stagnation of the eighteenth century, and the fervid activity of the nineteenth, may alike be challenged to point to any epoch of functional legislation for the concerns, and on the whole for the benefit, of the Church, which can for a moment be compared with that of the second Melbourne Administration.[13]

In addition to all this, great and effectual attention was given under the Melbourne Government to the great subjects of police and crime. I quote here a few lines from the excellent work of Mr. Walpole.[14]

'During Lord John's tenure of the Home Office, he laid the foundation of another work which, in its ultimate results, has proved almost equally beneficial [with his work on education], by the formation of a rural police, by the regulation and improvement of prisons, by the better treatment of juvenile offenders, and by the gradual abolition of transportation.'

In this brief statement is involved a reference to numerous Acts of Parliament passed at this time by Lord John Russell. But in addition he took in hand the work of Romilly. The excellent effort of Sir Robert Peel to mitigate the blind and demoralising cruelty of our criminal code was prosecuted by Lord John, in a more advanced stage no doubt of opinion, with a bolder and freer hand. I well remember the dismay of a Tory lawyer, not without ability, who reported to me the introduction of this measure as a plan of such wild and absurd destructiveness, that no Minister could seriously think of carrying it, so that it could only be a prelude to resignation and to a campaign of popular excitement in the country.

I cannot but think that the legislation which I have thus imperfectly described entitles the Government of Lord Melbourne to a very high place among the Ministries of the present century as respects the improvement of our laws. But, apart from Parliamentary action, their administrative proceedings in the direction of just and rational progress were truly remarkable in England as well as in Ireland. They broke down the monopoly of degrees, which had lain in the hands of Oxford and Cambridge, by granting a charter to the University of London. They established a Committee of the Privy

[13] It is true that this and a succeeding Liberal Government irritated the Church by the appointment of Dr. Hampden to a most important professorship and then to the Bench. The real objection, however, to these appointments lay in the province not of orthodoxy, but of efficacy.

[14] Walpole, i. 330.

Council for Education in 1839, and substituted a responsible action of the Executive for the merely mechanical process, by which small sums of money had theretofore been distributed among independent societies concerned in the training of the children of our labouring class. By this great and bold act they firmly laid the foundations of a system of National Education, and the advances of the cause have from that time forward been rapid and uninterrupted. But most perhaps, and greatest of all, was their action, and the effect of their action, in colonial policy.

Our old North American possessions, which have now been developed into the vast republic of the United States, were founded under charters presenting considerable varieties of provision, but all greatly alike in this, that they were conceived, to a remarkable and indeed on the whole wonderful extent, in the spirit of freedom. It is even not irrational to suppose that colonial sentiment must in the course of time have reacted upon England, and must have helped, in the dreary times of the eighteenth century, to fan a flame, which at home had become languid. But when a reactionary spirit set in with the French war, and liberty could not hold her own at home, and when our transmarine empire came to be reconstituted partly by colonies not free but penal, and partly by military conquests, the old and genuine British spirit was in danger of dying out of our colonial system altogether. The same Secretary of State was Minister of War and of the Colonies; and the colonies had but the residue of attention which the Minister of War could spare from his more urgent duties. Stark superstition reigned in Downing Street. True, in the great controversy of negro slavery, it took more and more decidedly the right, that is the humanitarian, side. But this championship was not favourable to the general interests of freedom in our colonial relations. For the Home Government found itself in habitual controversy with the colonial Assemblies which it had to resist and repress. In Canada, exclusive reliance was placed upon what was audaciously termed a British party, and the mass of the population were looked upon much as the mass of the Irish people are still regarded by a considerable though ever diminishing portion of our fellow countrymen. From this comatose condition we were awakened by the Canadian agitations and rebellions. Then arose the project of welding two Canadas into one. But this plan of union was after all secondary. A greater question was coming into view for the first time. For nearly two generations we had had representative systems in those provinces, and had governed in the teeth of them as the Stuarts did in England. The idea at length emerged into light, at first like a cloud no bigger than a man's hand on the horizon, whether it might be possible to govern a colony in consonance with the thoughts and feelings of the colony, that is to say, in truth, whether we could not act upon the ancient English tradition only transplanted beyond sea.

When, in and after 1835, the Colonial Department was found too heavy for the energies first of Lord Glenelg, and then of Lord Normanby, Lord John Russell was as ever ready to repair to the post of difficulty. He found that he had to face the demand for responsible government, which was in truth for the colonies the *articulus libertatis aut servitutis*. He was first impressed by the theoretical anomaly, which would arise if the Queen's Government thought different ways in different portions of her united empire. A close contact with his daily work showed him that, as a rule, they would move in different orbits, and that Canada ought not to be thwarted in the management of her own concerns by the pressure of a leverage worked from Downing Street. With an unfaltering courage he cast away the sophism, he tore off the veils that had concealed the truth. He substituted harmony for antagonism in the daily conduct of affairs for those colonies, each of which in an infancy of irrepressible vigour, was bursting its swaddling clothes. Is it inexcusable to say that by this decision, which was far ahead of the current opinion of the day, he saved the Empire, possibly from disruption, certainly from much embarrassment, and much discredit?

But I must now turn from the great and memorable services of the Melbourne Government to its faults, which I admit to have been grave. And first we have to consider the Parliamentary means by which it obtained its official position.

It is made clear from Mr. Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell* [15] that the Parliament elected in January 1835 did not contain a majority of members prepared to eject Sir Robert Peel from the office which he had just assumed by a vote of no-confidence. Had there been such a majority, the Liberal Government would have come into office simply in virtue of its general creed, and without contracting a specific engagement by the fact of their accession to power. There was, however, a majority prepared to affirm the doctrine that the surplus revenues of the Irish Church, beyond the amount necessary for the ecclesiastical wants of its own members, should be applied to general purposes. Sir Robert Peel was known to hold fast by the denial of this proposition; and he was put out, not because he was in a minority, but because he denied it. Thus what was termed the Appropriation Clause became, for the incoming Government, nothing less than the charter of its official existence.

It is in the highest degree requisite towards maintaining the standard of political morality both generally that statesmen should uphold in office the doctrines which they have propounded in opposition, and especially that they should be held bound to them when they have got value received for their profession. Accordingly, from 1835 onwards, the Melbourne Government passed through the House

[15] i. 225–6.

of Commons an Irish Tithe Bill containing an Appropriation Clause, which was regularly excluded by the House of Lords. In 1838, the Ministry gave way and presented a Tithe Bill without the obnoxious provision. Thus they did the very thing which they had ejected Sir Robert Peel from office for refusing to do. True, it was necessary that Ireland should have a Tithe Bill; but it was not necessary that Lord Melbourne should be in office to give a measure, which the Tories of 1835 were in the act of giving when they were put out. And here the case differs essentially from that of Sir Robert Peel and the Corn Law in 1845–6. It may be allowed that the election of 1841 which placed Sir Robert Peel in power effectually pledged him to Protection. I know from his own mouth that he recognised that pledge, and that, apart from the exigencies which had subsequently arisen, it was his intention to seek his release only at the next coming dissolution. But he purged himself by his resignation in December 1845; which, on the failure of Lord Russell to form an Administration, established the fact that no other living man could execute the work, which had become essential even for the peace of the country. When the Melbourne Government executed the *volte-face* of 1838, the Opposition demanded that the House should record a judgment virtually rescinding the declarations of 1835. Lord Morpeth pointed out that his antagonists had gained their point: they ought to be content; do not ask us, he said, to eat our own words. He was open to the reply that men or Parliaments may very properly be asked to eat their own words, when they have already eaten their own actions.

The important principle involved in this operation has led me to dwell upon it at some length for the instruction which the case conveys, though I do not deny that the position was one of difficulty. I will run more briefly over the other serious drawbacks to the high distinctions of this insufficiently appreciated Administration.

Their finance down to 1839 was intolerably bad. In that year the muddy stream of demerit discoloured by its confluence the limpid current of enlightened policy. The great and almost epoch-making measure of penny postage became law. It was adopted without any provision for the deficit in the balance for the current year, which it was certain, and known to be certain, to create. Worse still, there was the pretence of a provision. The Commons passed a resolution that, if a deficit should occur, they would make provision for meeting it—in the ensuing session. I remember to have heard Sir Robert Peel give, in conversation, his opinion on this proceeding. In all matters of finance, his conscience was one of even a peculiar purity: and he said the Act was the worst which had been done by the Reformed Parliament. It fell to Sir Francis Baring in 1840 to confront, in circumstances of public distress, the difficulty thus created. He proposed and carried an addition (with some qualifications) of five per cent. to the duties of customs and excise. When it appeared at

the close of the year that the produce of the duties only realised a small fraction of the two millions he desired to raise, he became the subject of unmitigated censure, as if his percentage had been the chief operative cause of the decreased consumption of taxed commodities. In my opinion, but for the five per cent., the customs and excise would have presented, in lieu of a small increase, a very large diminution. The objections to the plan, which appear to me tenable, are that it deranged universally, without an adequate object, the transactions of tradesmen; that it introduced complication into accounts; and especially that it aggravated the pressure of Protection, which already lay so heavily upon the whole range of our indirect taxation. I pass on to policy over sea.

Serious doubts may now be entertained as to the policy of 1840 in the Levant, which severed us from France to associate us with the Powers of the (not then forgotten) Holy Alliance, which made us parties to the quarrel between the Porte and its vassal, and which, at the risk of a general war, entailed the use of British force to decide that struggle in favour of the Sultan. Many members of the Cabinet, and wise advisers outside it, such as Lord Spencer and the Duke of Bedford, were adverse to this course. It was crowned at the moment with conspicuous success, which helped to bewilder the public opinion. The experience of fifty years has dispelled the hopes which were then entertained, that Turkey might probably be brought into line with the European civilisation. The policy of 1840 cannot be repeated; yet, all things considered, it can hardly be made the ground of an unqualified censure on the Melbourne Government. There were two other great transactions which had less apology: the ignoble opium war against China, resisted stoutly by the Opposition in the House of Commons, and the rash and disastrous invasion of Afghanistan in 1838–9. For these proceedings I conceive that severe blame is due to the Administration of Lord Melbourne: yet even this may be subject to some mitigation, when it is remembered that, in both the one transaction and the other, the Ministers were supported by the approval of the Duke of Wellington. As to the Afghan question I draw my information from the Melbourne Papers.[16] As regards China, I well remember to have witnessed the glee of the Prime Minister in the House of Lords on hearing the Duke's declaration.

It has undoubtedly been thought that the Melbourne Administration lowered itself by clinging too long to office. They had, however, made in good faith an attempt to escape from it, when they resigned on the Jamaica Bill in 1839; which had not been rejected on the second reading, but only carried by the small majority of five. They returned to their places on the difference which arose between Her Majesty and Sir Robert Peel, as to the application of the consti-

[16] P. 353.

tutional rule to the ladies of the higher Court offices. Mr. Walpole[17] thinks that the intending Minister was right in argument, but wrong in the application of it to the particular case. For one I embrace this opinion, particularly the closing words of it. To discuss the question at large would lead me into undue length. But I believe that the safest regulator of the relations between the Sovereign and the Minister is to be found in a high sentiment of honour on both sides, rather than in an extreme rigour of rules as to appointments; and that the Whig Ministers of 1839, in sustaining the action of the young Queen by their resumption of office, came to a right decision both as statesmen and as men.

If this be so, it is not easy to say at what period during the two next years they ought to have retired. Nor is it more easy to measure with precision the closing efforts of this Ministry. It may be said that they had the effect of bringing Free Trade to the front, when in the spring of 1841 they assailed, and proposed largely to alter, the protective duties on corn, sugar, and timber. From the moment of its adoption by the Queen's Government, it could not be other than the question of the day. But, when the proposal was made, the Government was at the last gasp. Free Trade became, for that juncture, the plank to save, if it might be, a drowning Ministry. None but the convinced could accept it from such hands; and multitudes were unconvinced and undetermined. The Budget of the Government for the first time dragged freedom of trade into the category of party questions. It was thus made certain that a long and an envenomed struggle must precede its adoption: whereas it was possible, even if not likely, that if Peel had come into office before issue had been regularly joined, his mind would have sooner opened to the instruction, which a succession of bad seasons was silently imparting, as to the singularly mischievous working of the sliding scale on corn.

I have now done what in me lies to weight fairly the scales of judgment upon the merits and faults of the Melbourne Administration. Its Parliamentary defeat was smashing. Its financial faults were of a nature and amount, which a commercial country was sure to visit with severity. Its chivalrous adherence to the Queen was appreciated at the moment, but, in the nature of the thing, such a matter could not prominently operate as a factor in the formation and action of the public judgment. Moreover, though old men are sometimes regarded in this country with an excess of favour, I have never known an old Government so regarded. And it is undeniable that the Melbourne Government disappeared in a storm of discredit. I do not recollect that any serious effort has since been made to redress the balance of praise and blame.

Mr. Walpole in his *History*[18] brings in a verdict of guilty. But in his able and careful biography he has built up a monument to the

[17] *History of England*, iii 475–6. [18] iii. 533.

one illustrious member of that Administration, so large in its proportions, and so imposing in its outline, that in establishing on his behalf such conspicuous and rarely rivalled titles to the national gratitude and veneration, he has done something also to redeem the character of a Ministry, whose great and beneficial acts were so abundant as I have endeavoured to show, while it is also undeniable that they were almost wholly his. I have heard Sir Robert Peel say of him, that he was small in small things, but that when the things were great he was great also. I do not know that he was a master in the hidden arts of politics:

Of wiles,
More inexpert, I boast not.

But he brought into public life, and he carried through it unimpaired the qualities which ennoble manhood: truth, justice, fortitude, self-denial, a fund of genuine indignation against wrong, and an inexhaustible sympathy with human suffering. It has always appeared to me that the period of the Melbourne Administration, though he had not touched fifty when it closed, was the climax of his great career. The readiness, fertility, variety, versatility, and suppleness of his mind, were then at their best, and were altogether extraordinary. It was the period when he had the greatest difficulties to confront, and when responsibility was even more concentrated upon him for the work of Parliament, than during the subsequent period of his own Premiership; for the Irish famine abated the action of party, and the tranquil but strong support of Sir Robert Peel, with the less experienced hostility of the Protectionist leaders, somewhat lessened the demands upon his energies. In the Melbourne time, his mettle was tested almost from day to day. He was ever ready to betake himself to the post of difficulty; and he seemed not only to gather new energy from conflicts but new inspiration from danger. With a slender store of physical power, his life was a daily assertion of the superiority of the spirit to the flesh. With the warmest domestic affections, and the keen susceptibilities of sufferings they entail, he never failed to rally under sorrow to the call of public duty. He recalls to me the example of the Athenian general Nicias, who, when he fought the losing side at Syracuse, and was himself almost sinking from disease, roused, in the extremity of peril, by manly exhortation, the spirits of his almost despairing soldiers. In the closing battles we can almost hear him say, 'Even in the present plight you must not abandon hope; ay, from worse than this deliverance has been found.'[19]

And again, if the range of his popular sympathies was wide, there were no bounds to the prowess or the fellow feeling with which he would fling himself into the breach on behalf of a belaboured col-

[19] Thuc. vii 77.

league. On the serious collapse of his political fortunes, after the rupture with Lord Palmerston, and immediately before his resignation in 1852, an attack upon Lord Clarendon's conduct as Viceroy of Ireland stirred all the depths of his nature, and he replied in a series of the noblest fighting passages which I have ever heard spoken in Parliament. I used to think of him as a colleague that his facility was seriously a snare to him, and sometimes made his work more slight than it need have been. The assemblage of his qualities, personal and political, gives to him a place amongst our famous public men which must be permanently high. At the head of all these qualities stands the moral element. I do not recollect or know the time in our history, when the two great parties in the House of Commons have been led by men, who so truly and so largely as Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel identified political with personal morality.

To say that Lord John Russell was not without fault or infirmity is only to say that he had not obtained a charter of exemption from the laws which govern our frail humanity. Owing to his ready and delicate sensitiveness, there was a spirit of resignation in him which, so to play upon the word, was undoubtedly for Cabinets a spirit of disturbance. It may be that by impulsive public declarations, not invariably wise, he once or twice altered the whole political position of his colleagues without their consent. I cannot think it discreditable to Mr. Walpole if in dealing with the enormous services, the extraordinary powers, and the beautiful and exalted character of such a man, he has been touched in a mild form with an excess of hero-worship. It is particularly difficult for a biographer, in setting forth the case of his hero, to do full and exact justice to all those, whom of necessity he handles but does not, so to speak, *biographise*. I cannot wholly accept his account of relative positions and proceedings as between Lord John Russell, in 1853–5, and my loved and honoured friend Lord Aberdeen. But I am impatient of dwelling upon these reservations. It is enough or more than enough to have recorded them. The choice of Mr. Walpole for his arduous task was evidently a wise one. The two volumes, within which the biography has been modestly compressed, will undoubtedly enhance his high reputation as an historical writer. He would himself, I am certain, be the first to recognise that honour, even more than labour, was laid upon him, when he was chosen to mark out and to secure in permanence, for the name and memory of Lord John Russell, its proper and exalted place in the temple of public gratitude and veneration.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

OURSELVES AND OUR FOREMOTHERS

'THERE has been a great deal of debate and much shedding of ink in the learned world for some time past, respecting the rank that women ought to hold in the scale of creation. Some sour old bachelors have thought with Sir Anthony Absolute in the play, that women may be taught their letters, but should never learn their mischievous combinations; others, of a softer mould, have in a manner depressed while they exalted them, by bursting forth into rapturous eulogiums on their amiable virtues, which they would at the same time confine to the kitchen and nursery; while a third sort, with more liberality than the one and more boldness than the other, have contended that literature alone exalts the female character, and that every step a woman mounts in the ladder of learning makes her more eminent in excellence.'

The above is not an extract from to-day's newspaper, but from the *European Magazine* of the year 1800; yet it seems equally applicable ninety years later. The learned world is still much exercised by the question whether women should be heroines or mothers of heroes, or whether both *rôles* are compatible; and the only point on which all appear to agree is, that, for good or for evil, women are very different from their foremothers. It would be strange, indeed, if, while the male half of creation is always beating record physically and scientifically (to say morally and artistically would be to introduce argument), the female half were to behave as birds are accused of doing, who build their nests exactly as their predecessors did when they issued from the ark. Does it, however, follow, because women have tried, sometimes wisely, sometimes foolishly, to adapt themselves to altered conditions, that they have essentially changed their natures? Is it really a fact that the duties and studies which so many of them undertake were quite unknown to their grandmothers? Have they actually deteriorated physically and unfitted themselves for maternal duties by the lives which they now lead? And is it quite just to assume that, as is very commonly taken for granted, when a woman attempts anything which is more ordinarily done by men she therefore desires to emulate or rival man? Is it not conceivable that she may sometimes like the

work or sport for its own sake, without any thought of competition with the other sex? Imitation is doubtless the sincerest form of flattery, but all women are not always thinking of flattering men. Nor do men seem ever to have appreciated this special kind of adulation. 'Philander' sang so long ago as 1802—

Since to handle the reins,
Hunt and shoot, you take pains,
And act, my dear girl, so uncommon;
I can't *love you*, I swear,
For your words, look, and air,
Make me think you a *man*—not a *woman*.

Despite this threat, we find a curious instance of Amazonian behaviour two years later. On the 25th of August, 1804, at the York raceground, Mrs. Thornton, the wife of Colonel Thornton of Thornville Royal, rode a match of four miles against Mr. Flint, for 500 guineas each. It was estimated that 100,000 spectators were present when Colonel Thornton led his wife's horse on to the ground about four o'clock in the afternoon. The lady took the lead in good style for over three miles, but her horse was seen to have much the shorter stride of the two, and within a mile of home Mr. Flint pushed forward, went ahead, and won easily. The race was run in nine minutes and fifty-nine seconds. Mrs. Thornton showed herself a very woman after all, for instead of accepting her defeat she addressed an indignant letter to the editor of the *York Herald*, complaining of the want of courtesy with which she was treated by her antagonist, and particularly that when her horse broke down Mr. Flint 'distanced her as much as he possibly could.' In conclusion she challenged her opponent to repeat the match the following year.

Until the present time (comments a writer in the *Morning Chronicle*) the fair sex have made but small efforts—except in the way of dress—to assume the likeness of ours. The farthest they have yet gone is to *beat* the tambour instead of *working* on it; or at most to halloo and sweat after the hounds, or drive their beaux four-in-hand through the streets. Now, what is that to the labours of Newmarket?

It would be easy, by taking the poetry, novels, memoirs, and newspapers, from the days of Spenser's Britomart downwards, to produce an ancestral pendant to almost if not quite every performance of women in the present day. Perhaps their political exertions have excited the greatest animadversion of late. Only the other day a lady—a Conservative, be it said—declared these to be the direct result of the incarnation of the Evil One in the Primrose League! How truly dreadful! The dame presidents and lady secretaries of Habitations have hitherto imagined their entertainments to be comparatively innocent ways of associating with and amusing their neighbours of the middle and lower classes. They can no longer deceive themselves and others. This lady and Sir Robert Peel have thrown a lurid light upon the subject. Henceforth these festivities

must be condemned as Walpurgis Night revels, in which Mephistopheles meets the 'witches.'

It is nevertheless doubtful whether female political animosity ever raged higher than in the days of Queen Anne, when ladies wore their patches according to their party preferences. The Whig ladies patched on the right side of their faces, the Tories on the left, while those who were neutral decorated both sides impartially. It has even been asserted that a lady inserted in her marriage settlements that, whatever might be her husband's politics, she was to be at liberty to patch as she pleased. Not to multiply instances, the ladies took such an eager part in the excitement attendant on the arrest and release of Sir Francis Burdett early in this century, that a writer in the *Morning Post* satirises their conduct by describing an imaginary meeting in which the ladies make speeches, claim the franchise, and propose the health of one of their number as 'the female orator of the British Forum and the future electress of Westminster.'

It is open to question whether even organised political action is not a safer vent for energies which will expend themselves somewhere than the high card-playing and presidence at E.O. tables (a kind of roulette) which occupied so much of women's time in the days of the Georges. Many ladies in good society kept something very little short of private gaming-houses; and if we cannot safely accuse the hostesses themselves of actual unfair play, it would be too much to assert that such never took place at their assemblies. Playing-cards were in such constant demand that ladies used to write their messages and invitations, or their names and addresses, on those which had been employed in their houses; till at length it occurred to some brilliant genius that plain cards without pips would be more convenient for these purposes. Later on we learn that supplying playing-cards to the guests in a house, at a large percentage, was a regular perquisite of the servants, and Hannah More remonstrates with considerable reason against this custom as demoralising and inhospitable. As she says, what would be thought of a house in which the butler was allowed to provide the wine in return for a heavy fee demanded of the visitors?'

The opinion of Lady Catherine Milnes Gaskell, as amusingly expressed in a late number of this Review, seems to be that, whereas ladies are required to do, and do perfectly, all that their grandmothers did or did not do, they are never to expect the time wherein to acquire the necessary talents. In fact, like Athênê, they are to spring ready-armed from the head of Zeus. The inevitable reflection on reading that 'strange and new requirements have been added to the old code' is, Who has added them? Does any human being really expect any other to be, at one and the same time, a finished artist, an accomplished musician, an untiring athlete, an

attentive mother, a sympathetic wife, a profound philosopher, an acute politician, a thorough housekeeper, a charming hostess, a scientific horticulturist, a convincing orator, a discriminating philanthropist, a perfect linguist, a brilliant conversationalist, an agreeable writer, and a judicious theologian? And all this without an occasional half-hour of secure repose in which to make good the mental or bodily wear and tear. If not—if a woman is at liberty to pick and choose amongst these multifarious vocations and need only fulfil whichever she adopts duly and gracefully—the demand upon her resolves itself into little more than the trite saying, 'What is worth doing is worth doing well.'

One cannot but feel that the typical Lady Fanny Cleremont, though a very amiable, was a somewhat incapable person. The amount of work which she got through in the morning might have been easily compressed into an hour and a half (leaving ample time for Herbert Spencer and the sprouting soul) if she had not allowed herself to be interrupted at all sorts of odd minutes, and had not forgotten the truffles and fish, which she really might have recollected.

A great many women, and men too, would be the better for remembering to 'do justice' before they 'love mercy' or anything else. Very few of those who have not to earn their own living are actually *required* to do more than they can reasonably accomplish with a little attention to the distribution of their time. If they plunge into works of supererogation it is their own fault, and the tendency might be guarded against in a girl's education by the simple recommendation, 'Do your own duty before undertaking anybody else's.' If a woman feels inspired to write or to speak let her do so, or if she finds pleasure in some artistic or charitable occupation by all means let her pursue it; but she should hardly then invoke the human race to pity her for bearing a burden which is entirely self-imposed.

There is a good deal of truth in the comparison of woman's life to an interrupted sentence. One who, not herself a breadwinner, is in any way responsible for the management of a household, must be ready to be appealed to in emergencies, and cannot seclude herself for long without the risk of things going wrong; but she surely has some compensation in the avoidance of the monotonous routine to which others are condemned, and this piecemeal existence, offering as it does a constant kaleidoscope of small interests, probably endows women with that quickness of perception and promptitude of decision on which they are so apt to pride themselves. Why say that 'George Eliots' are destroyed by the load of conventional life, when George Eliot herself made a point of the exact fulfilment of her household duties, and when Miss Edgeworth wrote many of her delightful stories in the common sitting-room of a large family, surrounded by the familiar hum of daily life?

This wail of the overworked woman of the world is not after all a novel one. Pendennis was its mouthpiece forty years ago.

She goes into the world (he says) every night and sits watching her marriageable daughters dancing till long after dawn. She has a nursery of little ones, very likely, at home, to whom she administers example and affection; having an eye likewise to bread-and-milk, catechism, music and French, and roast leg of mutton at one o'clock; she has to call upon ladies of her own station, either domestically or in her public character, in which she sits upon charity committees, or ball committees, or emigration committees, or Queen's College committees, and discharges I don't know what more duties of British stateswomanship. She very likely keeps a poor-visiting list; has conversations with the clergyman about soup or flannel, or proper religious teachings for the parish; and, if she lives in certain districts, probably attends early church. She has the newspapers to read, and it is a fact that she reads every new book that comes out, for she can talk, and very smartly and well, about them all. She has the cares of her household besides: to make both ends meet, to keep upper and lower servants from jangling with one another, and the household in order. Add to this, that she has a secret taste for some art or science—models in clay, makes experiments in chemistry, or plays in private on the violoncello.

The only practical result of any comparison between what women did in years gone by and what they do now, can be in the answer to the question, Has the female portion of mankind fallen below the physical and moral standard which was formerly attained, and which therefore we may reasonably be expected to reach to-day? If we have so fallen, our advisers and moralists are quite right to point out to us the error of our ways, and to hold up the brilliant examples of ancient date for our instruction. If not, if 'the past has only won a glory from its being far, and orbed into the perfect star men saw not when they dwelt therein,' it might be better to take women as we find them, and to see what direction they can follow in order to attain to better things in future. It would be difficult indeed to prove that women have degenerated physically. If there be any such degeneration, it is more apparent among girls of the lower than among those of the upper classes, though the latter, and their mothers, are the chief sinners in pursuit of excitement and in multiplicity of occupation. It is a common complaint that women-servants cannot work as they used to do. It is quite likely, though impossible to prove, that more is demanded of them nowadays. Far more furniture and linen is in general use than formerly; baths and cups of tea are multiplied; and few people realise how much time is consumed, and how much running about is entailed, by the provision of these and other little household comforts. Granting, however, as beside the present question, that village girls are not so sturdy as they used to be, is it possible for any one with the most elementary powers and opportunities of observation to deny that the majority of girls 'in society' are not only as strong as their predecessors of, say, thirty years ago, but that they are finer and taller than these were, and possess a greater air of health and vitality? The change in the lives of women is probably

far greater in the physical than in any other direction. Take one trivial example. It is true that lines were addressed to ladies 'skating at Stanmore Priory' so long ago as 1804, but that this pastime was commonly monopolised by men till much later we may learn from the skating scene in 'Pickwick.' The young lady with fur round her boots, and her charming companions, stand shivering on the brink of the pond, and never think of assuming the skates of which Mr. Winkle is so sternly deprived. To have possessed any boots at all must have been a considerable advance on the practice of earlier days; as both the text and the illustrations of old novels represent the heroines as walking about the country in thin shoes. Miss Edgeworth's Angelina, in *L'Amie Inconnue*, wanders on the Welsh mountains in slippers 'of the thinnest kid leather,' and we are not surprised to learn that, when she lost her way, one fell off and the other was cut through by the stones. Archery and riding were the more ordinary out-of-door amusements of women; and though the bolder spirits, as we have seen, did what they could to encroach on what were commonly considered masculine pursuits, their dress and other causes must have hampered them considerably.

It should be remembered that open-air games of all descriptions demanding personal exertion were by no means so universal amongst men during the half-century prior to our Queen's accession as they are now, and the line between town and country life was much more sharply drawn. The London fine gentlemen could have taken but little share in rustic sports, and the hard-riding, hard-drinking country squire preferred a cock-fight or a bull-baiting to any milder entertainment, and was, in any case, not quite the person to join in the games of young ladies. Streets and country lanes were alike ill-kept and unsafe, and hardly attractive for long and unprotected walks; while foreign lands, with their mountain scrambles and other inducements to exertion, were in most cases inaccessible. It is not the women who have developed strange fancies; but dress, companions, and means of locomotion give to the many chances of healthy exercise and of seeing the world which were once denied to all but a few. Of course some women will exaggerate and overdo the amount of exercise good for them, just as some men have done. If a lady insists on 'tramping through turnips' till she is exhausted, or on ascending the Matterhorn, she may or may not be wise. There is no reason to take three or four women who knock themselves up as awful warnings to the whole female sex, and to therefore deprive girls in general of the rational bodily training now mercifully substituted for the stocks and backboards of bygone years.

Much the same may be said of social and political life. Unless women are treated after the fashion of Oriental countries, they cannot avoid taking an interest and a share in what goes on around them. Even in the East, women have contrived not only to mix in state

intrigues, but to rule territories and lead armies in person; and though, when they have attained influential positions, their native intelligence has stood them in good stead, yet the want of education and of knowledge of the world consequent on their prior seclusion has too often proved detrimental to themselves and to those depending on them.* The whole crux is, where are you to draw the line? You cannot draw a hard-and-fast one. The position of women must to a great extent be a matter of sentiment and expediency. Most people have an idea of what they think 'becoming' to a woman, but what they think becoming differs enormously. A foreigner, after making the very commonplace remark that, though he believed in nothing himself, he liked his wife to be religious, said that even as regards outward appearance this was the right state of things: a man kneeling looked ridiculous, but the position suited a woman's figure and the folds of her dress. He did not perceive the absurdity of either depriving a man of a spiritual necessity or forcing a woman into a meaningless attitude; but the feeling that a woman had better pursue, or refrain from, a certain occupation according to the gracefulness or otherwise of the action which it entails, is tolerably universal, and not altogether unreasonable. It could hardly, however, be accepted as an unfailing criterion; and, if it were, who is to be the arbiter of her appearance on any given occasion? Some people think a woman out of place in a hunting-field; others have no objection to her following the chase on horseback, but cannot stand her walking with a gun. Some vow that the fate of England is sealed when a woman addresses an audience; others do not mind so long as it is for a charitable purpose, but their hopes for posterity are wrecked if she touches on a political question. Men have been known to declare that a knowledge of Greek destroys all social charm in a woman; while many do not object to any academical study, but give up a lady doctor as an unsexed enormity.

Might it be suggested, with all diffidence, that the individual woman, and not her special pursuit or accomplishment, is the important consideration? Would it be too old-fashioned to go back to the story of Creation, and read that the woman was made as a help meet for man? As men are very diverse, need their mothers and sisters and wives be cut all on the same pattern? If a girl is brought up as sound in body as possible, with a sense of duty and honour, and with such an amount of instruction, both from books and from her surroundings, as is suited to her capacity and to her probable sphere in life, surely she ought, when launched into the world, to be able to judge for herself in what way she will be best able to be a 'help meet:' either to some particular man or to mankind in general. A man may need a wife essentially to look after his home and children, in which case this will undoubtedly be her first duty, and any other pursuit which she may adopt for her own pleasure or satisfaction

must be secondary to its perfect fulfilment. There are men, on the other hand, who distinctly wish their wives to take an active part in their public or other avocations, and if a wife is really capable should she refuse to do so? Of course this does not mean that she should neglect her family or her household duties, but that she is not only justified in giving, but bound to render, her husband all the assistance in her power, within the limits imposed by regard for health, the demands of her home, and her own sense of what is fitting.

Many, however, do not marry, and of them also it may be said that it is not so much what they do, as why and how they do it, that imports to the future of womanhood. If a girl is needed at home it is assuredly well that she should stay there and do her very best for those who want her care. But if she would be merely a burden on parents or kindred already overweighted she feels naturally impelled to use her abilities and to earn her living in any way compatible with her self-respect. Fortunately her right to do this is now almost everywhere acknowledged, and the better system introduced into the education of girls is increasing their chances of success.

With all their faults it must be confessed that many women in our day do honestly endeavour to fulfil the highest ideal. Many worthily respond to that 'call' which Hannah More addressed to their ancestresses ninety years ago. 'I would call on them,' she says, 'to come forward and contribute their full and fair proportion towards the saving of their country. But I would call on them to come forward without departing from the refinement of their character, without derogating from the dignity of their rank, without blemishing the delicacy of their sex; I would call them to the best and most appropriate exertion in their power, to raise the depressed tone of public morals, and to awaken the drowsy spirit of religious principle. They know too well how arbitrarily they give the law to manners, and with how despotic a sway they fix the standard of fashion. But this is not enough: this is a low mark, a prize not worthy of their high and holy calling. For, on the use which women of the superior class may now be disposed to make of that power delegated to them by the courtesy of custom, by the honest gallantry of the heart, by the imperious control of the virtuous affections, by the habits of civilised states, by the usages of polished society,—on the use, I say, which they shall hereafter make of this influence will depend, in no low degree, the well-being of those states, and the virtue and happiness, nay, perhaps the very existence, of that society.' There are no doubt women who fritter away their lives in an endless round of pleasure, in vain self-indulgence, or in futile attempts at notoriety. There always were and probably always will be such women; and as they are generally the noisiest of their sex, it is easy enough to pick them out, to satirise their follies, and to hold them up to reprobation as types of a de-

generate age. It is not so easy to draw a picture which would excite either interest or amusement of the countless English girls who, however fond of innocent pleasure and keen for variety, try hard to improve themselves and to be a comfort and blessing to their neighbours; or of the English wives and mothers who in their own homes, and beyond their own homes, are as industrious, as wise, as patient, and as helpful as any who have gone before them.

It is said that faith is dying out of the land, that even women discuss where they once believed, and that, unless the 'worship of humanity' and the 'service of man' prove efficient substitutes for the ancient creed, we shall be left rudderless on the stormy seas of life. The old accusation against women of the world was not that they did not believe, but that they did not care, that they either altogether ignored serious matters or made a joke of them, and that, since religion was unfashionable, they endeavoured to banish from their drawing-rooms every reference to such a topic. Perhaps that wave of indifference was, for women as for men, succeeded by a wave of earnest belief; perchance the tide is falling once more, and women, like men, are asking of themselves a reason for the faith that is in them. None the less, that wave has left behind in many hearts higher hopes, purer aims, and a deeper sense of the responsibility of men and women alike towards fellow-men; and in so far as they cherish those aspirations and acknowledge that responsibility, so surely will the next returning flood bear them over the quicksands of perplexity, across the shallows of doubt, and beyond the storms of conflicting creeds, to place them on the rock whence they shall more clearly behold, and where they shall be enabled more joyfully to fulfil, the purpose of their being.

M. E. Jersey.

THE DECLINE OF RESERVE AMONG WOMEN.

THERE must always of necessity be changes going on in the social as well as in every other aspect of life, and though not to expect such changes, and not to try more or less to adapt ourselves to them, would be short-sighted and foolish, still, I think it cannot be denied that the change which has taken place in the social life of women during the last few years has come with giant strides, and is one which may be justly viewed by some with feelings of alarm.

One of the many and various causes of this change in manners and customs among women of the upper classes must be, I conceive, the disappearance of what may perhaps be best described as the habit of reserve.

It often strikes one that the pendulum of the big clock of time seems to swing to and fro with each succeeding generation, and that often what is approved of or condemned by one is treated in exactly the contrary way by the next. And this theory appears to hold good in the present case, for in the last generation, probably more than in the one immediately preceding it, a habit of reserve in all things was instilled into the minds of the young as an almost religious doctrine, and was practised by both parents and children to an extent which can hardly now be realised. We who can look back twenty or thirty years can remember how we were taught, both by example and precept, that our thoughts and feelings were not intended to be dissected for the benefit of others, and indeed were hardly allowed to be admitted to examination by ourselves. Some may even complain that this hard principle of smothering one's sentiments and one's aspirations in the depths of one's own breast chilled all the latent warmth of a young and ardent spirit, and dwarfed the natural growth of an upward striving mind. And certainly this may have been so; and when we look back upon the results of this habit of reserve from a new point of view, we cannot but see that, carried to so great a pitch, it must inevitably have rendered the development of such invaluable qualities as charity and sympathy almost impossible.

Its exaggeration certainly had an evil side, but its total disappearance may have even a worse. In any age the strain of such

personal and general reserve would become unbearable. There would always be found men and women to break loose from its bonds and to flash forth their opinions and arguments, thus relieving not only their own feelings, but the feelings also of those who, too timid to take such an extraordinary initiative, or too well brought up to think it right to do so, would still rejoice in their rebellious hearts at the bursting of the ice-blocked rivers of silence and the overflow of the pent-up waters of dissatisfaction. However, in the age which we are considering, these bold adventurers were but few and far between, and moreover were marked down as oddities, and their conduct deemed reprehensible by the majority of those who formed the society of those days.

In literature, as it appeared, even men were not anxious to throw themselves into discussions. The articles written then, so few in comparison with the enormous number of our day, were unsigned and unknown, and authors were thus spared the possibility of having to stand up in a combat which would necessitate a baring of the breast and an exposure of front to the adversary and the world.

The fashion of the day was to remain obscure. Again—and here the reaction is still more noticeable—the custom of analysing things and people, since grown into such stupendous dimensions, was comparatively unknown.

Things rather than people were talked and written about, and the Ninth Commandment was probably less often broken then than now. Among poets, Byron indeed, perhaps the greatest of self-analysts, Shelley, and some others, had already introduced into England a school, the fashion of which was a morbid self-abandonment to public gaze; and in France also, Rousseau had done his demoralising work; but after their time there must have been a reaction of feeling against these analytical productions, for in 1842 that master in the art of analysis Henri Beyle, who had written under the *nom de plume* of 'Stendhal' and lived unrecognised and unknown, died saying, 'I shall be understood in forty years.' He lived either too late or before his time; and it is only now that his works are read and admired, and to-day France places them in the front rank and brackets his name with that of Pascal. However, the fashion that belonged to a school 100 years ago, and that was condemned fifty years ago, has again become the fashion of our day, and is being followed by almost every man, woman, and child in the societies of both France and England. Analysis of character is the favourite passion of the age, that of others as well as that of self. It has followed quickly in those footsteps which were cut out of the solid snow-hill of reserve, and along the path trodden till now so rarely and by so few the multitudes are pouring headlong. We are overwhelmed with an avalanche of the scraps and shreds into which have been torn the feelings and desires, the speculations and calculations, the beliefs and doubts,

the hopes and fears, the contemplations and realisations of each and every one in turn. No one is spared; and soul-searching and soul-pulling form the chief subject of conversation among even the comparative strangers who meet across a dinner-table or in a country house.

Again, the privacy of life, once so greatly prized, is now almost abolished. We may see an example of this in the difference between the custom that existed in former days and that which is adopted now by men building houses unto themselves. In times gone by no dwelling-place was considered complete until it had been planted round with trees and shrubs, and the exclusive-minded inhabitant was not happy until he had shut himself off from the gaze of the passers-by. But now, what was planted by our fathers with so much care and intention is being hewn down and opened out, and our lives are thought to borrow more interest from the fact that they are thrown open to light and criticism.

As in the outward, so also is it with the inward life. How few there are in this generation who care to read and think alone, or to rest content with the intercourse of one single selected friendship! In fact, to understand a subject at all, it is considered essential to thrash it out with everyone one meets, pouring out in so doing all the inner passion of one's being, and soliciting and expecting the pouring out of everyone else's in return. Thus the inward life is thrown open to public inspection, and, as I have said, the hedges of reserve planted round us by our fathers are being rashly hewn down and cast away.

Indeed, it may almost be said that in these days there is no longer any inward life; for it is so turned inside out for all who care to see, that not only is there nothing kept private between man and man, but hardly is anything allowed to remain sacred between man and his Creator. Moreover—and this is important—in order to keep touch with the exaggerated forms of sentiment so prevalent in society, we shall no longer be satisfied with our old commonplace notions, but must substitute for them high-flown and sensational ones; and our opinions and judgments, which were ever held as a most sacred trust, will become shaken and altered, and will be in danger at last of having to give way altogether before the advance of 'modern requirements.'

We must not be behindhand in the race for popularity, and at this moment social success depends not so much upon whether the opinions we advance are true and reliable, as whether they are popular and easy.

This, it must be remembered, is not an age of convictions, it is an age of unbeliefs, and the very fact that we are able to discuss our convictions promiscuously and airily with a stranger proves that they cannot be profound.

Yet, some may say, a conviction can only be formed by analysing a doubt; perhaps; but surely the first thing necessary in order to arrive at a just conclusion is that the doubt should be an honest one; and the second, that the conviction should be calmly and deliberately arrived at. And will anyone contend that either an honest investigation or a deliberate judgment can be evolved out of random conversation? No; a real, true, genuine conviction is far too sacred a thing to play at words with, and the habit of doing so will never either strengthen a weak one or produce one that is sincere.

'Every excess causes a defect,' says Emerson; and, as all reactions have a tendency to exaggeration, they are apt from want of restraint to become fatal to the issues concerned, and the reaction which we are now considering forms no exception to the rule. The breakdown of what had become far too hard a wall of reserve, causing, no doubt, narrowness of thought and action, checking imagination and impulse, and preventing much good being done in every direction, may nevertheless, if not modified and controlled, lead to many regrettable results; though, with a just judgment and a right balance, the present reign of freedom might become a far greater power for good than was ever possible under the contrary system. Whether the stone which, once set rolling, so seldom stops half-way down the hill, can yet be intercepted in its downward career is doubtful, but the bystander who sees the danger it threatens should surely warn those who may be calmly sleeping under the precipice from which it was hurled.

This danger, as it appears to me, is a terribly subtle one, and proportionately difficult to guard against; and, while acknowledging to the full the unrivalled charm of a free give and take of everything that is best intellectually and spiritually, I cannot help perceiving that the constant and general habit of such intercourse is not calculated to increase but rather to decrease its immense value, and that, for reasons already touched upon, such a habit is leading to a strained form of sentiment at once unreal and unhealthy.

The desire to be liked and admired is in itself probably not one we can blame; but if, in order to succeed, we must cast off any particle of our truer and better nature, or make our standard in any way a lower or less noble one, we shall kill the very qualities which we fancy we are encouraging. The flaw in the system of reserve was that no one could know or appreciate the joys and sorrows of his fellow-creatures, and the complete shutting up of self prevented the possibility of either obtaining any influence over or deriving any benefit from others. In these days of freedom of speech and action there can be no fear of a want of knowledge or sympathy with our fellow-men, but there is a danger that the knowledge may not be a true one, and that the sympathy may be forced, unreal, and useless; again, there is no stint of an expression of opinion or of a formation of

judgment, but there is a danger that the opinion may become a compromise and the judgment may become a surrender. Moreover, whether advantageously or not, there is no doubt that with this freedom has come much and constant rivalry in the desire to attract the greatest possible amount of admiration and notice, not only in private life, but by entering as competitors in the, to some, more tempting lists of public warfare. A few years ago it seemed suddenly to dawn upon the world which forms Society that women were leading too secluded or too humble a life, and that it was urgent upon those who had time or talent that they should do what they could to assist those who were in need of care or help. Numerous leagues and guilds, philanthropical and political, were formed, to one or more of which every woman soon belonged, and while the success of the movement in the philanthropical direction has been fully recognised, the more doubtful results of the political have yet to be finally pronounced upon.

In considering the former, we find that ladies who once would have thought that any work which necessitated their meeting the lower classes upon terms of intimacy and equality would be quite impossible now acknowledge the immense advantage to be derived from so doing; and the many hundred ways in which work among the poor is being carried on is an abundant proof that the movement was not, as might have been feared, a mere passing fashion. The visiting of hospitals and infirmaries, girls and boys' clubs, and classes of all kinds, factory readings, mothers' meetings, these and many similar occupations, which were until a few years ago almost unknown, have been, and still are, increasing rapidly, and benefiting not only those into whose lives are brought love, sympathy, and brightness, but those also who, while sharing with their less fortunate sisters their greater wealth of God's gifts, are ever receiving them back increased a hundred-fold.

It has, I think, been fairly proved that the success of any kind of so-called good work depends upon the possession of and the power also of giving out an unreserved sympathy and an unbounded love; and this can only be possible in an age in which the restraint of formality and shyness is overcome, and in which, therefore, it is the custom to be entirely at one's ease. This must be so; and, moreover, it is possible in this case because there is here no danger of our being misunderstood or misinterpreted, for we are dealing with an aspect of life in which there is no time nor place for false or sickly sentiment.

But there are other and more doubtful characteristics belonging to the new fashion of work being undertaken by women; and although it would be out of place here to discuss whether, in any of the various positions into which they are now forcing themselves, more harm than good may not result, still it is only fair to point out

that the changes in this respect also are to be attributed to and form part of the same reaction.

Thus, how many women till lately, however talented and well-educated they were, ever dreamt of openly writing in reviews and newspapers? To do so would probably have been considered a few years ago a breach of feminine etiquette; whereas in the army of modern scribblers for the hosts of ever-multiplying periodicals the petticoats are thronging the ranks. And again: where in the history of the past can one recall the spectacle of women standing upon a public platform and addressing a public assembly? and now they claim an equal right with the men to be there.

These and other like innovations, which in so short a time have assumed such immense proportions, 'give one to think;' and we must be excused who do not appreciate and care not to give way to this clamour for absolute equality with men. In this respect the good old times were better, far better than the new.

In each succeeding age, I take it, we do well to make the very most of all that is being produced by it for good, and none the less is it unwise and wrong to adopt or to further the progress of any novelty leading to doubtful results.

As far as public life is concerned, I confess I should infinitely prefer that women's assistance, however useful, should be for ever dispensed with, sooner than that by their admission to a share of what has hitherto belonged exclusively to men our women should lose one fraction of the nobility of their sex, or should become one jot less mindful of those womanly virtues which are the glory of a civilised country.

Let not the subtle influence of ambition blind our eyes to the main fact. Woman's position in a Christian country has been, and always should be, a splendid one, if she will only fill it worthily and not grasp at what by nature she was never intended to possess. By abusing that position she will inevitably lose the fine touch with which in days gone by she guided the footsteps of her sons; and she will become, by an inexorable law not made by man, blunted by enforced connection with the coarser things of life, and degraded by constant familiarity with them. 'Pure religion and undefiled is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.'

A crisis appears to have arisen, and it is not a time when any are hiding their lights under a bushel. Every trace of a possible evil resulting from too distant or too cautious a manner towards others has gone by for the present, and the old question of non-interference with one's neighbour is at this moment certainly not likely to trouble any.

But in spite of the multiplicity of modern requirements, the heat of competition, the glamour of publicity, it may be found possible,

while giving willingly the very best we have of honest convictions, true judgments, and noble aspirations, to cherish still that power of reserve which shall rule our conduct and guide our intercourse with others.

For if we wantonly destroy this great and splendid gift, we shall find ourselves ere long in the quicksands of licence which we mistook in our waywardness for the rocks of freedom.

KATIE COWPER.

THE FUTURE OF THE CITY CHARITIES.

It is said that a City rector was one day accosted by a well-dressed lady who claimed his acquaintance on the ground that she was the 'resident poor' of his parish: The story well illustrates the condition of the City parochial charities. They are a survival from the days when the City of London was an inhabited town of rich[1] and poor, and not merely a vast market and exchange, left at night in the charge of a few caretakers. It was but natural that when money was made rapidly it should be dispensed bountifully; and the citizens of London seem never to have failed in a certain (perhaps rather pompous) form of almsgiving. In particular they were in the habit of bequeathing for the benefit of their poorer brethren property which they had acquired in the City. Money was dear in those days, and rents were low. A house or garden would perhaps yield the parish an annual income of 20*l.* or 30*l.*, enough to give a few poor men and women a suit of clothes at Christmas or a loaf every Sunday. Then came changes. Space became too valuable for residence. As leases fell in, courts and alleys were abolished, and stacks of warehouses and offices took their place. The modest property left to the parish became a small mine of wealth, while the poor of the parish disappeared. Thirty years ago the funds of the charities had become altogether disproportionate to their objects. But in 1861 the City still held 113,000 inhabitants. In the next twenty years the numbers sank to 50,000, while the income of the charities increased till it reached the princely figures of 100,000*l.* a year. Under such circumstances there was absolutely nothing to be done with the money but to make everyone connected with the church and the parish, from the rector to the beadle and the organ-blower, exceedingly comfortable, and to maintain a few agreeable residents, such as the lady who interviewed her rector.

From time to time attention was called to this great waste of public money. Reports upon the charities of the several parishes were made by Mr. Hare, who in 1860 pointed out that, owing to the radical changes which had taken place in the character of the City, measures of a far more drastic kind than any yet sanctioned with

[1] So recently as the reign of Charles II one or two noblemen still lived in the City.

respect to charitable endowments were necessary to make these valuable possessions of any real utility. In 1878 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the nature, endowments, and objects of the charities, and to report to what purposes their property and income should in the future be devoted. This commission, consisting of the Duke of Northumberland, Canon Gregory, Prebendary Rogers (Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate), Lord Herschell, Mr. George Cubitt, Mr. Albert Pell, and Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs, made their report in 1880. As to the actual state of things the general result of their inquiries may be summed up in a few sentences: 'As the investigation proceeded,' they say, 'the great and fundamental changes which have completely altered the aspect and condition of the City parishes, and which are still in progress, were prominently brought into light. Nearly one-half of these parishes, each one containing a dense industrial and trading population, whose religious and social institutions and feelings identified it with the locality, are now without inhabitants other than a few clerks and caretakers in charge of the great commercial buildings and warehouses, to make room for which the dwellings of the earlier population have been removed; for the same reason the churches erected by the piety of former ages are now in many instances almost, if not altogether, without congregations. The whole area of one parish is stated to have been absorbed by the Bank of England, and about three-fourths of another by the General Post Office. Yet in all these parishes parochial machinery is still kept up, and in many large sums are spent on charitable gifts and doles, as well as for church purposes, including choir, organist, &c.

'Contemporaneously with these changes an immense increase in the value of property has taken place, including that from which the funds of the charities forming the subject of our investigation are derived; the receipts from many of the estates having within the last few years doubled and even trebled in amount.'

To put an end to so unprofitable a state of things the commission recommended (1), the appointment of a temporary small Commission of Inquiry, to ascertain with precision the particulars of the charity funds, and to classify them with reference to their uses, whether ecclesiastical or eleemosynary, and (2), the constitution of a permanent representative Board of Management, clothed with the duty of framing schemes for the future application of the charitable funds for the benefit of London. Upon the relations of this Board to the Charity Commission opinions were not unanimous. Lord Herschell and Mr. Pell proposed that the Board should be accountable to the Home Secretary alone; but the majority of the Commission recommended that all schemes should be submitted to the Charity Commissioners, who should have an opportunity of disapproving within a fixed time, subject, however, to an appeal to the Home Secretary.

Thus the Charity Commissioners would be in the position, not of initiating, but of criticising, the arrangements for the utilisation of the charity funds. The views of the Commission on this point are of interest in connection with subsequent events.

To give effect to this report Mr. Bryce introduced a Bill. Long and stout was the opposition on the part of vested interests. The Bill made little progress until 1883, when it was referred to a select committee, over which Mr. Shaw-Lefevre presided. In the discussions which ensued the trustees of the City charities took an active part, and managed to spend in costs between three and four thousand pounds. But the party of reform triumphed, and with some modifications the Bill at length became law, under the title of the City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883.

By this measure the Charity Commissioners (temporarily reinforced for the purpose) were directed to undertake the work of inquiry and classification which the Duke of Northumberland's Commission proposed to delegate to a temporary body.

To the Charity Commission was also given the task of setting that machinery in motion which is to determine the future application of the charity funds, but they were not, as we shall see, to supersede that permanent Board of Management which the Northumberland Commission had recommended, and which the Act constituted, though on a somewhat different basis. After ascertaining and classifying the property of the charities, the Charity Commissioners were directed to frame schemes for its future application and management. Vested interests and existing personal claims were to be satisfied. The property belonging to five parishes on the outskirts of the City,[2] in which there were still at the passing of the Act a few thousand residents, was to be applied in a liberal spirit for the benefit of persons living or employed in these parishes. The income of the ecclesiastical property of the other parishes (104 in number) was, after local claims had been satisfied, to be paid to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for use in the more populous districts of London, that is, of that vast area generally known as the Greater London of the Registrar-General.[3] The general property of the same parishes was, after like satisfaction of local claims, to be devoted within the same large district to any one or more of certain specified objects, thus described in the Act:—

> The promoting the education of the poorer inhabitants of the metropolis, whether by means of exhibitions of of technical instruction, or of secondary education, or of art education, or evening lectures, or otherwise.
>
> The establishment and maintenance of libraries, or museums, or art collections.

[2] St. Botolph, Aldgate, St Botolph, Bishopsgate, St. Giles, Cripplegate, St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. Bride, Fleet Street.

[3] The exact district defined by the Act is the Metropolitan Police District. This differs but very slightly from the London division of the Registrar-General.

The preserving, providing, and maintaining of open spaces and recreation-grounds or drill-grounds.

The promotion and extension of provident institutions and of working men's and women's institutes.

The establishment and maintenance of convalescent hospitals.

And generally the improving, by the above or by other means, the physical, social, and moral condition of the poorer inhabitants of the metropolis.

Although the initiative in the work of utilising the City Charities was thus entrusted to the Charity Commissioners, it was not intended to deprive London of all voice in the matter. The permanent Board of Management recommended by the Northumberland Commission was called into existence by the Act. This Board, to be called 'The Trustees of the London Parochial Charities,' was to consist of twenty-one members—five to be nominated by the Crown, four by the Corporation of London, and the remainder 'to be chosen in such manner or by such persons or bodies as the Commissioners should by scheme provide, regard being had to the interests of the various classes to be benefited by the charity property.' In determining the future of the City Charities the Board thus constituted was associated with the Commissioners. For the schemes to be framed under the Act were not necessarily to appropriate the charity funds to any particular object. On the contrary, these schemes might leave it to the Trustees to decide how they would use the funds consistently with the provisions of the Act.[4] In other words, it was left to the discretion of the Commissioners to decide to what extent they should themselves assume the function of determining the application of these large funds, and to what extent they should abdicate this function in favour of a body of a permanent and representative character. We shall see directly how the Commissioners have exercised this discretion.

All schemes when drafted by the Commissioners were to be published, and after the necessary interval for the consideration of objections and suggestions, were to be submitted to the Education Department. By this Department further opportunity for objection was to be given, and finally, in certain events, the schemes were to be laid before Parliament prior to confirmation by her Majesty. The Commissioners have now published the first drafts of their schemes, and it is the proper time to consider their effect.

The work of ascertaining precisely of what the charity property consisted, and what portions were devoted to ecclesiastical as opposed to general uses, was necessarily a work of time and labour. It was known that in the case of many of the charities no trust deed existed. That convenient catastrophe, the Great Fire, is generally

[4] If there were any doubt on this subject, we have the Commissioners' own interpretation of the Act, for they do in fact leave the now governing body to apply to any of the purposes of the Act the small residue remaining after the several objects specified by their schemes have been satisfied.

charged with consuming all documents which should be, but are not, forthcoming. Much property was held to the most general uses, such as the 'benefit of the parish and the inhabitants thereof,' and the relations of one charity with another were often far from simple. Some parishes boldly alleged that they owned property freed from any charitable trust whatever, property which they were at liberty to apply in payment of poor rates. It was not till the autumn of 1887 that the Commissioners published their classified statements of the property they had to deal with. The result confirmed previous impressions. London was in possession of an endowment of more than 118,000*l.* a year. Of this sum 26,000*l.* must for the present be placed in a category apart, that sum being the income of the five comparatively populous border parishes, applicable under the existing Act only for their benefit. The remaining revenue of 92,000*l.* is made up of 35,459*l.* applicable to ecclesiastical purposes, and 56,567*l.* applicable in providing education, open spaces, libraries or museums, or in satisfying any other want of the poor of Greater London. Two problems, therefore, were before the Commissioners: first, how to release as much as possible of the ecclesiastical revenue for the use of the Church of England in the populous parts of London; and secondly, how to confer the greatest benefits upon the Capital by aid of the noble revenue of 56,000*l.* a year.

Meantime matters had not stood quite still since the passing of the Act of 1883. In 1886 public attention was drawn to the necessity of acquiring the beautiful tract of land lying to the east of Hampstead Heath, and rising at its highest point to the eminence known as Parliament Hill. The need was urgent and money scarce; 300,000*l.* were required, and the Metropolitan Board were not prepared to throw more than a moderate portion of this sum upon the rates. Under these circumstances the Commissioners were directed (by the Hampstead Heath Extension Act, 1886) to apply to the purchase a sum not exceeding 50.000*l.* at the expense of the charity funds. The example thus set was soon followed. In the following Session like directions were given for the application of 47,500*l.* to the purchase of Clissold Park, Stoke Newington, and in 1888 12,500*l.* were, on certain conditions, appropriated to the Lawn, South Lambeth, a spot familiar to London as the residence of the late Mr. Fawcett, and 25,000*l.* to Raleigh Park, Brixton Hill. Thus the Commissioners were put under special directions with respect to a sum amounting in all to 135,000*l.*, a sum which at 4 per cent. represents, however, but 5,400*l.* of a gross revenue of 56,000*l.*

Several inferences were possible from these Parliamentary injunctions. A very natural inference would have been that the Legislature was disposed in the application of the charity funds to give the preference to the preservation of open spaces. This conclusion, we shall see, the Commissioners did not draw. Another possible inference

was that Parliament was inclined to encourage the immediate appropriation of the charity funds to specific objects. Upon this assumption —drawn, it may be thought, without due regard to the particular circumstances which necessitated prompt action for the purchase of the open spaces we have referred to, if they were to be saved at all— the Commissioners acted without hesitation. When the time came to consider how to make the general charity property most useful to London, the Commissioners were confronted with the preliminary question: shall we ourselves direct the application of these funds to specific objects, or shall we constitute a permanent board of administration, representative of London, and leave London to decide for itself how it would wish this handsome revenue to be used? This question the Commissioners have answered by appropriating to specific objects revenue to the extent of 47,000*l.*, and leaving at the free disposal of the new Board of Trustees a sum which, after payment of costs of management and certain pensions (which it will, for a time at least, be difficult to withhold), will barely exceed 4,000*l.* a year, and may not amount to so much. Of some such small residue the new board will be the dispensers, free to choose whether they will promote education, preserve open spaces, found museums, or otherwise benefit London in accordance with the principles of the Act. Of the bulk of the charity revenue they will be mere stewards, receiving rents and dividends with one hand, and paying them with the other as directed by the Commissioners' schemes.

That this is so may perhaps be best shown by throwing the general scheme of the Commissioners into the form of an account (as shown on the next page).

For some of the items in this account the Commissioners are scarcely responsible. The costs and expenses of carrying out the Act have inevitably run to a high figure, for the work was laborious and required skill and care. The sum of 150,000*l.* charged upon capital for the preservation of open spaces is mainly composed of the sums which Parliament directed to be so applied. The several payments to individuals, whether in respect of vested interests or in continuance of benefits actually, though not by legal right, enjoyed, were probably to a great extent unavoidable. So far the Commissioners could not well escape tying the hands of the new Board of Trustees. But the charges which are purely voluntary and which swell the total of appropriated income to the large figures we have given, are those of 155,500*l.* on capital and 27,500*l.* on income, for the establishment and maintenance of free libraries, polytechnics, and other educational institutions.

Now it is not necessary at the moment to consider the precise character of the institutions to be endowed. The preliminary question is, should the Commissioners have taken upon themselves to appropriate these large sums without giving London any voice in

				£	s.	d.
Aggregate income shown by the several Statements published by the Commissioners				56,567	0	0
Charges on capital imposed by the Commissioners' scheme:—	£	s.	d.			
For costs and expenses (Clause 5)	24,000	0	0			
For purchase of open spaces (Schedule II., Part I.)	150,000	0	0			
To establish free libraries and polytechnics (Schedule II., Part II.)	155,500	0	0			
To build central office for new governing body (Schedule II., Part III.)	6,000	0	0			
	335,500	0	0			
Interest on £335,500 at 4 per cent.				13,420	0	0
Balance of income				43,147	0	0
Payments out of income made compulsory on new governing body:—	£	s.	d.			
Compensation for vested interests or quasi-vested interests (Schedule IV., Part I.)	1,390	0	0			
Annual payments to institutes specified (Schedule V.)	22,550	0	0			
Annual payments to institutes hereafter to be specified by schemes of commissioners (Clause 44)	5,000	0	0			
Payments in continuance of benefits received from the City charities at the passing of the Act of 1883, and therefore practically obligatory:						
To individuals (Schedule IV., Part II.)	4,570	0	0			
To schools (Schedule V., Part II.)	100	0	0			
				33,610	0	0
Balance				9,537	0	0
Expenses of administration:—	£	s.	d.			
[Looking at the nature of the charity property, these will be heavy, and may probably be put at between 5 and 10 per cent. of the gross income] (say)	4,000	0	0			
Payments indicated for the consideration of the new governing body:—						
In continuance of pensions to inhabitants of City parishes, granted since January 1, 1884 (Clause 39 [c]) (not exceeding)	1,500	0	0			
In new pensions to inhabitants of City parishes (Clause 41) (not exceeding)	500	0	0			
				6,000	0	0
Ultimate balance at disposal of new governing body				3,537	0	0

the matter? One would have thought that the whole history of charities was a lesson against legislating for posterity. It is because the pious donors of old chose to specify the objects of their bounty with nice particularity that their gifts have become useless at the present day. The ways of one generation are not as those of another; nay, the needs of London change almost from decade to decade. Population flows from part to part, centres of trade change, habits vary. Nowhere is greater elasticity in the bands which confine benefactions required. This is no reason why money should not be used promptly and in large sums for the needs of the moment. But it is a reason why income should not be tied up indefinitely, and on terms which necessitate the alternative of a breach of trust or an Act of Parliament to bring about its release.

Even if to pledge future income to some extent were inevitable, such appropriation would come more fittingly from a body representative of London than from a Government department. No one would for a moment deny that the Charity Commissioners have been actuated by an earnest desire to benefit London, that they have had before them a scheme of noble proportions—that of supplying London with a system of polytechnics. But, after all, they have no guide to determine whether London desires such a system in preference to other benefits which may be conferred upon her by means of the City charities. Why should Government officials, in the recesses of a Government office, by the light of their own predilections, decide for London how an annual income of 50,000*l.* should be spent? The application of the charity funds in such fashion must depend upon something like chance. If the Charity Commissioners of the day (one might almost say the special commissioner appointed to administer this particular Act) have a personal enthusiasm for open spaces, the funds will be devoted to preserving commons and buying parks; if, on the contrary, they have been made captive by Mr. Besant, and have visions of Palaces of Delight, or are personally impressed with the paramount expediency of promoting technical education, the funds will be applied in endowing polytechnics. Why should the destination of the funds depend upon accidents? These are not the ordinary functions of the Charity Commission. As a rule, they work within well-defined lines. They reform abuses, and make charitable funds useful within the channels in which they have always run, or as near thereto as may be. They criticise, suggest, and regulate rather than legislate. If, in this instance, Parliament has given a wider scope to their labours, it may not unreasonably be suggested that it was in the expectation that they would assist and guide by their experience the body which was to take over the permanent administration of the funds, not that they would themselves dictate to London how it should be benefited. The Northumberland Commission was probably right in entrusting constructive functions, directly and exclusively,

to the permanent body, leaving the Charity Commissioners in the position of critics, Parliament, in giving them the initiative, obviously had no desire to reduce the functions of the representative Board to a shadow.

It is consistent with the view adopted by the Commissioners that they have not constituted any representative Board at all. The Act left twelve places on a Board of twenty-one to be supplied, the nine places allotted by the Act being given, five to the Crown, and four to the Corporation of London. At the time the Act passed London had no corporate existence. The Metropolitan Board, though not yet discovered in its worst sins, was not in great favour, and was in no sense representative of London, but only of the vestries. Had this been the case when the Commissioners framed their scheme, less surprise would have been felt at a somewhat heterogeneous and fanciful Trust Board. The creation of the County of London and its Council has changed the conditions of the problem, and left the task of the commissioners a comparatively easy one, if they desired London to be represented. To the County Council one would have thought would obviously be allotted a proportionate number of representatives, and the only question would be how to ensure a proper representation of the outer ring—that large portion of Greater London which is outside the new county. This is the Board proposed by the Commissioners:—

Members appointed by the Crown (as required by the Act)	5
Members appointed by the Corporation of the City of London (as required by the Act)	4
Members appointed by the London County Council	2
Members appointed by the University of London	2
Members appointed by the Council of University College, London	2
Members appointed by the Council of King's College, London	2
Members appointed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners	2
Member appointed by the Governing Body of the Bishopsgate Foundation	1
Member appointed by the Governing Body of the Cripplegate Foundation	1
The number specified by the Act	21

Whatever may be said of this Board it obviously makes no pretence to represent London. The Corporation of the City, with its one square mile and fifty thousand inhabitants, has twice as many representatives as the London County Council, with its 107 square miles and four millions of inhabitants. The votes of the representatives of the County Council may be at any time neutralised by those of the nominees of the University of London or of a London college. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who have no interest whatever in the general charities, are, for the present,[5] to have an equal voice with

[5] The ecclesiastical property of some charities is at present intermixed with the general property. The scheme provides for a separation, and when this is effected the representatives of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will retire, and the Charity Commissioners will provide for a nomination of two members by some other body.

the inhabitants of London, while the representatives of two City parishes, numbering together less than 8,000 persons, may, by combining, reduce the representatives of four millions to impotence. Nor is it apparent why educational bodies or local trust bodies should as such be represented at all on the new Board. The general charity funds are not dedicated exclusively to educational uses, still less to the advancement of higher education; while those City parishes, the funds of which cannot be used, as the law at present stands, except for the benefit of persons living or employed within their ambit, seem the very last places from which to fetch persons who are to administer funds for the benefit of London generally. There is only one interpretation of the Commissioners' proposals as to the new Board; indeed it is an interpretation they themselves suggest in their last Report.[6] They have determined that the whole of the general charity funds shall be appropriated to certain objects. This result they ensure, in the first place by endowing institutions, and in the second place by constituting a permanent administrative Board which shall represent not the people of London, but the interests the Commissioners have in view. If the Commissioners are right in deciding for London, once for all, how its charity funds are to be applied, and have chosen an object with which London is satisfied, there is little fault to be found with the constitution of a Board which is designed to carry out the Commissioners' own views. If, on the contrary, London is to have a real voice in the disposition of these funds, then the Commissioners should be asked to remodel their schemes so as to release a great part of the charity income, and to leave its application to a Board which shall directly and really represent the vast district which is to benefit by the funds.

So far the objections urged have been based upon principle—the principle that funds which belong to London, and have to a great extent been called into existence by the growth of London, should be administered by London. Let us now glance at the character of the institutions which the Commissioners propose to endow. In the forefront stand two free libraries to be founded in the City of London. St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, has an income of 6,196*l.* applicable to general purposes. Of this sum it is proposed to devote at first 700*l.*, and subsequently, when certain personal charities fall in, 1,500*l.*, a year, in maintaining a free library for East London. In 1861, St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, numbered 11,569 souls; in 1881, 4,905; at the present time there are probably less than 4,000. Such a parish can scarcely require a free library on its own account, the less so when

Obviously, however, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, having no interest in the general property, should have no voice in its disposition, while for the protection of the ecclesiastical funds, as against the general funds, two votes in twenty-one seem insufficient.

[6] Thirty-sixth Report of the Charity Commissioners, Session 1889, C—5685.

ten minutes' walk from any part of the parish will take the parishioner to an excellent free library already in existence at the Guildhall. But not only are the Bishopsgate funds to be used for the purpose of the proposed library, but 40,000*l.* are to be taken from the general charity funds, available for London at large, to buy land and erect buildings. The institution created is to contain a library for study and reference, a reading-room, a hall, and other rooms and offices. A similar institution is to be created on somewhat similar terms in connection with the charities of St. Giles, Cripplegate. Here the parish is to contribute yearly 1,000*l.* at first and 1,300*l.* subsequently; and the central fund is to supply 40,000*l.* out of capital, and a sum not exceeding 2,000*l.* a year out of income. In connection with each institution is to be established a lending library, and branch offices are to be opened for the loan and return of books. Moreover, in connection with the Bishopsgate institute, a branch institute is to be opened in Aldgate, in consideration of 300*l.* a year contributed by that parish; and in connection with Cripplegate, a branch institute in St. Bride's, Fleet Street, in return for an annual contribution by that parish.

Now there may be something to be said for lending libraries; but for such a purpose no expensive buildings need be erected. The purchase of sites and the erection of reading-rooms and places of study is, one cannot but think, a very wasteful measure. There are no resident inhabitants in the City to frequent such places, and during working hours, when the City is full, there are few of its inmates who can spare time for learned leisure. To attract students to a spot the air of which is exhausted by the daily concourse of dense crowds of human beings can scarcely be a desirable object; or to detain in such an atmosphere those who after a hard day's work naturally return to the spots in which centre their domestic interests. The Commissioners in their last published report discard the idea of assisting free libraries in the suburbs on the ground that rates may be levied for their establishment. But this reason applies equally to the City, while, if the wealth of the ratepayers be taken into account, there is no quarter of London which could so well afford a library rate. If the City is, as the Commissioners say, a place where a library rate is in the highest degree unlikely to be voted, is it not because no demand for a library exists, while it would be exceptionally expensive to erect one? That libraries are required in quarters of the town where people live needs no proof; while the difficulty of inducing ratepayers to take an additional burden upon their backs is but too well known. Aid from a central fund supplementing the proceeds of rates might in many cases make a free library possible. At least the expediency of so using the charitable funds would be a proper question for the consideration of a representative body, if they are put in funds to make the consideration of practical utility.

The other institutions in the endowment of which the Commissioners propose to spend the general funds of the City charities may be most conveniently described by the term polytechnics. They are institutions which may in some sort supply 'wholesome recreation,' but in which 'an educational influence' is nevertheless to 'predominate.'[7] In the main, they are to be technical schools or colleges, designed for the youth of the working classes. The chief examples of such institutions actually in existence are, we believe, the Birkbeck Institution in the neighbourhood of Chancery Lane—an almost solitary survival in the South of England of those mechanics' institutes of which so much was expected fifty years ago—the Regent Street Polytechnic, and the People's Palace at Mile End. Hitherto the Birkbeck Institution has, if we mistake not, been frequented by the junior members of the mercantile and professional, rather than of the artisan classes; indeed, we believe that the endowment which the Commissioners propose for it is expressly designed to enable it to lower its fees and to reach a class of narrower means. The Regent Street Polytechnic and the People's Palace have the warmest sympathies of most persons. How far endowments are wanted for these institutions is a question upon which the public have no materials for a judgment. But the Commissioners do not stop at the endowment of existing institutions. Their design is nothing less than to give London a polytechnic in every quarter, to establish at least a dozen places of instruction in the industrial arts and in general knowledge.

Now had Parliament directed the funds of the City parochial charities to be devoted to supplying London with technical schools, it might be readily acknowledged that the Commissioners had shown both breadth of view and painstaking care in elaborating their scheme. But technical instruction is but one of many objects to which Parliament has declared the funds to be applicable. The Commissioners have been impressed with the danger of frittering away the revenue of the charities in numberless small applications, and they have assumed that it was their duty to select an object upon which to concentrate the resources at their command. But even if such a view were correct, there are one or two considerations which lead to a doubt whether these particular funds should at this moment be appropriated to the supply of London with polytechnics. In the first place it can hardly be said that such institutions have passed out of the stage of experiment. The Regent Street Polytechnic alone has advanced out of infancy. Of the People's Palace one of the most careful and impartial observers of East London,[8] referring to its abnormally rapid growth, says, 'It has even yet to be proved whether it is to be regarded as an example or as a warning.' By all means let every encourage-

[7] Commissioners' Report, p. 43.

[8] Booth's *East London*, p. 119.

ment be given to these and kindred institutions. But to tie up large revenues for indefinite periods in the endeavour, not merely to support existing institutions or to found a single new one, but to call up groups of such establishments, is a venture which savours of rashness. For it must be remembered that in every case land has to be bought and buildings erected, and funds are raised from the public to meet the contributions from the charity funds. There is a large outlay of capital which will be more or less sacrificed, if the institution fails; while it will amount to something like a breach of faith to withdraw or modify an endowment upon the promise of which others have given from private means.

And in the second place there is another and far larger fund in the City to which we may confidently look to promote technical instruction. The City companies are the natural guardians of trades and handicrafts. They have already spent large sums in fostering skill in workmanship. They have founded the City and Guilds of London Institute, with its schools at Finsbury and South Kensington; one of their number has taken entire charge of one of the very institutions upon which these funds were to be spent, and another has given largely to the People's Palace. There is every reason to expect that the spring of bounty thus tapped will continue to flow, and so full is the stream that it is unnecessary to supplement it from other sources.

There is yet another consideration. The funds of the City charities are to benefit not only the new county (the old metropolis) but the 'Greater London' of the Registrar-General, a district which has been described as a square the side of which is twenty-six miles long. On the principle, apparently acknowledged by the Commissioners, that technical instruction to be of use must be brought home to the door of the artisan, the dozen or so polytechnics designed by the Commissioners will be of no use to the outer portions of this square. Banstead, Epsom, Wimbledon, Woodford will lie quite out of the reach of polytechnics at New Cross or Mile End. Perhaps the only mode in which this outer district can be benefited is by the preservation of open spaces. There are within Greater London vast stretches of common still to be secured to the public; and hill-tops which it is all-important to maintain free of building both for air and prospect. It is not for the Commissioners to buy open spaces. But it is unfair to outer London, nay, to the whole capital, to leave so trifling a fund in the hands of the permanent trustees that they will be precluded from even considering the expediency of any such purchases.

Let us now turn for a moment to the other large fund in the disposition of the Commissioners. The income of the ecclesiastical charities is 35,459*l.* Of this noble income little more than 5,000*l.* will, if the provisions of the Commissioners' scheme take effect, pass to the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the benefit of populous London. The account stands thus:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Aggregate income shown by the several Statements published by the Commissioners.				35,459	0	0
Charge on capital imposed by the scheme:—	£	s.	d.			
For costs and expenses (Clause 5)	16,000	0	0			
Interest at 4 per cent.				640	0	0
Balance of income				34,819	0	0
Payments out of income made compulsory on new governing body—viz.:						
(1) Annual grants to the existing clergy of the City churches during their tenure of office (Schedule VI.)	5,475	0	0			
(2) Annual grants for the maintenance and occasional cleaning and repairs of the fabric of the City churches[9] (Schedule VII., Part I., 3rd col.)	3,171	0	0			
(3) Annual grants for ordinary cleaning and repairs of City churches and the ornaments thereof, and for the maintenance of public worship, and in respect of certain vested interests (of small amount) in connection therewith[9] (Schedule VII., Part I., 4th col., and Part II.)	12,910	0	0			
(4) Ten per cent. on the sums advanced out of capital for the restoration of City churches (under Schedule III.), say 10 per cent. on 60,000*l.*[10]	6,000	0	0			
				27,556	0	0
Balance available				7,263	0	0
Expenses of management, say 5 per cent. on 35,000*l.*				1,750	0	0
Balance to be transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners				5,513	0	0

Now it must be at once conceded that in dealing with the ecclesiastical funds the Commissioners' hands are not altogether free. The clauses dealing with the subject are not very plain reading. But where a parish has funds applicable to ecclesiastical purposes they appear to make a partial application of such funds to the maintenance of the fabric and the services of the church obligatory. If this is so, with Parliament, and not with the Commissioners, rests the responsibility of the extraordinary waste of resources disclosed by the Commissioners' schemes. Sixteen thousand pounds a year are to be spent in perpetuity in maintaining services in the fifty-five churches of the City. These fifty-five churches are well endowed;

[9] The payments for the maintenance of worship are to be increased after certain periods by 532*l.* per annum.

[10] The sum already directed to be paid by the Commissioners for restoration is 43,010*l.*, but this is applicable to twenty-eight churches only out of fifty-five; and the Commissioners direct that such further sums as they may deem proper, in respect of the remainder of the churches, shall be paid out of capital, and repaid on like terms It has been thought fair, therefore, to take a round sum, such as 60,000*l.*, as the amount likely to be eventually expended.

their livings are worth, according to the *Clergy List*, 31,745*l.* per annum. They had in 1881 an aggregate population of about twenty-nine thousand persons, for nearly the whole of whom, man, woman, or child, hale, aged, or sick, churchman or dissenter, they contained accommodation. In 1881 the actual congregations of these churches on Sunday, the 1st of May, did not amount to five thousand, and of this small number nearly half attended church in consequence of some official connection with it, and not merely as parishioners. On an average there were about ninety persons in each church, including the clergy and their families, the large choirs (which in many cases sing to empty benches, and the members of which often come from a distance), school children, and parish pensioners. In many churches the general congregation might be counted on the fingers, and in one it consisted of two worshippers.[11] To maintain services in these deserted churches it is proposed to spend 16,000*l.* a year. And this at a time when churchmen are pressed to support funds created solely to minister to the spiritual destitution of the metropolis, and while on the outskirts of London, where new populations of thousands spring up within a few years, piteous appeals tell of services held in shops and railway arches. The Commissioners state in their report that in this branch of their work they have had the assistance of a committee of clergy and laymen, appointed at the instance of the Bishop of London, and presided over by the Archdeacon of London. This committee, they tell us, 'has carefully investigated the needs of the various parishes, and has presented to his lordship (the Bishop) a most valuable report containing the result of their inquiries,' a report subsequently forwarded to the Commissioners by the Bishop. It must therefore be assumed that the diocesan authorities of London approve of the proposed expenditure. Is it possible that the Church of England is incapable of diverting endowments from a congested district and applying them where they are wanted? Can those responsible for the organisation of the Church approve of an expenditure of more than 3*l.* per head per annum to provide church accommodation in the City, when in populous parts of the metropolis there is no accommodation at all, even for those who wish to come to church, to say nothing of those who might, in other circumstances, be 'compelled to come in'?

Many City churches are, indeed, pervaded by a quaint, old-world air not without its charm, and some are of great architectural and historical interest. St. Bartholomew the Great and St. Helen, Bishopsgate, with three or four other churches of less fame, are noble specimens of what the Society for the Protection of

[11] It has been suggested that the City churches are filled during the week at services held in working hours. Only twenty churches hold any service at this time, and information recently obtained shows that, save under exceptional circumstances, the attendance at such services is even more scanty than on Sundays.

Ancient Buildings calls 'the native style of English architecture,' Christ Church, Newgate, heads a list of eight buildings all interesting as the undoubted products of Wren's genius. Half a dozen other churches have some special claim to preservation. In the case of about half of the fifty-five churches it would probably be true that something of value would be lost by their removal. It does not follow, however, that beneficed clergy should be attached to each church preserved, and services maintained at the expense of public funds. For the accommodation of the worshippers in the City, St. Paul's Cathedral, the churches attached to the five border parishes, and some ten of the other fifty-five churches would be ample. Others might be maintained as places of private prayer, as places of meeting, or lecture halls, or might be devoted to services in foreign tongues. The sum which would be released by such a treatment of the City churches would be swollen by the value of the sites of the churches removed—no mean sum—the value of between forty and fifty livings, and some twelve or thirteen thousand pounds a year of the funds of the ecclesiastical charities. With such resources some way might be made towards meeting the wants of populous London. It may be, that the present Act of Parliament authorises no such treatment, even so far as regards the charity funds. But now that the Commissioners' labours have shown exactly what materials are at the disposal of the Church, it may surely be expected that some steps will be taken to make them available. At least, it seems unfortunate that wasteful expenditure should be sanctioned and stereotyped by the very means which were relied upon to put an end to it.

But we must before concluding return for a moment to the general charity funds. It may be said, what practical difference would it make, if the whole fund were placed at the free disposal of a popularly constituted Board of Trustees? Could they make a better use of the money than that proposed by the Commissioners? The answer is two-fold. In the first place, if every penny now devoted to polytechnics were eventually bestowed upon them, it would be better that London should herself apply the money, after free and open discussion, after full opportunity given for the advocacy of other interests, and as circumstances from time to time make the application of the money desirable. In the second place, there are many other modes of application which may fairly come into competition with those dictated by the Commissioners. We have already alluded to the valuable assistance which may be given by means of these funds to the maintenance of free libraries in the inhabited parts of London. The establishment of a pension fund for those who in the evening of life are through no fault of their own unable entirely to maintain themselves, is a measure which so business-like and successful a philanthropist as Miss Octavia Hill warmly supports. Help in sickness,

through hospitals and dispensaries, is a form of aid to the poor upon which much might be said. And perhaps before all, because so wholly free from bad results, is the application of money in the provision of open spaces.

It is a great mistake to assume, as the Commissioners have assumed, that the rates are adequate to do all that should be done in this direction. Epping Forest would never have been saved by means of the rates; nay, the Commissioners' own experience should tell them that Parliament Hill, Clissold Park, and the Lawn would have been by this time in the builders' hands, if these very charitable funds had not already, on the suggestion of Parliament, been applied to their purchase. There are projects of the greatest importance to the poor of London actually now under discussion—projects such as increasing the supply of cricket-grounds for workmen's clubs, the preservation of the high land on the outskirts of Deptford, the Hilly Fields, and the formation of a noble boulevard on the line of the Euston and Marylebone Roads. For such schemes aid from a fund such as that provided by the City charities would be invaluable. It is for those who represent London, after carefully weighing the several claims upon their available resources, to say by what means the most signal and certain benefits may be conferred upon the metropolis. The Commissioners by their proposals would preclude the possibility of any decision except such as they themselves favour.

It is an ungracious task to disparage the results of work which has evidently been a labour of love, and is marked by great care and ability. The Commissioners have endeavoured to give London something worth having as the outcome of the charities of the City. The ecclesiastical funds they have probably looked upon as taken out of their hands by the provisions of the Act. But all these funds have been declared by Parliament, to belong to London, and now is the time for London to consider whether the proposals before it are to its liking. The effect of the Commissioners' schemes is to prevent the ratepayers of London from controlling the disposal of their property, and to lock it up indefinitely in the promotion of a specific object, instead of leaving it free to be applied from time to time, under the directions of Parliament, as may seem to a permanent and properly constituted body to be most desirable. Their effect is further to confirm an expenditure of money in the maintenance of churches and services of no practical utility, at the very moment when loud complaints are made of the want of means to bring the ministrations of the Church of England home to the people in the inhabited parts of London. Such results should not be suffered to come about without full consideration.

ROBERT HUNTER.

THE ACTUAL AND THE POLITICAL IRELAND.

MOVING through Great Britain as I habitually do, I have been made painfully aware of the fact that, even amongst those who wish Ireland well, comparatively little is known of the actual conditions of Irish life. Of the political Ireland one hears more than enough. From hundreds of platforms the British elector is told of a ruined and bleeding country, crushed by rack-rents, and coerced by a brutal and despotic Minister. He hears *galore* of evictions, with all their sad accompaniments, and of Irish members going to gaol in defence of what are called the elementary rights of the Irish people. I say of all this more than enough is heard, and infinitely more than is true. This is not, however, the Ireland to which I now desire to direct attention. It has passed into a truism that there are two Irelands. But it is not even of Sir George Trevelyan's two Irelands I propose to write. I wish to submit for the consideration of the readers of this Review, a division of Ireland familiar enough to the student of Irish facts, but which is all but unknown to the ordinary politician. I propose to state the facts, and to draw the contrast between the Ireland of the East and the Ireland of the West. For every practical purpose they are two distinct countries. The statesman who, dealing with the Irish problem, ventures to treat them as one and the same, will certainly blunder. And, when legislation affecting Ireland is 'in the air,' it is of importance that the actual facts of the situation should be brought out and made plain.

Let us, first of all, define the two districts. In a recent article in this Review, I drew an imaginary line from Donegal in the north-west to Kerry in the south-west. Within this line, drawn fifteen miles in from the sea, I affirmed would be found, for legislative purposes, the congested or distressed area—*i.e.* the area which, in my belief, required special and heroic treatment. Of course, I did not mean that every acre within this line was congested, nor did I mean that there were no areas outside the line that did not require this special treatment. I drew the line roughly, and I adhere to it. In 1880, during the crisis caused by the potato failure, Mr. Forster scheduled a district much larger as distressed. His district, however, was almost entirely western, embracing the counties of Leitrim,

Galway, Mayo, Clare, Kerry, the north-west of Donegal, and portions of Limerick and Cork. But, for the purposes of this article, I propose to take the division made by Dr. Grimshaw, the Registrar-General for Ireland, which embraces as Western the whole of Connaught and the counties of Donegal, Clare, and Kerry. These eight counties compose, in Dr. Grimshaw's reports, 'Western Ireland'—all the rest of the country being grouped as 'Eastern.' By an elucidation of the facts and figures of the two districts, and a comparison thereof, we shall see, first, the tremendous difference which exists between the two districts and the two peoples; and, second, we shall be able, by the addition of other figures, to estimate the improvement that has taken place during recent years. I regret that I shall be under the necessity of dealing largely in figures, but the quarries from which I have hewn them are all but inaccessible to the ordinary reader. Ordinary men, even when they are keen politicians, recoil from blue-books. Columns of figures, no matter what they prove, are never interesting. I hope, however, to keep my statistics within manageable proportions, and I feel certain they will be of interest to all who sincerely wish to bottom the Irish case.

First, then, having settled the areas, let us take the population to be dealt with. In the Eastern group the census of 1841 gave a population of 5,878,693. In 1881 these figures had fallen to 3,804,648. In forty years 2,074,045 people, or 35·3 per cent. of the population, had gone. In the Western group the population in 1841 was 2,295,581. In 1881 it stood at 1,370,188. During the same period 925,393 persons, or 40·3 per cent. of the population, had disappeared. These forty years gave a total Irish clearance of 2,999,438 persons, or 36·7 of the entire population. At first sight such a depletion would seem disastrous. To look merely at the figures one would say the country was simply bleeding to death. I am not prepared to take this view of the facts. On the contrary, provided the depletion is at the right point, I am content not only that the operation should go on, but I feel certain that it will proceed in spite of all the influences, spiritual and temporal, that may be arrayed against it. The Western group, as defined by Dr. Grimshaw, covers ONE-THIRD of the whole of Ireland, and contains slightly over ONE-FOURTH of the total population. It is all but entirely Parnellite in politics, and is most distinctly Irish, 41·5 per cent., or nearly one half the population within its boundaries, speaking the Irish language, as against 8·3 per cent. in the rest or Eastern portion of Ireland. Indeed, in the most westerly counties (Galway and Mayo) the percentage of the Irish-speaking population rises as high as 62 per cent. It must not be assumed, of course, that these proportions of the population speak Irish only. Probably seven out of every eight also speak English, with more or less fluency. But, notwithstanding this, it is a fact that over this large area the Celtic tongue still holds sway. Here, too, Roman Catholicism is not only the dominant form of religion—it simply

overshadows everything else, only 8 persons out of every 100 professing any other faith. In the Eastern group, on the other hand, Protestantism is the professed religion of about a third of the people. In this connection a curious phenomenon presents itself, and one that is worthy of more attention than it has yet received. In the Western group, where, as I have said, Protestantism is absolutely insignificant from a numerical point of view, it appears to be rapidly becoming extinct. Amongst the Roman Catholic population the decrease during the decade 1871–81 was only 2·5 per cent., whilst that of the Protestant population was over 8 per cent. In other words, Protestantism in the western area seems to be doomed. It is even now being rapidly squeezed out. This, without doubt, is largely due to the economic revolution that has swept over the whole country, and which has affected the West most severely. Landlords have succumbed and gone away. Their dependents have followed suit. Sturdy Protestant farmers and shopkeepers have stood out against the flowing tide of demoralisation for a time. They have not gone under it. They have simply left the country to its fate—have retired from business, or gone elsewhere. In the Eastern group, where, as I have said, the Protestant population forms a strong and sturdy minority, the rate of decrease was only 3·25 per cent., against a decrease of 5·5 of the Roman Catholic population. Here the struggle, it will be seen, has been waged under more favourable conditions. The inhabitants of the Western division are also essentially a native race, and do not appear even to migrate to adjoining counties, as at the census of 1881 the birthplaces of 948 out of every 1,000 persons were in the counties in which they then lived. This number falls in the Eastern group to 850, which has thus three times as large a proportion of strangers. At this point a curious fact comes out. In 1841 the Eastern group gave 27,281 migratory labourers, or 4·6 per 1,000 of the population, *i.e.* of men who travelled annually to England and Scotland for the harvest. In 1881 this class had practically disappeared from the East—the number being 3,309, or 0·9 per 1,000. In 1841 the Western group gave 30,370 such labourers, or 13·2 per 1,000 of the population. In 1881 the figures stood at 18,013, or 13·1 per 1,000. Here the rate per 1,000 was the same in 1881 as in 1841. The figures further show how entirely dependent the Western group is upon the soil. In 1881 in the East there were 17 persons in every 1,000 belonging to the commercial class; in the West there were 5 in every 1,000. In the East there were 177 in every 1,000 engaged in agriculture; in the West 238. In the East 156 in every 1,000 were engaged in industrial pursuits; in the West only 72. Not only then is the West entirely Celtic and Roman Catholic; it is for all practical purposes dependent upon a soil, as will be seen hereafter, of the poorest character.

The vital statistics of the two districts also present some curious contrasts. Whilst there are five marriages in every 1,000 of the

population per annum in Eastern Ireland, and only four in the Western portion, the birth-rate is practically the same—viz. 26 per 1,000. The death-rate is nearly 20 per 1,000 in the Eastern portion, and only 15 in the Western. The normal ratio of natural increase of the population, as represented by the difference between births and deaths, is therefore nearly twice as great in the far West of Ireland as in the more populous, wealthy, and educated East, and the population is only kept from still more disastrous excess by emigration. Of the thirty-two counties, the four having the lowest registered mortality for the year 1888 were all in the Western group—viz. Sligo, 12·4 per cent.; Roscommon, 12·5; Galway, 12·6; and Donegal, 12·6. Those in which the rate was highest were all on the Eastern seaboard—viz. Dublin, 24·3; Antrim, 21·3; and Down, 18·9. The Western group also yields the lowest rate of mortality from 'constitutional' diseases, and has a much smaller proportion of insane, deaf and dumb, and blind than the Eastern. It would, therefore, appear that there is something to be said for the barbaric conditions of life under which these people live. Their lot may be, and doubtless is, a hard one. But they certainly escape some of the ills to which flesh is said to be heir under a higher form of civilisation.

In the matter of crime the figures come out in rather a singular way. When dealing with crime in Ireland it should always be remembered that the Dublin Metropolitan police district is answerable for more than one-half of the serious crime of the country, and for a very considerable proportion of the offences determined summarily. Any comparison between Eastern and Western Ireland under this head would therefore be manifestly misleading were the Metropolitan district not excluded. Even then it cannot be said that the comparison is unfair towards the inhabitants of the West, because there still remain in the Eastern group the great cities of Belfast, Cork, Derry, Limerick, and Waterford, whilst in the West there are only Galway, Sligo, Tralee, and one or two other towns of minor importance. Eliminating Dublin, therefore, we have in the Western district of indictable or serious crime 7·6 per 10,000 of the population, and in the Eastern group 5·4. Indeed, the figures of Clare stand at 15·3, Kerry 13·3, and Galway 15·9. What this means will be seen when I point out that in Belfast the indictable or serious crimes stands at 6·1 per 10,000 of the population. Of course it is agrarian crime which gives the excess in Kerry, Clare, and Galway. In regard to minor offences, or those determined summarily, the Western area gives 278 per 10,000 of the population, and the Eastern 371. Here again I have eliminated the Metropolitan police district, the figures for it being 1,749 per 10,000.

In education the contrast is something wonderful. What it amounts to will be better seen by contrasting the different counties in the province of Ulster and those of the Western group. Taking Ulster first, the figures stand thus, representing the proportion of

100 persons of five years old and upwards who can neither read nor write :—

Antrim	12·1	Fermanagh	21·7
Down	14·3	Cavan	22 4
Derry	13·5	Tyrone	22·0
Armagh	19·8	Monaghan	23·3

Sometimes Unionist politicians are twitted when they declare that they represent the education of Ireland. These figures, however, and those which follow, go to strengthen their contention, for it is precisely in the north-east of Ulster, where the Unionists are in overwhelming strength, that education is at its highest point.

In Western Ireland the different counties stand thus :—

Galway	47·4	Sligo	31·5
Mayo	45 6	Roscommon	27 0
Donegal	40 1	Clare	27 6
Kerry	34·9	Leitrim	22·5

These figures come out after half a century of National and practically free education, largely paid for by the State, with a school in every parish. Taking the two districts as a whole, there were 714,602 persons, or 24·8 per cent., in the East, illiterate, against 443,023, or 32·7, in the West.

In small savings the same rule holds good, the Post Office Savings Bank deposits in the West representing 6*s.* 4*d.* per head of the population, whilst those in the East stand at 13*s.* 2*d.* I have already pointed out how totally dependent upon agriculture the Western area is. But a closer analysis makes matters worse in this direction. For whilst the mean value of the holdings in the East is 25*l.*, in the West it is only 12*l.*; whilst the average value per acre in the East is 18*s.*, in the West it is 6*s.* During the last few years the Land Acts have, of course, been at work, and have done much where it was possible for such legislation to do anything. In the Western area, up to December 1888, a rental of 976,016*l.* has been reduced to 770,079*l.*, or 21 per cent. In the East a rental of 3,851,891*l.* has been reduced to 3,093,807*l.*, or 19·6 per cent. The Land Purchase Act has also been operating, and with a large measure of success. Here are the figures in detail up to the 31st of December 1888 :—

LAND PURCHASE.

	Holdings	Acreage	Valuation	Rental	Purchase
			£	£	£
Connaught	887	25,588	12,350	13,788	245,044
Donegal	257	12,042	7,590	7,790	146,596
Clare	52	2,315	867	1,276	23,838
Kerry	539	28,548	10,839	16,837	277,946
Western Group	1,735	68,493	31,661	39,691	693,424
Eastern Group	7,126	261,735	103,834	175,231	3,100,118

But when all is said and done, when we have reduced rents and sold properties under the Ashbourne Act, the problem of bog and mountain still remains. For bog and mountain, to a large extent, this Western area is, and must always be. No Government made it so,[1] and no Government can unmake it. But what it actually is may be seen from the following figures, and, in estimating their force, the reader will do well to remember that much of the 'arable' land is simply reclaimed bog. Here are the figures of West and East:—

WESTERN GROUP.

	Acreage	Bog	Mountain
Connaught	4,179,021	707,360	519,054
Clare	760,074	37,525	72,789
Kerry	1,154,036	100,152	260,823
Donegal	1,174,274	162,074	345,275
	7,267,405	1,016,091	1,197,941
Deduct Bog and Mountain	2,214,032		Bog 1,016,091
Total Arable Land	5,053,373		2,214,032

EASTERN GROUP.

	Acreage	Bog	Mountain
	12,927,197	703,935	919,733
Deduct Bog and Mountain	1,623,668		Bog 703,935
Total Arable Land	11,303,529		1,623,668

In the matter of house accommodation the Western area also comes out badly. In Ulster, Cavan excluded, under 5 per cent. of the population live in houses classed as fourth-class accommodation by the Registrar-General. In other words, under 5 per cent. live in hovels. In Connaught the ratio rises, and from 5 to 15 per cent. of the people live under fourth-class conditions; whilst in Kerry upwards of 15 per cent. are housed in this way.

I have now reached the end of the first portion of my task. And what do we find? We find an area, covering over one-third of Ireland, and embracing a fourth of the total population of the country, in an absolutely primitive state. These people are Celts, pure and simple. They are Roman Catholic peasants, naturally dominated by the priesthood of that Church. They are, to a very large extent, illiterate, 30 per cent. of those voting in this district in the election of 1885 being unable to read the names of the candidates; and

[1] Of course I may be told that by the Cromwellian settlement in 1653 the English Government drove the Celtic population in upon this Western area, and is therefore responsible for its condition. I think this an admirable reason for dealing generously with it now.

they are absolutely ignorant of men and of affairs. They are, in the main, sunk in poverty which is not their fault, living on patches of marsh and bog, and they lead dull, monotonous, uneventful lives from year's end to year's end. They are virtuous to a degree, and ordinary crime amongst them is not excessive. But they make up for this by a heavy rate of agrarian disturbance and criminality. And in the Imperial Parliament they have twenty-five Parnellite representatives. In other words, and so far as parliamentary representation goes, this 'waste and desert place,' this dark and comparatively uncivilised region, has a representation almost equal to that of the entire province of Ulster, and vastly in excess of the representation of the Protestants of that province with all their wealth, education, and commerce. I desire to press this simple fact home upon the readers of this article. It is bad enough that things should be so in the Imperial Parliament. It is bad enough that primitive ignorance and incapacity should so handicap acquired intelligence and business enterprise. But, in the light of the facts I have given, what would befall Protestant Ulster in an Irish Assembly? I have brought it down to facts and figures. He who runs may surely read the lesson, and it is this: that prosperous and educated Ulster would simply be out-voted and overwhelmed by this Dark Area.

Having finished this task, I propose now to show what has taken place during the last forty years in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone speaks and writes of the Union as having been an unmitigated calamity. His followers everywhere take up the parable, and audiences of well-meaning, but often very ignorant, people are grossly deceived and led astray. I propose to show these people what has been actually achieved. In the light of the facts I hope to set forth, I ask these worthy men and women to

> Cast the poison from their bosom, oust the madness from their brain;
> Let the trampled serpent show that they have not lived in vain.

Let them not be deceived by mere babble. Let them go to the law and to the testimony. In other words, let the appeal be to facts. Let us take first the division of the land in 1841 and in 1881. Here is how the figures stand:—

1841.

Arable land	13,464,300 acres
Woods and plantations	374,482 „
Barren mountain, bog,[2] and marsh waste . .	6,480,971 „

In the year 1841, then, there were close upon 6,500,000 acres of mountain, bog, and waste land. Let us now take the figures for 1881. They stand thus:—

[2] It must not be assumed that mountain and bog are necessarily waste. The mountain is largely used for grazing, and the bog constitutes the fuel of the country.

1881.

Arable land	15,270,799 acres
Woods and plantations	328,703 „
Barren mountain, bog, and marsh waste . .	4,720,251 „

As a simple matter of fact, which no patriotic blarney in Ireland, and no political rhetoric in England, can disguise or get rid of, close upon 2,000,000 acres of this land have been reclaimed and rendered more or less productive in forty years. The man who made two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before was accounted by Swift a greater benefactor to his species than the whole race of politicians put together. I apprehend, therefore, that the gigantic operation involved in the figures just quoted has made a good many things grow. But, at all events, the fact is as I have stated it.[3]

I take next the question of crops. Upon this there has been recently a good deal of loose, if not wild, writing. Speaking at Southport, Mr. Gladstone recently declared that the boycotted or derelict farms were not being taken because he found that the acreage under crops had diminished last year. Mr. Gladstone might easily have gone much farther. The acreage under crops has been diminishing steadily for a very long time, and for the simplest of reasons—it pays better to raise cattle than to grow corn. But the facts and figures of the change are highly important. In 1851 there were 3,099,000 acres under cereals. In 1888 there were only 1,570,000 acres devoted to crops of this kind. This is, no doubt, a serious diminution, and tells its own tale; but whilst cereals were giving way, meadow and clover increased from 1,246,000 acres in 1851 to 2,222,000 acres in 1888, and potatoes fell from 868,000 acres in the former year to 805,000 acres in the latter. The decrease in wheat, oats, and barley since 1847 has been continuous, but the increase in meadow and clover has been as steady and persistent, and, as a matter of fact, the one all but balances the other. Writers and speakers on the Irish question frequently write and speak as if when an acre of land in Ireland ceased to produce cereals it went out of cultivation. Nothing can be farther from the fact. As I have said, climatic conditions and other considerations have forced the hand of the Irish farmer, and, whether he likes it or no, pasture pays better than tillage. But the better way of showing the marvellous change that has taken place in agriculture is to take the average annual value of the crops in Ireland for the quinquennial periods 1851–1855[4] and 1884–1888. In the former period it stood at 58,537,000*l.*; in the latter the average annual value of the crops stood at 35,752,000*l.* This represents a fall of nearly 40 per cent., and is accounted for by two things—first, the fall in the price of

[3] *Cowper Commission Report*, p. 950.

[4] This was the period of the Crimean War, when the price of agricultural produce was exceptionally high.

agricultural produce itself; and, second, the change from cereals to cattle. How the latter consideration operates will be seen by reference to the figures dealing with live stock. Here there has been a steady and continuous increase all along the line. I take for the purposes of comparison the years 1855 and 1888. The figures stand thus:—

	1855.	1888.
Horses	556,000	565,000
Mules	20,000	30,000
Asses	152,000	203,000
Cattle	3,564,000	4,090,000
Sheep	3,902,000	3,627,000
Pigs	1,178,000	1,398,000
Goats	284,000	294,000
Poultry	8,367,000	14,437,000

These figures, satisfactory as they appear, do not, however, represent all the facts. They represent the live stock in Ireland on or about a given day in June, just as the census returns represent the number of human beings on a certain night. They represent the stock on hand at stock-taking. But in arriving at anything like a fair conclusion, and to get at anything like a true appreciation of how far cattle has supplanted corn, one must also consider the number of beasts killed for home consumption and the number exported to Great Britain. As to the former, I can find no data to go upon; but, as regards the exportation to Great Britain, the returns are available up to 1888. Comparing 1855 and 1888 the increase here is phenomenal. Here are the figures:—

	1855.	1888.
Oxen, bulls, and cows	214,636	691,018
Calves	8,162	47,698
Sheep and lambs	489,494	637,584
Swine	254,054	544,972

This exportation, be it remembered, was after all home wants had been supplied, and the two sets of figures I have given prove the theory that, if cereals have gone to the bad, cattle have done uncommonly well. There is no more strongly marked feature in Irish affairs than this change. I know many lament it. There is no use kicking against the pricks. If the sun does not shine wheat cannot ripen. If rain will fall in excess the Government cannot stop it, nor can it change the law that a damp and moist climate is more favourable to grass than to cereals. The fates are dead against the patriots, and until the climatic conditions alter no amount of screeching will suffice to stay the ranching.

The change in the condition of the people is also very marked. This is seen whether wages, house accommodation, or education be

taken as the test. The wages of labourers in the four provinces in 1840 and in 1886 stood roughly thus:—

	1840.	1886.
Leinster .	from 9*d.* to 10*d.* per day	from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 0*d.* per day
Munster .	„ 6*d.* to 8*d.* „	„ 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* „
Ulster .	„ 8*d.* to 10*d.* „	„ 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 0*d.* „
Connaught	„ 6*d.* to 8*d.* „	„ 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* „

As regards house accommodation, one paragraph from the Census Commissioners' Report shows what has taken place. 'In 1661 there were 89,374 mud cabins, inhabited by 93,978 families; while in 1881 there were 41,025 families inhabiting 40,665 houses of this class, or a reduction in the latter year of 48,700 in the number of the lowest class of houses, and 52,953 in the number of families inhabiting the same.'[5] It is almost impossible to grasp what these figures mean. English tourists come over and visit the Western area and are shocked. Yes, but it is only those who have lived in Ireland, and who have watched the change, who can realise what the improvement has been. As a matter of fact the mud cabin is rapidly disappearing, and is now almost wholly confined to the Western area. The same thing is true of education. At page 63 of the Report of the Census Commissioners the following paragraph occurs:—'Comparing the percentage of illiterate persons amongst members of each Church or denomination with the corresponding proportions for 1871 and 1861, we find matter for congratulation in every instance. In 1861 the percentage of Roman Catholics five years old and upwards unable to read or write was 45·8. In 1871 it was 39·9, and in 1881 it had fallen to 30·1. The corresponding percentages for Protestant Episcopalians are 16·0, 14·2, and 10·9; for Presbyterians, 11·1, 9·6, and 7·1; for Methodists, 9·0, 6·7, and 5·5; and for all other denominations, 9·6, 8·1, and 5·3.' Whatever Mr. Gladstone and his friends may think of the Union, and much as there is yet to be done before the well-wishers of Ireland can boast, it is perfectly idle to deny, not only the set of the current, but the steady wash of the tide. Only English tourists and Caucus politicians can fail to see it. The former generally see and hear precisely what they come to see and hear. But, I repeat, the facts are all in the direction of progress, and, whatever may have been our mistakes in a miserable past, they have been, and are in course of being, amply atoned for.

One more set of figures and I shall have done—viz. those relating to trade and commerce. Ireland has three great manufactures—linen, whisky, and beer. The former is exclusively confined to Ulster. The two latter are mainly carried on in Leinster and Munster, with Dublin and Cork as headquarters. It was once said in the House of Commons that the people of Cork spent half their

[5] Even better results may confidently be anticipated in the next Census Report.

time making whisky, the other half in drinking it. The League of the Cross, however, has changed this, so far as the consumption of the article is concerned. But Cork is still the headquarters of the drink trade in Munster. In 1856 there were 1,871 power-looms in Ireland, and 568,000 spindles at work. In 1885 there were 24,300 power-looms and 870,000 spindles. The number of spindles had somewhat diminished in 1887, when they stood at 844,000. But the increase in twenty years is something remarkable. Leaving linen and coming to drink, there were 9,857,000 gallons of spirits distilled in Ireland in 1857. In 1886 the figures stood at 10,627,000. In 1857 there were 910,000 barrels of beer brewed. In 1887 the number had risen to 2,234,000. I am not arguing here as to whether the manufacture of spirits and beer is good or bad for a country, or as to whether the capital employed in this way could not be more beneficially used. This is not my point. I am simply recording the increase in trade that has taken place, and this with a diminishing population. In the railway returns the progress is also marked and continuous. In 1856 there were 1,057 miles open. The passengers for that year counted up to 7,875,000. The traffic returns, including passengers, mails, and goods, stood at 1,118,000*l.*, or an average of 1,058*l.* per mile. In 1887 the mileage had increased to 2,620, the passengers to 19,252,000, the traffic to 2,780,000*l.*, and the average per mile was 1,061*l.* Shipping shows similar results. In 1856 the tonnage of vessels which entered Irish ports stood at 3,200,000 tons. In 1887 it amounted to 6,100,000 tons. In 1856 the tonnage which cleared Irish ports was 2,200,000 tons. In 1887 it was 4,100,000 tons. In my search after facts I have come across but one retrograde movement. This is the fishing industry. In 1861 there were 11,845 vessels and boats, and 48,624 men and boys, employed in the deep-sea and coast fisheries. In 1887 the vessels and boats stood at 5,865, and the men and boys at 21,750. This is a state of matters much to be regretted. But it is not to be wondered at. Until the light railways tap the western seaboard—until, in fact, there is a way by which the fish, when caught, can be brought to market—the fishing industry must stand still. Fortunately the first step has been taken toward this end—a step which, I regret to say, was taken against the wish and the vote of a considerable section of English members of Parliament.

In view of the facts and figures quoted—I fear at unreasonable length—I utterly fail to see how any sane politician can affirm that Ireland has not benefited from her close connection with Great Britain, or that the influence of the latter country upon the former has been of a disastrous and fatal character. It is quite true, lamentably true, I think, that England has left much undone that ought to have been done. It is equally true that she has done much that would perhaps have been better left undone. But, despite of mistakes through ignorance

and of errors through prejudice, a spirit of justice has, in my opinion, worked steadily through all the years since 1829. Commencing with Emancipation, and ending with the Land Acts, England has a record in Ireland of which no country need be ashamed. Doubtless there is much to lament. We hear of the great famine as if the potato blight had been the work of England. The emigration of which I have given the statistics is held up as being a 'sorrow's crown of sorrow.' I cannot, either in view of those who have gone, or of those left behind, look at it in this light, and I tremble to think what would have been the position of things to-day had it not taken place. Coercion Acts are paraded as if they ever oppressed, or were meant to oppress, any law-abiding citizen. The land laws were doubtless cruel and unjust, and much can and ought to be laid at their door. But this is now ancient history, and the fundamental wrongs of the system have, at all events, been fairly righted. The Church as an establishment was an anomaly. It has ceased to exist as such. I do not say that there are no grievances to remedy—no wrongs to right. No, we are not living in a political millennium. But I do affirm, and in the light of all past experience, that the Imperial Parliament is both willing and able to remedy these grievances, to right these wrongs. Politicians, young and old, are in too great a hurry. I hear much of the improvement now happily visible in Ireland. It is, indeed, the great and central fact of the present situation. But let us be under no illusions. It is only the outside of the cup and platter that has been made clean. A quarter of a century will not undo the demoralising work of the last ten years; that work has simply been the unmaking of men. The work of improving the condition of Ireland has been a slow and laborious process throughout. What it has been in the past it will be in the future. The one satisfactory fact is that the progress has been steady and continuous—not in one but in every direction. Whether the work is to continue, whether it is to grow more and more to perfection, depends more upon the English than it does upon the Irish people. If they are blessed with backbone, patience, and firmness, if they are just and even generous, as they ought to be, the way may be long and dreary, but the end is not out of sight.

T. W. RUSSELL.

POSTSCRIPT.

Perhaps I may be allowed to say, in reply to the Marquis of Waterford's courteous comment on my article in the November issue of this Review, that I never contemplated any compulsory expropriation of Irish tenants from the congested districts. But having recently travelled over most of these waste and desert places, I do not share Lord Waterford's apprehensions as to the unwillingness of many of the people to emigrate. My views on this point, I know, are shared by Mr. Tuke, who certainly knows the West of Ireland better than even most Irish-

men. I believe the population of these areas could be thinned out without much friction, and with little or no hardship; but in writing for this Review I am not drafting Bills for Parliament. Lord Waterford seems to imagine that I am practically in favour of compulsory sale. If his lordship had known more of the facts, he would have known that I am the solitary Ulster member who has publicly argued this question out with his constituents and gone against it—at least to the extent demanded by its advocates. What I fear is that, with two or three good harvests and returning peace, the Irish landlords will slide back into the old doctrine of *laissez-faire*. This is where we differ. I am for doing what I conceive to be the right thing while the sun shines—they have always waited until the pitiless storm burst upon them, and then they have had to sullenly acquiesce in what ought to have been done under other and better conditions.—T. W. R.

TEN YEARS OF BRITISH ART.

THE condition of British Art, its status when compared with that of other nations, its progress or retrogression—in fact, all matters affecting it—have been increasingly discussed of late, especially by those who have had the exceptional opportunity of viewing its productions in juxtaposition with those of other countries at the recent Paris Exhibition.

To this as to other controversies the hackneyed quotation, 'Tot homines quot sententiæ,' is applicable, for some disputants affirm that art in England is at a standstill, many—the majority perhaps—consider that of late years it has retrograded, a respectable minority only venture to think that it has materially progressed.

It is not perhaps surprising that there should be so much diversity of opinion. Few even of those who live in an atmosphere of art have any means of arriving at a just estimate of the matter, their conclusions being almost always founded upon scanty and biassed evidence.

Under these circumstances a succinct record, giving chapter and verse for what has recently been taking place in the world of Art, should not only be of assistance, but of interest to the increasingly large number of those who now concern themselves about such things.

So also the moment when we pass from the 'eighties' to the 'nineties' of this nineteenth century and complete a decennial period appears to be a suitable one at which to undertake a record and review.

The subject groups itself best under the following headings:—State-aided Art; Art not aided by the State in the metropolis, the provinces, and the Colonies; Sculpture, Architecture, and Industrial Art; Imported Art; Gifts to Art.

Few of these can be properly dealt with without an array of figures which may be wearisome to many, though their very magnitude when massed should render them of interest and worthy of permanent record.

Commencing, then, with State-aided Art. The total sums voted by Parliament and spent during the past ten years amount to 6,453,000*l.*—the highest sum in any year having been 741,000*l.*, in 1885–6. Of this 6,453,000*l.* half a million has been spent upon buildings, half a million upon purchases, and the remainder upon administration, repairs, rents, &c.

A comparison of the totals of each department for the first and last years of the decade shows the following differences :—

For Administration.

	1880–81	1889–90
	£	£
National Gallery	17,374	14,487
British Museum (including Library)	118,257	155,975 [1]
National Portrait Gallery	2,390	2,101
Department of Science and Art [2]	329,768	462,957
Scotland: National Gallery	2,100	2,300
Ireland: National Gallery	2,339	2,501
For Buildings, Repairs, &c.		
National Gallery	—	2,575
British and Natural History Museums	4,693	12,947
National Portrait Gallery	—	415
Science and Art Department	20,436	23,914
South Kensington Museum	—	400
Edinburgh Museum, Science and Art	—	200
Edinburgh: National Portrait Gallery	—	1.700
Ireland: National Gallery	—	577
Dublin Museum	—	24,000
Various	—	14,908
	497,358	722,047

Passing on to the individual departments upon which this State aid has been bestowed, we first come to the National Gallery, which has cost 315,762*l.* Of this 112,415*l.* have been spent upon administration, 64,500*l.* upon new galleries, 138,847*l.* upon the purchase of pictures.

The changes which have taken place in adapting the Gallery to the requirements of the nation have probably been more important during the period under notice than at any other time in its history. These have been mainly, if not entirely, brought about by pressure from outside.

In 1880 the Gallery was entirely closed during October and for a week in April; it was only open four days a week, and it closed at the latest at 6 P.M. It is now open on every week day during the year, during four months until 7 P.M., and always an hour later than hitherto.

By an Act passed in 1883 pictures which can be conveniently spared may now be loaned to provincial exhibitions.

Visitors who have not seen the building since 1880 would now hardly recognise its interior; a central staircase of fine, if not noble, proportions leads directly into the main gallery, whilst the addition of five new rooms has afforded an opportunity—the first in the history of the Gallery—of a systematic arrangement of its contents.

The collection, from being one of only second-rate importance, has now taken a place in the front rank, and even the most business-like citizen must admit that its cost is more than recouped by the

[1] Includes Natural History Museum.

[2] The figures for Science and Art *combined* have to be taken, as they are practically indivisible.

money which is expended in the metropolis by the many foreigners now attracted hither by its growing notoriety.

The pictures have increased since 1880 from 1,040 to 1,270, the purchases comprising 72 of the Italian, 1 of the French, 13 of the Dutch, 1 of the German, 1 of the Spanish, 28 of the English school, and 4 Greco-Roman. Of the total expenditure of 138,847*l.* upon pictures, 7,616*l.* only has been disbursed upon the English school. The great acquisition has of course been the Ansidei Madonna, by Raphael, which cost 70,000*l.* As years go by the extravagance of this price becomes increasingly evident, and had the direction been aware that this exceptional payment would be deducted from the grant of future years it is highly improbable that its purchase would ever have been entertained.

The pictures for which 2,000*l.* and upwards have been paid are—

	£
Virgin and Child with St. Francis (Perugino)	3,200
Virgin and Child (Ercole di Giulio Grandi)	2,970
Assumption of Virgin (A. Botticelli)	4,777
Circumcision (L. Signorelli)	3,150
Philip the Fourth (Velasquez)	6,300
Samson and Delilah (A. Mantegna)	2,362
Assumption of Virgin (Mattei di Bartolo)	2,100
Virgin and Child (Raphael)	70,000
Charles the First (Van Dyck)	17,500

In 1880 the *Times* was instant in urging the speedy glazing of the pictures, and set forth a melancholy list of those which were undergoing constant deterioration from the atmosphere. At that date only 628 were under glass: now, of 1,270, only 80 are unglazed.

The visitors have decreased from 871,500 in 1880 to 550,817 in 1888, and in the latter year 40,429 on paying days; whilst the students' attendances have risen from an average of 200 a day (executing 762 copies in the year) to 260 (making 1,092 copies).

The National Galleries of Scotland and Ireland receive but a small amount of State aid. The vote for Scotland was 1,170*l.* in 1880 (2,100*l.* in 1889), and the extension of the collection depends on the generosity of individuals, there being no revenue available for the purchase of pictures.

The National Gallery of Ireland received a yearly grant in 1880 of 1,339*l.* (1889, 1,501*l.*) for administration, and 1,000*l.* for pictures, which, by judicious purchases, has materially increased the collection.

In 1880 the National Portrait Gallery—supported at a cost of 2,400*l.* (of which 750*l.* was for purchases)—was housed in sheds in the Exhibition Road. It was pointed out in the report of the trustees in that year that a single spark struck by one of the crowd of visitors passing by to concerts might reduce the Gallery to a heap of ruins. In 1881, and again in 1885, these fears were all but realised. This led to the removal of the collection to Bethnal Green, in which

inconvenient position it might have remained until the next century, for the only reply to questions in either House of Parliament was the stereotyped one that 'the matter will not be lost sight of by the Treasury, in whose hands it is.' Fortunately last year private munificence stepped in to the aid of this impoverished department; for a gentleman (supposed to be Mr. Alexander) offered the sum of 100,000*l.* for the erection of a Gallery. The country's expression of thanks for this magnificent gift has been marred by considerable haggling over the purchase of a site.

In Scotland a National Portrait Gallery was established in 1883, through the generosity of Mr. R. Findlay, who offered 10,000*l.* conditionally upon the Government putting down twenty shillings for each pound given by him. This it did. Since then the same gentleman has increased his gift by 40,000*l.* upon the State giving a site, with the result that a fine range of buildings—already stocked with portraits—was opened at Edinburgh in July last.

In 1880 the *Times* remarked 'that no financial vote yielded more for the money than the British Museum.' An examination of the estimates since that date amply justifies a continuance of that praise. The total cost of the establishment for ten years has been 1,138,000*l.*, of which 258,000*l.* has gone in purchases and 100,000*l.* in bookbinding. Buildings have been added to the extent of 100,000*l.*, but only 10 per cent. of this has come out of the nation's pocket. In 1880 the cost of administration was 118,000*l.* and in 1889 116,000*l.*; it is true that in the interim the Natural History collections have been moved to South Kensington, but the increase in the buildings and collections and lengthened hours of opening[1] more than compensate for them. The collections have grown at a marvellous rate; in some years as many as 200,000 specimens and 7,500 engravings have been added. The noble range of galleries which has been quietly and unostentatiously added to the Museum during the decade at a cost of nearly 100,000*l.* is due to the munificence of the late Mr. White. The attendances to view the general collections were in 1879 606,394, and in 1888 498,500.

The vast organisation of the Science and Art Department which has grown up during the present reign would require an article to itself if justice were to be done to the enormous work which through its agency is being carried out over the length and breadth of the land. Figures must be the bald but convincing evidence as to the onward course of the institution: they are large ones, and they testify not only to work accomplished, but to the appreciation by the masses of the opportunities of instruction which it presents to them.

The total aid granted by Parliament to the Department in ten years has been 3,872,000*l.*, of which 205,000*l.* has been laid out in purchases and 191,000*l.* on buildings.

[1] From the 1st of January, 1890, the Reading Room and many of the Galleries will be open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M.

The ramifications of the Department are wide-spread, but shortly the money has been spent upon

(1) Aid in instruction in drawing, and in Fine Art as applied to industry;

(2) The South Kensington, Bethnal Green, and other State Museums.

As to the first branch, the Department effects its purpose through Elementary Schools, Training Colleges, Classes for Artisans, and Schools of Art. By this means it has reached an ever-increasing multitude, advancing from 795,000 in 1879 to 958,000 in 1888. Presuming that the course of training averages two years, four millions and a half of the population have received instruction in Art during the decade. Surely this great work cannot be as though it had not been, and leave no trace behind: increased knowledge must be leavening the masses.

More solid and lasting instruction is given by means of the Schools of Art, which have increased from 146 with 29,000 students to 213 with 42,000 students. The appreciation of the Schools is evidenced by the fact that whilst 213,000*l.* has been drawn from the nation's purse towards their maintenance, no less than 378,000*l.* has been contributed by the fees of those instructed.

Passing on to the second and more tangible section of the Department, namely the Museums under its control, we first have to notice the South Kensington Museum. This institution, of which the generation which has created it has perhaps more cause to be proud than of anything, and the contents of which are the admiration and envy of every civilised nation, has unfortunately been under a cloud of late years. Snubbed by Parliament, and its extension in consequence practically at a standstill, it has latterly lost its air of prosperity, and a daunted and woebegone aspect has pervaded not only its outward aspect, but even the demeanour of its officials.

This treatment it certainly has done little to deserve. Apart from the question of its connection with the Colonial and other Exhibitions, to which certain of its underlings were allowed to give up a great deal of time which was presumably required for the Department, there has been nothing to warrant the slights which it has received. Perhaps some of the purchases have not shown that universal knowledge which is expected to be indwelling in the officers of every Government Museum, but matters such as these are no sufficient reason for neglecting the proper housing of the collections and the proper supply of material with which to teach the art classes of the country.

When we read, for instance, that the judging of the National Competitive Drawings (works sent up from all parts of the country) has to take place in dilapidated sheds, from the ceilings of which the plaster is dropping, and through whose roofs the rain falls in torrents; when the accommodation for clerks is so cramped that the

work has to be carried on in corridors and on staircases, surely the most hostile foes of the Department must admit that matters have arrived at a pass in which they cannot continue. Those who are content to see the magnificent collections in a building which is without a front, a fact which must depreciate their value in the eyes of everyone entering the Museum, are assuredly carrying their opposition too far. Curiously enough, not only the Government, but ninety per cent. of those who have the control of the nation's purse, are convinced that something must be done, and yet they will not do it. In 1888 Mr. Plunket calls it 'a pressing want,' Mr. Mundella 'a public scandal;' Mr. W. H. Smith says that it shall receive attention, and a statement be made to the House without delay.' But in 1889 nothing whatever was done, although Sir W. Hart-Dyke, speaking for the Government, said, 'The state of things is eminently unsatisfactory, and I will not relax my efforts until they have been improved.' It really seems that here, as at the British Museum and National Portrait Gallery, the nation is waiting for private generosity to fulfil a duty which is incumbent upon it. How it can expect the augmentation of the collection by gifts in kind under such circumstances it is hard to imagine, and yet the largest benefaction ever made to a museum in this country has been in the period under notice, whilst for every pound which has been spent of the nation's money, at least two have been contributed by the spontaneous liberality of private donors.

The cost of the Museum during the past ten years cannot well be ascertained, as the figures are mixed up with the Science and Art Department. Art objects have been acquired to the extent of 100,000*l.*, and the sum total of the purchases is now 335,451*l.*[4]

The principal additions to the Museum buildings during the decade have been the Art Library and the Gallery of Casts. That the Library was urgently needed all those who remember the former accommodation can testify. As the report for 1880 said, 'the accommodation afforded by the rooms, badly lighted by day and crowded by night, could only be called such by a strong figure of speech.'

It must not be forgotten that the collection at South Kensington exists not only as a London Museum, but as a centre whence its contents are circulated on loan throughout the whole of the British Isles. The demand for these loans from Provincial Museums, local Exhibitions, Schools of Art, &c., has gone on constantly increasing. In 1879, 10,654 objects were lent to twenty-nine places; in 1888–9 the number was 18,575 to sixty places. There are many who consider, and not without reason, that this constant removal must result in injury to the objects, and that nothing which is not in duplicate should be lent.[5]

[4] It is estimated that their *sale* value would be at least a million.

[5] The *Times* stated the case none too strongly when it said that a firm stand should be made against the extension of the system, which, if yielded to, would ruin

The most notable addition to the collections is the gift already referred to, which consisted of a magnificent array of French furniture, Sèvres and other porcelain, miniatures, and other examples of decorative art. These, the value of which was assessed at a quarter of a million, were left by Mr. John Jones, a tailor, who died in 1882. Other additions by purchase were the second part of the Robinson collection of Spanish objects, 3,000*l.*; Majolica and Limoges (Fountaine sale), 5,427*l.*; four Elizabethan salt-cellars, 2,100*l.*; Orrock collection of Chinese porcelain, 4,100*l.*

The State-aided museums in the Scotch and Irish capitals are the Edinburgh and Dublin Museums of Science and Art. Extensive additions have been made to each of these in the way of buildings, an entirely new museum being in course of erection in Dublin, which is to cost 200,000*l.*, of which more than three-fourths has been voted. At Edinburgh 29,750*l.* has been laid out. The costs of administration have risen considerably in both, at Edinburgh from 10,263*l.* in 1880 to 13,343*l.*; at Dublin from 7,818*l.* in 1880 to 15,242*l.* in 1889. In 1880, owing to exceptional attractions, the attendances at Edinburgh were 647,000; in 1888 they were 369,342. At Dublin the attendances have increased from 163,000 to 203,000.

In the commissions given by Government towards the decoration of public buildings and the erection of monuments to departed statesmen, heroes, &c., we have another form of State aid. Here the tale is soon told, and is indeed a sorry one when compared with the encouragement lavishly bestowed by other Continental nations. For a fresco at South Kensington, Sir F. Leighton, 3,000*l.*; for a statue of Lord Beaconsfield, 6,050*l.*; a statue of the Duke of Wellington (Sir J. E. Boehm, R.A.), 6,000*l.*; a statue of Gordon (H. Thornycroft, A.R.A.), 3,200*l.*

Her Majesty has, during the decade, bestowed unprecedented honours upon artists and those connected with art. Sir F. Leighton, Mr. J. E. Millais, Mr. Boehm, and Mr. Andrew Walker have been created baronets; and Messrs. Fettes Douglas, Linton, Blomfield, Newton, J. C. Robinson, and O. Brierley knights. In addition to this, so many societies have received the prefix of 'Royal' that it has almost ceased to be regarded as an honour.

Of the institutions which do not receive State aid the foremost is, of course, the Royal Academy. The outside public have little means of gauging the progress or the reverse of this august body. They will have noted that within the last few years the number of works hung upon the walls have materially increased, owing to the erection of a fine Water Colour Gallery and a smaller room for 'black and whites;' but of that almost more important portion of the

the National Collections without giving anything in its place. The money spent in circulation would soon go far to stock every museum with excellent copies of all that is useful to local students.

Academy's work—the schools—few reliable facts come to the surface. The following figures as to the exhibiting and the scholastic branches will therefore be read with interest.

As regards the Exhibition, the number of works submitted to the hanging committees during ten years has been no less than 82,789, an annually increasing number, from 6,590 in 1880 to 10,987 in 1889. Of these the works hung have amounted to 18,252, rising from 1,658 in 1880 to 2,196 in 1889. The visitors to view these have been 3,624,048, but their number has not increased, as is popularly imagined. The highest figures were 406,910 in 1882, the lowest 291,167 in 1886. In 1889 the total was 359,198. A little thought will explain this decline. In the first place, no extra sensational pictures have appeared, round which there have pressed such throngs that a second visit was necessary before their immediate environs could be reached. Then, again, it is perhaps still more due to other art galleries, Colonial and other Exhibitions which have opened, so that now country folk, who must do all the sights in a limited period, have not the time, as formerly, to go more than once. The Academy schools show little progress as regards numbers, for they were full at the close, as at the opening of the 'eighties.' 628 students have been admitted, and the numbers actually passing through studentship have varied from 469 in 1885 to 312 in 1888. Important reforms are on the eve of being carried out in the curriculum, and June next will probably see an almost entire remodelling of the system hitherto in vogue.

The changes in the Academic body have been many. Of the forty Academicians alive in 1880 no less than nine have died, namely, E. W. Cooke, E. M. Barry, R. Ansdell, C. W. Cope, A. Elmore, S. A. Hart, T. P. Knight, S. Redgrave, and G. E. Street. Of the twenty-nine then Associates nine have joined the majority, namely, T. Landseer, F. Holl, H. Le Jeune, J. W. Oakes, H. O'Neil, E. B. Stephens, R. Thorburn, W. F. Woodington, and W. Burges. In addition to these, all the then retired Academicians are no more, namely, S. Cousins, T. Doo, and T. Webster.

To fill the vacancies thus created there have been raised to the rank of Academicians, in 1880, Messrs. Armstead, Hodgson, Cole, and Pearson; in 1881, Messrs. Ouless, Riviere, Long, and Graham; in 1882, J. E. Boehm; in 1884, F. Holl; in 1885, A. Waterhouse; in 1887, Messrs. Fildes and Stone; in 1888, Messrs. Thornycroft and Burgess. There have been elected as Associates, in 1880, Messrs. Birch and Stacpoole; in 1881, Messrs. Aitchison, Brett, Dicksee, Gow, and Thornycroft; in 1882, Messrs. Bodley and Woods; in 1883, Messrs. Brock, Gregory, Leader, and Macbeth; in 1885, Messrs. Burne-Jones, Henry Moore, and W. J. Waterhouse; in 1886, Mr. J. S. Lucas; in 1887, Mr. A. Gilbert; and in 1888, Sir A. W. Blomfield and Messrs. Ford and Richmond.

Of societies in London which were existent prior to 1880, the Royal Water Colour Society is perhaps the only one which shows no change; its associates are still without a voice in the conduct of affairs, although they include many distinguished names and a considerable share of its *vis vitæ*. The Royal Institute of Water Colour Painters has moved to fine Galleries in Piccadilly, now its own property; as a result it has exhibited increased activity, although unfortunately its laudable attempt to institute Water Colour schools has not succeeded.

Space will not allow of more than a list of newly-founded bodies which afford opportunities for the display of art—namely, the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours, the New Gallery, the Painter Etchers, the English Art Club, and the Pastellists. Suffice it to say that the pictures offered to the public gaze in London in 1889 were not less than 11,000, as against 6,000 in 1880.

If material progress has been made in the metropolis in the means offered for the acquisition of art knowledge, what are we to say of the advance in the provinces? It has never hitherto been approached. In the year 1879 the Art Museums in existence worthy of the name could have been counted upon one's fingers, and Liverpool was the only town, we believe, where a subsidy in the form of a local rate was given. Now, the places possessing fine Museums erected by the inhabitants and supported to some extent out of the rates, include Birmingham, Manchester, Chester, Derby, Dundee, Exeter, Burslem, Ipswich, Folkestone, Leek, Leeds, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Salford, Sheffield, Southport, Stoke, York, Bradford, Oldham, Bootle, Preston, Swansea, and Worcester.

In justice to the efforts made towards the furtherance of Art in the provinces, a few figures must be given as an example.

At the Walker Art Gallery at Liverpool between 1880 and 1889 25,000*l.* have been contributed out of the rates, 25,000*l.* have been expended in purchases for the Gallery, whilst donations reach 14,728*l.* 28,763*l.* have been received in admission moneys, and 14,809 pictures have been exhibited. In addition to this, Sir Andrew Walker, the original donor of the Gallery, has added a wing to it, his total gift now reaching 50,000*l.*

At Birmingham the figures are even more remarkable. The Museum and Art Gallery opened in 1885, at a cost of 80,000*l.*, has in four years become the richest and largest in the provinces. The gifts of pictures, articles of vertu, &c., are valued at 50,000*l.*, whilst donations in cash (including 10,000*l.* from Messrs. R. and G. Tangye) have been 21,000*l.* The total value of the collection is already 86,000*l.* Nearly a million visitors a year testify to the appreciation of this lavish outlay.

No notice of the provinces would be complete without reference being made to the remarkable Exhibition of Victorian Art held at Manchester in 1887, or to that at Glasgow in the following year. The

collection of pictures at Manchester was the largest and most complete that had ever been formed, and was the principal attraction to the four and a half millions of visitors.

The Colonies have not been behind the mother country in their appreciation for art, and this appreciation has been in a rapidly increasing ratio during the 'eighties.' It was in 1880 that the Art Gallery at Sydney was opened in a temporary building, to be replaced in 1885 by a permanent Gallery upon which some 30,000*l.* is being expended: over 50,000*l.* have been voted by Government and spent during the last ten years in works of art, and the collection now includes examples of almost every English artist of note. At Melbourne a sum of 3,000*l.*, and at Adelaide 1,000*l.* a year, is now voted for the purchase of works of art. At the Centennial Exhibition held at the former city in 1888 a fine loan collection of 250 pictures, sent from England, was exhibited. 'Advance Australia' is fittingly the motto of the colony in Art as in Industry. In Canada a National Gallery was instituted at Ottawa in 1880: it contains over one hundred works of art.

No complete statistics are obtainable, nor can any estimate be formed, as to the sums received by the artistic profession during the last ten years. The sales at the various exhibitions afford no sufficient data. It is certain, however, that the inflated prices which ruled in the 'seventies' have only in few instances been maintained in the 'eighties.'

But there is one accepted test of value as to which figures and facts are procurable, namely, the auction mart.* The fallacy of this in the case of individual objects is readily demonstrated. Fine or foul weather, heat or cold, even a dilatory cabdriver, may prevent the presence at the auction of one who would not have let the hammer fall under double the price at which it did.[6]

But if the test is not a reliable one in individual cases, its accuracy may fairly be accepted when a general average is struck, and those objects which have realised too much are set against those which have gone below their proper value; and therefore it is that results which range over ten years may be regarded as an accurate reflection of the rise or decline of prices during that period.

Now although the time under review has been one of continuous bad trade, and of a shrinkage in prices in the commercial world, this has not been so in the sphere of art. Never before have such magnificent sums been given, and hardly a year has passed without a 'record' of some sort being established.

Art objects of the first rank must and will attain to higher and higher figures. Now that the taste for amassing fine things has

* A notable case of fictitious value occurred in the case of almost every picture purchased at enormous prices by a gentleman during the years now under notice. It leaked out prior to his first great purchase that he was going to buy, with the result that he was made by the dealers to pay double the price he should have done.

spread the world over, the number of persons to whom price is no object are becoming vastly more numerous. They are in fact increasing at a greater rate than the objects themselves, and the best investment will usually in the long run be found to be that which has been the most costly. Before proceeding to a detailed statement of the sales and the most notable objects which appeared at them, we will shortly summarise the 'records' which have been established as regards price.

1882. The Hamilton Palace collection produced the unprecedented sum of 397,562*l.* At this sale a pair of Louis XIV. armoires sold for 12,075*l.*, a Louis XVI. commode for 9,450*l.*, and a Miniature by Nicholas Hilliard for 2,835*l.*—all 'records.' Sixty-two lots realised over 1,000*l.* each.

6,615*l.* was given at the Hermon sale for the 'Babylonian Marriage Market'—the highest sum ever paid at auction for a picture by a living artist.

1883. An etching by Rembrandt—'Dr. Van Tol'—fetched 1,500*l.*—unprecedented.

1884. Three pictures from the Blenheim Collection sold (not by auction) for 120,000*l.*—namely, 'the Ansidei Madonna,' 70,000*l.*, and two Rubens 50,000*l.*—unprecedented.

The highest price on record—7,305*l.*—was paid at the Fountaine sale for a Limoges dish, and three pieces of Henry II. ware reached 6,458*l.*

1885. At Sir J. Thorold's sale a Mazarin Bible sold for 3,900*l.*, and a Psalmorum Codex, 4,500*l.*—unprecedented.

1887. At the Lonsdale sale Boucher's 'Madame Pompadour' sold for 10,395*l.*—the highest sum ever paid for a portrait.

1888. Thirty-three pictures sold for 1,500*l.* and over—a total never before approached.

1889. 22,120*l.* paid for Millet's 'Angelus.'

It would be impossible to give data as to all the art sales in the kingdom; the following figures are therefore almost exclusively confined to sales by the firm of Christie, Manson, and Woods, who probably transact as much Art business as all other auctioneers in the country combined. The value of the works of art dispersed by them in ten years has been 3,346,500*l.*, the highest total in any one year being 601,000*l.* in 1882 (the year of the Hamilton sale), the lowest 206,000*l.* in 1880.

The following table shows the number of pictures exceeding 1,000*l.* sold in each year by them:—

	1,000*l.* to 2,000*l.*	2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.*	Over 3,000*l.*
1880	8	2	—
1881	13	6	8
1882	33	7	9
1883	28	6	1
1884	24	5	6
1885	4	1	—
1886	30	4	8
1887	27	2	8
1888	36	12	9
1889	16	5	5
	219	50	54

The total value of these 269 pictures under 3,000*l.* was about 440,000*l.* Those exceeding 3,000*l.* were as follows:—

		£
	1881.	
Fielding, Copley	Travellers in a Storm	3,150
Landseer, Sir E.	Digging out the Otter	3,097
„	Stag pursued by a Deerhound	5,250
„	Man proposes, God disposes	6,615
„	Well-bred Sitters	5,250
Stanfield, C.	Battle of Roverodo	3,465
Turner, J. M. W.	Palestrina	3,150
Millais, J. E.	Princes in the Tower	3,990
	1882.	
Philip, J.	Selling Relics	3,937
Long, E.	Babylonian Marriage Market	6,615
„	The Suppliants	4,305
Botticelli, S.	Assumption of Virgin	4,777
Hobbema	Water-Mill and Cottage	4,252
Rubens	Daniel in Lion's Den	5,145
Signorelli Luca	The Circumcision	3,150
Velasquez	Philip the Fourth	6,300
Meissonier, J.	Napoleon the First	6,090
	1883.	
Turner, J. M. W.	Van Tromp's Shallop	3,675
	1884.	
Landseer, Sir E.	Monarch of the Glen	6,510
Lorraine, Claude	Landing of Æneas	3,990
„	Sacrifice to Apollo	6,200
Murillo	Holy Family	3,150
Rubens	Conversion of Saul	3,465
„	Holy Family	5,250
	1886.	
Rubens	Venus and Adonis	7,200
Carlo Dolci	La Madonna del Stella (? sold)	6,600
Philip, J.	Early Career of Murillo	3,990
Rubens	Anne of Austria	3,700
Burne-Jones, E.	Chant d'Amour	3,150
Landseer, Sir E.	A Deer Family	3,050
Millais, Sir J. E.	Vale of Rest	3,000
Bonheur, R.	Horse Fair (Replica)	3,000
	1887.	
Boucher	Madame de Pompadour	10,395
Gainsborough, T.	The Sisters, Lady Day and Baroness de Noailles	9,975
Turner, J. M. W.	Van Goyen	6,825
Millais, Sir J. E.	Over the Hills and Far Away	5,250
Gainsborough, T.	The Hon. Mrs. Fane	4,815
Bonheur, R.	A Highland Raid	4,095
Turner, J. M. W.	Mercury and Argus	3,780
Nicol, E.	The Disputed Boundary	3,050
	1888.	
Bonheur, R.	Denizens of the Highlands	5,827
Landseer, Sir E.	Braemar	5,197
Bonheur, R.	Labourages Nivernais	4,410

		£
Reynolds, Sir J.	Mrs. Payne Gallway and Son	4,305
Millais, Sir J.	North-West Passage	4,200
Muller, W.	Ancient Tombs, Lycia	3,937
Bonheur, R.	The Bouricouros	3,780
Troyon, C.	The Ferry	3,675
Gainsborough, T.	The Hon. Mrs. Fane	3,045

1889.

Hobbema	Landscape	5,460
Rembrandt	Death of Lucrezia	3,937
Millet	Les Vaneurs	3,570
Hobbema	Landscape	3,465
Troyon	Heights of Suresnes	3,045

The total value of the fifty-four pictures contained in the foregoing list is 252,373*l.*—an average of 4,673*l.* each!

But it is not in pictures alone that these prices, which surpass any previous total, have been obtained. In every other branch of the fine arts they are equally remarkable. The following is a list of *objets d'art* which have sold for 'sensational' figures:—

1880.	£
Pair of Hawthorn Jars	1,270
1881.	
Locket, miniature, by Oliver	2,126
Four panels of Gobelins tapestry	4,882
Commode (rose and tulip wood)	1,575
Proof of Ben Arthur (Turner's 'Liber Studiorum')	210
1882.	
Vandyck's 'Iconographie'	2,850
Six engravings of Triumphs	1,950
Celadon green vase	2,415
Oriental glass ewer	2,730
Limoges tazza	2,100
Rouen ware—4 busts	2,646
Sèvres vase	1,585
Agate vase	1,764
Jade bottle	1,522
Jasper jug	2,467
Miniature (N. Hilliard)	2,835
Pair of armoires (Louis XVI.)	12,075
Cabinet (Louis XVI)	5,460
Candelabra (2 pair)	5,142
Commodes (Reisener)	4,305 3,213 2,310
Commode (Louis XVI.)	9,450
„ (Louis XV.)	6,247
Secretaires (Louis XVI.)	9,450 4,620
Table (Louis XV.)	5,515
„ (of ebony)	3,202
Cup (silver gilt) by Roemer	3,244
1883.	
Etching (Rembrandt): Portrait of Dr. Arnoldus Tholinx	1,510
Buckler's Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Wilts	465
Smith's Virginia	605
Townley's Mysteries	620
Engraving (Botticelli): Assumption of the Virgin	903
MSS. (Chronique de Normandie)	980
Flambeau (Henry II.)	3,675
Dish (Limoges): Supper of the Gods	7,350
Italian horn in ivory	4,452
1885.	
Bible (Mazarin)	3,000
Psalmorum Codex	4,950
1886.	
Dinner Service (Sèvres)	3,437
Vases (2 pair of oviform), Chelsea (bought in)	4,000
Garniture de Cheminée (Sèvres)	2,655
1889.	
Mazarin Bible	2,000

Before leaving Graphic Art, a few words must be said with reference to some of its minor branches, and first as to Reproduction.

Here fashion has had much to do with the notable changes which have occurred, for it has assisted in giving the deathblow not only to 'line' but to the 'mixed' style of engraving, while it has pampered etching and turned a not unfavourable glance towards mezzotinting. The most remarkable feature has, however, been the wonderful advances which have been made in the processes which have photography as their basis: these threaten to extinguish every other method of reproduction, through the rapidity, the dexterity, and the fidelity of their results. A curious feature is that the majority of these processes have been invented abroad and are almost all exploited by foreigners, none of our countrymen appearing to venture upon what should be a lucrative undertaking.

As for photography, no one who has visited the successive exhibitions held by the various societies connected with it can have failed to recognise the advance which has taken place, an advance which, if continued, must soon give its professors a claim to admission within the ranks of artists.

In the Plastic Arts the progress has been most marked. The sculpture galleries at the Royal Academy contain each year an increasingly large number of works evidencing individuality and talent. Let us hope that these have met their reward by an increasingly large number of purchasers, and that in future years not only may State encouragement be diverted into this channel, but that architects and those who employ them may utilise much of this highly decorative branch of art to everybody's benefit and pleasure.

From sculpture we pass easily to architecture, a subject far too vast to do more than glance at, even were the writer fitted to pronounce upon it. In the metropolis, the principal public buildings which have risen into being during the period 1880–89 are the Law Courts, the Natural History Museum, and the City and Guilds Institute. The new streets which have been opened up, Northumberland Avenue, Shaftesbury Avenue, and Charing Cross Road, whilst they exhibit the most pronounced examples of domestic architecture during the period, can hardly be said to show any striking advance in the art, but individual buildings scattered throughout London where the architect has had a free hand show that much vitality exists. There still remains to note the initial experiment of the London County Council at Piccadilly Circus towards the adornment of London public places; it is not promising.

Outside London, the new Assize Courts and the Art Museum at Birmingham, Truro Cathedral, Owens College, Manchester, Municipal Buildings at Glasgow, Middleborough and Barrow-in-Furness, the Glasgow Exhibition, the Holloway College, Mansfield College, Oxford, the Laboratory Schools at Cambridge, and Mountstuart House are buildings which will hand down the architecture of the decade.

Native architects consider that the period has been one of

promise rather than performance, but foreigners give it a higher meed of praise. Dr. Reichensberger, an architect of cosmopolitan reputation, has said of it, 'the English continue to execute architectural work of all kinds not only in no respect inferior to our own, but actually superior from an æsthetic point of view.'

Figures fail us in the great department of Industrial Art; its position now as compared with ten years ago can only be a matter of individual opinion. Those whose cultivation in art dates some years back may look around their rooms and fairly consider that the furniture and decoration of the 'seventies' exhibit as good taste as that produced since. But undoubtedly the pendulum has swung from the grave to the gay side, and the soberer tints and more austere lines which were in vogue have given place to a larger and brighter range of colours.

No one, however, who has studied the exhibits at the successive Exhibitions of Manchester, Glasgow, and Paris can hesitate to affirm that our Art teaching is not only assisting the producer but necessitating a better taste in the thing produced. Undoubtedly there are those who will point to the ghastly black and gilt cases in which our manufacturers still exhibit their things at Exhibitions, and say, 'Can a nation which is content to show their goods to the world in such a framing have any artistic capabilities?' The anomalies of this sort are most puzzling, and Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A., in a paper read before the recent Art Congress in Edinburgh, drew attention to one of them when he said that 'the very man who finds his most refreshing leisure within the walls of his private picture gallery is often in his daily work assisting to extinguish the life out of Art of which he believes himself to be so devout a lover; pouring out hideous and badly made articles upon the world, every one of which weighs in the scales against the chances of a national life for Art, as it does against national reputation.'

So too the Directors of the great Railway Companies who turn their railway carriages into picture galleries which millions of the public must perforce spend many a leisure hour in, seem altogether to fail to realise what a responsibility attaches to them. Why, for, instance should the North-Western be content to fill their carriages and their guide-books with hideous, ill-drawn, coloured representations of their hotels, when they can do as the Great Eastern and exhibit artistic photographs of the beauties of nature which their territory contains—a far more attractive form of advertising? Why should the artistic chairman of another company suffer acres of paint throughout the length and breadth of his stations to be finished in a feeble imitation of grained oak, when he would never dream of permitting such a fraud in his own house? Such as these hardly consider the vast power which they possess of directing for right or wrong the artistic perceptions of the vast numbers who come within their reach, and who undoubtedly look up to and expect guidance from them.

A feature of the period under review which cannot be omitted is the enormous amount of foreign art which has been imported. Not a week passes that augmentations are not made to the crowded ranks of artists, engravers, or reproducers by Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, and Americans. In addition to these come pictures, engravings, and chromolithographs by thousands. A reliable estimate puts at two millions the money for these things which has gone across the water in ten years. Of this sum, assuredly not five per cent. will ever return to the art market, for, however much foreigners may admire, they never purchase an English work of art. There is much talk of 'Patriotism,' but there are few of us who are free from blame in this matter: it would indeed be well for the art of this country if we were to consider that in writing a cheque for a foreign picture we are oftentimes depriving an English artist and his family of a year's support, and even in purchasing a shilling Christmas card 'printed in Germany' we are assisting, in a lesser degree, in the same injury to our Art Industries. The Merchandise Marks Act was passed with a view of affixing to every imported article indications by which it might be recognised and avoided, but the laxity with which it is administered has already rendered it almost nugatory. In the first months in which it came into force one or two parcels were stopped in transit for want of the words 'Printed in Paris' imprinted upon them, but now hundreds of paintings and engravings pass through every week unnoticed.

It will be with more pleasant feelings that we wind up this paper by the recognition of a most important feature of these last few years, namely, the support which art has received from the gifts of private individuals.

Here is a list of the most noteworthy.

Name of donor			
F. Clarke	National Gallery		24,000
W. White	British Museum		25,000
Anonymous	National Portrait Gallery	100,000	—
J. H. Nettlefold	Birmingham	—	25,000
John Jones	South Kensington	—	250,000
John Burton	York		10,000
Newton Mappin	Sheffield	15,000	100,000
Lady C. Schreiber	South Kensington Museum	—	5,000
J. L. Walker	National Gallery	—	10,000
P. Horsman & others	Wolverhampton	20,000	20,000
A. Macdonald	Aberdeen	—	25,000
J. Keiller	Dundee	10,500	—
Sir F. Mappin	Sheffield	—	10,000
Sir J. Whitworth	Manchester	47,000	—
Sir A. Walker	Liverpool	—	10,000
E. Harris	Preston	100,000	5,000
R. Newsham	Preston	—	30,000
Lord Brassey	Hastings	15,000	—
R. Findlay	National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh	40,000	10,000
		347,500	559,000

The following large donations have also been given to art charities: by T. Landseer, A.R.A., 5,000*l.*; C. Landseer, R.A., 1,000*l.*; E. W. Cooke, R.A., 2,000*l.*; C. H. Newton, 1,500*l.*; S. Cousins, R.A., 15,000*l.*

A curious fact which the foregoing lists emphasise, is that whilst the gifts to Galleries and Museums have been entirely from outside the artistic body, those to Art charities have been as entirely confined to artists. It would seem as if they alone appreciated and recognised the failures in a struggle which has become every year more acute. In a profession which has doubled itself in ten years, and with which amateurs are not ashamed to compete for monetary rewards, there cannot be a livelihood for all or nearly all. If anybody doubts this, let him study the sale catalogue at the close of our principal Exhibition, and note what percentage of pictures has been sold; he may then very fairly estimate how much of the work produced by the artistic community finds a market. If the thoughtless thousands who throng the Private Views and the Soirées of the Royal Academy and other galleries, and who receive so much gratuitous pleasure therefrom, would for a moment whilst looking at the pictures think of the darker side of the artists' lives, how much might they not do towards giving to many a home a 'sunny decad' and a 'gay quinquenniad'!

MARCUS B. HUISH.

ABSOLUTE POLITICAL ETHICS.

LIFE in Fiji at the time when Thomas Williams settled there must have been something worse than uncomfortable. One of the people who passed near the string of nine hundred stones with which Ra Undreundre recorded the number of human victims he had devoured, must have had unpleasant waking thoughts and occasionally horrible dreams. A man who had lost some fingers for breaches of ceremony, or had seen his neighbour killed by a chief for behaviour not sufficiently respectful, and who remembered how King Tanoa cut off his cousin's arm, cooked it and ate it in his presence, and then had him cut to pieces, must not unfrequently have had 'a bad quarter of an hour.' Nor could creeping sensations have failed to run through any women who heard Tui Thakan eulogizing his dead son for cruelty, and saying that 'he could kill his own wives if they offended him, and eat them afterwards.' Happiness could not have been general in a society where there was a liability to be one among the ten whose life-blood baptized the decks of a new canoe—a society in which the killing even of unoffending persons was no crime but a glory; and in which everyone knew that his neighbour's restless ambition was to be an acknowledged murderer. Still there must have been some moderation in murdering even in Fiji. Or must we hesitate to conclude that unlimited murder would have caused extinction of the society?

The extent to which each man's possessions among the Biluchis are endangered by the predatory instincts of his neighbours, may be judged from the fact that 'a small mud tower is erected in each field, where the possessor and his retainers guard his produce.' If turbulent states of society such as early histories tell of, do not show us so vividly how the habit of appropriating one another's goods interferes with social prosperity and individual comfort, yet they do not leave us in doubt respecting these results. It is an inference which few will be hardy enough to dispute, that in proportion as the time of each man, instead of being occupied in further production, is occupied in guarding that which he has produced against marauders, the total production must be diminished and the sustentation of each and all less satisfactorily achieved. And it is a manifest corollary that if each pushes beyond a certain limit the practice of

trying to satisfy his needs by robbing his neighbour, the society must dissolve: solitary life will prove preferable.

A deceased friend of mine, narrating incidents in his life, told me that as a young man he sought to establish himself in Spain as a commission agent; and that, failing by expostulation or other means to obtain payment from one who had ordered goods through him, he, as a last resource, went to the man's house and presented himself before him pistol in hand—a proceeding which had the desired effect: the account was settled. Suppose now that everywhere contracts had thus to be enforced by more or less strenuous measures. Suppose that a coal-mine proprietor in Derbyshire, having sent a train-load to a London coal-merchant, had commonly to send a *posse* of colliers up to town, to stop the man's wagons and take out the horses until payment had been made. Suppose the farm labourer or the artisan was constantly in doubt whether, at the end of the week, the wages agreed upon would be forthcoming, or whether he would get only half, or whether he would have to wait six months. Suppose that daily in every shop there occurred scuffles between shopman and customer, the one to get the money without giving the goods, and the other to get the goods without paying the money. What in such case would happen to the society? What would become of its producing and distributing businesses? Is it a rash inference that industrial co-operation (of the voluntary kind at least) would cease?

'Why these absurd questions?' asks the impatient reader. 'Surely everyone knows that murder, assault, robbery, fraud, breach of contract, &c., are at variance with social welfare and must be punished when committed.' My replies are several. In the first place, I am quite content to have the questions called absurd; because this implies a consciousness that the answers are so self-evident that it is absurd to assume the possibility of any other answers. My second reply is that I am not desirous of pressing the question *whether* we know these things, but of pressing the question *how* we know these things. Can we know them, and do we know them, by contemplating the necessities of the case? or must we have recourse to 'inductions based on careful observation and experience'? Before we make and enforce laws against murder, ought we to inquire into the social welfare and individual happiness in places where murder prevails, and observe whether or not the welfare and happiness are greater in places where murder is rare? Shall robbery be allowed to go on until, by collecting and tabulating the effects in countries where thieves predominate and in countries where thieves are but few, we are shown by induction that prosperity is greater when each man is allowed to retain that which he has earned? And is it needful to prove by accumulated evidence that breaches of contract impede production and exchange, and those benefits to each and all which mutual dependence achieves? In the third place, these instances of

actions which, pushed to extremes, cause social dissolution, and which, in smaller degrees, hinder social co-operation and its benefits, I give for the purpose of asking what is their common trait. In each of such actions we see aggression—a carrying on of life in a way which directly interferes with the carrying on of another's life. The relation between effort and consequent benefit in one man, is either destroyed altogether or partially broken by the doings of another man. If it be admitted that life can be maintained only by certain activities (the internal ones being universal, and the external ones being universal for all but parasites and the immature), it must be admitted that when like-natured beings are associated, the required activities must be mutually limited; and that the highest life can result only when the associated beings are so constituted as severally to keep within the implied limits. The restrictions stated thus generally, may obviously be developed into special restrictions referring to this or that kind of conduct. These, then, I hold are *à priori* truths which admit of being known by contemplation of the conditions—axiomatic truths which bear to ethics a relation analogous to that which the mathematical axioms bear to the exact sciences.

I do not mean that these axiomatic truths are cognisable by all. For the apprehension of them, as for the apprehension of simpler axioms, a certain mental growth and a certain mental discipline are needed. In the *Treatise on Natural Philosophy* by Professors Thomson and Tait, it is remarked that 'physical axioms are axiomatic to those only who have sufficient knowledge of the action of physical causes to enable them to see at once their necessary truth.' Doubtless a fact and a significant fact. A plough-boy cannot form a conception of the axiom that action and reaction are equal and opposite. In the first place he lacks a sufficiently generalised idea of action—has not united into one conception pushing and pulling, the blow of a fist, the recoil of a gun, and the attraction of a planet. Still less has he any generalised idea of reaction. And even had he these two ideas, it is probable that, defective in power of representation as he is, he would fail to recognize the necessary equality. Similarly with these *à priori* ethical truths. If a speculative member of that Fijian slave-tribe who regarded themselves as food for the chiefs had suggested that there might come a place where men would not eat one another, his implied belief that they might come to have a little respect for one another's lives, condemned as utterly without justification in experience, would be considered as fit only for a wild speculator. Facts furnished by every-day observation make it clear to the Biluchi, keeping watch in his mud-tower, that possession of property can be maintained only by force; and it is most likely to him scarcely conceivable that there exist limits which, if mutually recognized, may exclude aggressions, and make it needless to mount guard over fields: only an absurd

idealist (supposing such a thing known to him) would suggest the possibility. And so even of our own ancestors in feudal times, it may be concluded that, constantly going about armed and often taking refuge in strongholds, the thought of a peaceful social state would have seemed ridiculous; and the belief that there might be a recognized equality among men's claims to pursue the objects of life, and a consequent desistence from aggressions, would have been scarcely conceivable. But now that an orderly social state has been maintained for generations—now that in daily intercourse men rarely use violence, commonly pay what they owe, and in most cases respect the claims of the weak as well as those of the strong—now that they are brought up with the idea that all men are equal before the law, and daily see judicial decisions turning upon the question whether one citizen has or has not infringed upon the equal rights of another; there exist in the general mind materials for forming the conception of a *régime* in which men's activities are mutually limited, and in which maintenance of harmony depends on respect for the limits. There has arisen an ability to see that mutual limitations are necessitated when lives are carried on in proximity; and to see that there necessarily emerge definite sets of restraints applying to definite classes of actions. And it has become manifest to some, though not it seems to many, that there results an *à priori* system of absolute political ethics—a system under which men of like natures, severally so constituted as spontaneously to refrain from trespassing, may work together without friction, and with the greatest advantage to each and all.

'But men are not wholly like-natured and are unlikely to become so. Nor are they so constituted that each is solicitous for his neighbour's claims as for his own, and there is small probability that they ever will be. Your absolute political ethics is therefore an ideal beyond the reach of the real.' This is quite true. Nevertheless, much as it seems to do so, it does not in the least follow that there is no use for absolute political ethics. The contrary may clearly enough be shown. An analogy will explain the paradox.

There exists a division of physical science distinguished as abstract mechanics or absolute mechanics—absolute in the sense that its propositions are unqualified. It is concerned with statics and dynamics in their pure forms—deals with forces and motions considered as free from all interferences resulting from friction, resistances of media, and special properties of matter. If it enunciates a law of motion, it recognizes nothing which modifies manifestation of it. If it formulates the properties of the lever it treats of this assuming it to be perfectly rigid and without thickness—an impossible lever. Its theory of the screw imagines the screw to be frictionless; and in treating of the wedge, absolute incompressibility is supposed. Thus its truths are never presented in experience. Even

those movements of the heavenly bodies which are deducible from its propositions are always more or less perturbed; and on the Earth the inferences to be drawn from them deviate very considerably from the results reached by experiment. Nevertheless this system of ideal mechanics is indispensable for the guidance of real mechanics. The engineer has to deal with its propositions as true in full, before he proceeds to qualify them by taking into account the natures of the materials he uses. The course which a projectile would take if subject only to the propulsive force and the attraction of the Earth must be recognized, though no such course is ever pursued: correction for atmospheric resistance cannot else be made. That is to say, though, by empirical methods, applied or relative mechanics may be developed to a considerable extent, it cannot be highly developed without the aid of absolute mechanics. So is it here. Relative political ethics, or that which deals with right and wrong in public affairs as partially determined by changing circumstances, cannot progress without taking into account right and wrong considered apart from changing circumstances—cannot do without absolute political ethics; the propositions of which, deduced from the conditions under which life is carried on in an associated state, take no account of the special circumstances of any particular associated state.

And now observe a truth which seems entirely overlooked; namely, that the set of deductions thus arrived at is verified by an immeasurably vast induction, or rather by a great assemblage of vast inductions. For what else are the laws and judicial systems of all civilized nations, and of all societies which have risen above savagery? What is the meaning of the fact that all peoples have discovered the need for punishing murder, usually by death? How is it that where any considerable progress has been made, theft is forbidden by law, and a penalty attached to it? Why along with further advance does the enforcing of contracts become general? And what is the reason that among fully civilized peoples frauds, libels, and minor aggressions of various kinds are repressed in more or less rigorous ways? No cause can be assigned save a general uniformity in men's experiences, showing them that aggressions directly injurious to the individuals aggressed upon are indirectly injurious to society. Generation after generation observations have forced this truth on them; and generation after generation they have been developing the interdicts into greater detail. That is to say, the above fundamental principle and its corollaries arrived at *à priori* are verified in an infinity of cases *à posteriori*. Everywhere the tendency has been to carry further in practice the dictates of theory—to conform systems of law to the requirements of absolute political ethics; if not consciously, still unconsciously. Nay, indeed, is not this truth manifest in the very name used for the end aimed at—equity or equalness? Equal-

ness of what? No answer can be given without a recognition—vague it may be, but still a recognition—of the doctrine above set forth.

Thus, instead of being described as putting faith in 'long chains of deduction from abstract ethical assumptions' I ought to be described as putting faith in simple deductions from abstract ethical necessities; which deductions are verified by infinitely numerous observations and experiences of semi-civilized and civilized mankind in all ages and places. Or rather I ought to be described as one who, contemplating the restraints everywhere put upon the various kinds of transgressions, and seeing in them all a common principle everywhere dictated by the necessities of the associated state, proceeds to develop the consequences of this common principle by deduction, and to justify both the deductions and the conclusions which legislators have empirically reached by showing that the two correspond. This method of deduction verified by induction is the method of developed science at large. I do not believe that I shall be led to abandon it and change my 'way of thinking' by any amount of disapproval, however strongly expressed.

Are we then to understand that by this imposing title, 'Absolute Political Ethics,' nothing more is meant than a theory of the needful restraints which law imposes on the actions of citizens—an ethical warrant for systems of law? Well, supposing even that I had to answer 'Yes' to this question (which I do not), there would still be an ample justification for the title. Having for its subject-matter all that is comprehended under the word 'Justice,' alike as formulated in law and administered by legal instrumentalities, the title has a sufficiently large area to cover. This would scarcely need saying were it not for a curious defect of thought which we are everywhere led into by habit.

Just as, when talking of knowledge, we ignore entirely that familiar knowledge of surrounding things, animate and inanimate, acquired in childhood, in the absence of which death would quickly result, and think only of that far less essential knowledge gained at school and college or from books and conversation—just as, when thinking of mathematics, we include under the name only its higher groups of truths and drop out that simpler group constituting arithmetic, though for the carrying on of life this is more important than all the rest put together; so, when politics and political ethics are discussed, there is no thought of those parts of them which include whatever is fundamental and long settled. The word political raises ideas of party-contests, ministerial changes, prospective elections, or else of the Home-Rule question, the Land-Purchase scheme, Local Option, or the Eight-Hours movement. Rarely does the word suggest law-reform, or a better judicial organization, or a purified police. And if ethics comes into consideration, it is in connection with the morals of parliamentary strife or of candidates' professions,

or of electoral corruptions. Yet it needs but to look at the definition of politics ('that part of ethics which consists in the regulation and government of a nation or state, for the preservation of its safety, peace, and prosperity'), to see that the current conception fails by omitting the chief part. It needs but to consider how relatively immense a factor in the life of each man is constituted by safety of person, security of house and property, and enforcement of claims, to see that not only the largest part but the part which is vital is left out. Hence the absurdity does not exist in the conception of an absolute political ethics, but it exists in the ignoring of its subject-matter. Unless it be considered absurd to regard as absolute the interdicts against murder, burglary, fraud and all other aggressions, it cannot be considered absurd to regard as absolute the ethical system which embodies these interdicts.

It remains to add that beyond the deductions which, as we have seen, are verified by vast assemblages of inductions, there may be drawn other deductions not thus verified—deductions drawn from the same data, but which have no relevant experiences to say yes or no to them. Such deductions may be valid or invalid; and I believe that in my first work, written forty years ago and long since withdrawn from circulation, there are some invalid deductions. But to reject a principle and a method because of some invalid deductions is about as proper as it would be to pooh-pooh arithmetic because of blunders in certain arithmetical calculations.

I turn now to a question above put—whether, by absolute political ethics, nothing more is meant than an ethical warrant for systems of law—a question to which, by implication, I answered No. And now I have to answer that it extends over a further field equally wide if less important. For beyond the relations among citizens taken individually, there are the relations between the incorporated body of citizens and each citizen. And on these relations between the State and the man, absolute political ethics gives judgments as well as on the relations between man and man. Its judgments on the relations between man and man are corollaries from its primary truth, that the activities of each in pursuing the objects of life may be rightly restricted only by the like activities of others: such others being like-natured (for the principle does not contemplate slave-societies or societies in which one race dominates over another); and its judgments on the relations between the man and the State are corollaries from the allied truth, that the activities of each citizen may be rightly limited by the incorporated body of citizens only as far as is needful for securing to him the remainder. This further limitation is a necessary accompaniment of the militant state; and must continue so long as, besides the criminalities of individual aggression, there continue the criminalities of international aggres-

sion. It is clear that the preservation of the society is an end which must take precedence of the preservation of its individuals taken singly; since the preservation of each individual and maintenance of his ability to pursue the objects of life, depend on the preservation of the society. Such restrictions upon his actions as are imposed by the necessities of war, and of preparedness for war when it is probable, are therefore ethically defensible.

And here we enter upon the many and involved questions with which relative political ethics has to deal. When originally indicating the contrast, I spoke of 'absolute political ethics, or that which ought to be, as distinguished from relative political ethics, or that which is at present the nearest practicable approach to it;' and had any attention been paid to this distinction, no controversy need have arisen. Here I have to add that the qualifications which relative political ethics sets forth vary with the type of the society, which is primarily determined by the extent to which defence against other societies is needful. Where international enmity is great and the social organisation has to be adapted to warlike activities, the coercion of individuals by the State is such as almost to destroy their freedom of action and make them slaves of the State; and where this results from the necessities of defensive war (not offensive war, however), relative political ethics furnishes a warrant. Conversely, as militancy decreases, there is a diminished need both for that subordination of the individuals which is necessitated by consolidating them into a fighting machine, and for that further subordination entailed by supplying this fighting machine with the necessaries of life; and as fast as this change goes on, the warrant for State-coercion which relative political ethics furnishes becomes less and less.

Obviously it is out of the question here to enter upon the complex questions raised. It must suffice to indicate them as above. Should I be able to complete Part IV. of the *Principles of Ethics* treating of 'Justice,' of which the first chapters only are at present written, I hope to deal adequately with these relations between the ethics of the progressive condition and the ethics of that condition which is the goal of progress—a goal ever to be recognized, though it cannot be actually reached.

The grave misrepresentations dealt with in the foregoing sections, I have been able to rectify by an exposition that is mainly impersonal: allusions, only, having been made to the personal bearings of the argument. But there remain other grave misrepresentations which I cannot dispose of in the same way. Life sometimes presents alternatives both of which are disagreeable, and acceptance of either of which is damaging. A choice between two such I now find myself compelled to make. Professor Huxley, referring to me, speaks of 'the gulf fixed between his way of thinking and mine:' the impli-

cation being that as he regards his own 'way of thinking' as the right one, my way of thinking, separated from it by a gulf, must be extremely wrong. As this tacit condemnation of my 'way of thinking' touches not only the question at issue but also many other questions, and as it comes not from an anonymous critic, but from one whose statements will be taken as trustworthy, I am placed in the dilemma of either passively allowing his injurious characterization, or else of showing that it is untrue, which I cannot do without describing or illustrating my 'way of thinking.' This is, of course, an unpleasant undertaking, and one which self-respect would ordinarily negative. But unpleasant as it is, I feel obliged to enter upon it.

Years ago Professor Huxley criticized the political doctrine held by me, and entitled his article 'Administrative Nihilism.' As this doctrine includes advocacy of governmental action for the repression not only of crimes but of many minor offences, I pointed out that if it is to be called 'administrative nihilism,' then still more must the eight prohibitory clauses of the decalogue be called ethical nihilism. Professor Huxley nevertheless thought his title a fit one; and has continued to use it in the last edition of his *Critiques and Addresses*. This political doctrine held by me remains unchanged, but the view taken of it by Professor Huxley appears to have been reversed. In an emphatic manner he has recently warned me against 'undertaking to preserve the health and heal the diseases of an organism vastly more complicated than the human body,' having for my guides 'long chains of deduction from abstract ethical assumptions.' So that while represented as one who would have no administration at all, I am represented as advocating dangerous administrative methods of healing diseases of the body politic. My policy is characterized now as a policy of no action, and now as a policy of rash action. These two characterizations are applied to the same set of beliefs, and they stand in direct contradiction. Necessarily there must be extreme error in one or both; and the latter alternative is the true one: both are wrong.

The 'way of thinking' which Professor Huxley indicates as separated by a gulf from his own, and which he implies is exclusively pursued by me, is that of reaching conclusions by 'long chains of deduction from abstract ethical assumptions, hardly any link of which can be tested experimentally.' On the other hand the course he advocates is that of seeking guidance from 'inductions based on careful observation and experience'—a course which he implies is not pursued by me, either in the political sphere or elsewhere: certainly not in the political sphere. Now let us ask what is implied by the evidence. Up to the end of the division treating of Ecclesiastical Institutions, where it has stood still for these four years, the *Principles of Sociology* contains more than five thousand facts,

gathered from accounts of more than two hundred societies, savage and civilized, ancient and modern. If, then, I am rightly described as pursuing the deductive method (exclusively, as it would appear), there arises this curious question:—How have I used for deductive purposes more facts than have been used by any other writer on Sociology for inductive purposes? 'This is irrelevant,' will perhaps be the rejoinder—'The question concerns not the method pursued in dealing with Sociology at large, but the method pursued in dealing with governmental actions at the present time.' Merely remarking that it would be strange had I pursued one method in treating the subject at large and an opposite method in treating a small division of it, I go on to reply that I have *not* pursued the opposite method but the same method. The views I hold respecting the sphere of governmental action are everywhere supported by inductions. The essay on 'Over-legislation,' dating back to 1853, is almost wholly inductive. Inductive reasoning in support of the same views occupies the greater part of the essay on 'Representative Government,' much of the essay on 'Parliamentary Reform: the Dangers and the Safeguards,' and half of the essay on 'Specialised Administration.' In the *Study of Sociology*, again, several masses of facts are brought in support of the same views (pp. 3–4, 161–69, and 270–73); and once more in *The Man versus The State* (pp. 48–60 and 62–64) a like course is pursued. I count, in different places, eight inductive arguments, not in defence of proposals for curing the diseases of the body politic, but in reprobation of proposals for doing this. 'But do not the books and essays named contain deductive arguments?' it may be asked. Certainly they do; and I should be ashamed of them if they did not. But everywhere there has been pursued what I have above said is the method of developed science—deduction verified by induction. I shall think it time to reconsider the deductions when I find the masses of facts which support them met by larger masses of facts which do the reverse. 'Careful observation and experience' have not yet furnished these.

To make clear the use of an ideal for guidance in dealing with the real, I had recourse to the familiar comparison between the individual body and the body politic. I remarked that 'before there can be rational treatment of a disordered state of the bodily functions, there must be a conception of what constitutes their ordered state.' The guidance contemplated as derivable from such knowledge consists in exclusion of what is wrong to be done, not in directions concerning what is right to be done. This is clearly shown by the context. There is an imaginary warning against the excesses of a supposed empiric as being 'at variance with physiological principles;' that is, *negatived* by them or *forbidden* by them. There is no trace whatever of any proposed treatment conforming to physiological principles, but merely an interdict against a treatment. Yet on the strength of

these passages, Professor Huxley ascribes to me the monstrous belief that the practitioner should 'treat his patients by deduction from physiological principles'! Similarly with the body-politic. While I have alleged that 'a system of *limits and restraints* on conduct' may be deduced from the primary conditions of social co-operation, Professor Huxley represents me as proposing to seek guidance in *healing* 'the diseases of an organism vastly more complicated than the human body' by 'deduction from abstract ethical assumptions'! While in both cases the guiding inferences indicated by me all come under the blank form—'Thou shalt not do this,' they are represented as coming under the blank form—'Thou shalt do that.' How utterly at variance is the view thus ascribed to me with the view I have myself expressed, will be seen in the following passage:—

> How, indeed, can any man, and how more especially can any man of scientific culture, think that special results of special political acts can be calculated, when he contemplates the incalculable complexity of the influences under which each individual, and *à fortiori* each society, develops, lives and decays? . . .
>
> As fast as crude conceptions of diseases and remedial measures grow up into Pathology and Therapeutics, we find increasing caution, along with increasing proof that evil is often done instead of good. This contrast is traceable not only as we pass from popular ignorance to professional knowledge, but as we pass from the smaller professional knowledge of early times to the greater professional knowledge of our own. The question with the modern physician is not as with the ancient—shall the treatment be blood-letting? shall cathartics, or shall diaphoretics be given? or shall mercurials be administered? But there rises the previous question—shall there be any treatment beyond a wholesome regimen? And even among existing physicians it happens that, in proportion as the judgment is most cultivated, there is the least yielding to the 'must-do-something' impulse.
>
> Is it not possible, then—is it not even probable, that this supposed necessity for immediate action, which is put in as an excuse for drawing quick conclusions from few data, is the concomitant of deficient knowledge? Is it not probable that as in Biology so in Sociology, the accumulation of more facts, the more critical comparison of them, and the drawing of conclusions on scientific methods, will be accompanied by increasing doubt about the benefits to be secured, and increasing fear of the mischiefs which may be worked? Is it not probable that what in the individual organism is improperly, though conveniently, called the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, may be found to have its analogue in the social organism? and will there not very likely come along with the recognition of this, the consciousness that in both cases the one thing needful is to maintain the conditions under which the natural actions have fair play?—*The Study of Sociology*, pp. 15–21.

Manifestly if, instead of saying that I proposed to treat the diseases of this complex social organism by the aid of deductions from 'abstract ethical assumptions,' Professor Huxley had, contrariwise, said that I am so overcautious that I dare not treat them at all, save by maintaining the conditions to health, he would have had ground for his statement. As early as 1853 ('Over-Legislation,' pp. 62, 63) I dwelt on the involved structure of a society and the consequent difficulty and danger of dealing with it. Since then I have more than once insisted on these facts. And now that which I have

been teaching for a generation is put before me as a lesson to be learned!

Replies will, I suppose, be made to some of the things said in the foregoing pages. Always there are collateral questions on which debates may be raised. I see, for instance, that one of my remarks may have given to it a meaning quite different to that which I intended. After the ascription to me of the belief that treatment of diseases should be dictated by physiological principles, rightly enough regarded by Professor Huxley as absurd, there came from me the remark that, according to him, 'the principles of physiology, as at present known, are of no use whatever for guidance in practice'—a remark which may be interpreted as a tacit endorsement of the ascription; whereas it referred to the fact that he had recognised for the present (though not for the future) no guidance whatever beyond that of empiricism. Doubtless there may be other side-issues which I do not perceive. But no number of such can change the verdicts on the main issues. That Professor Huxley's two characterisations of the political doctrine I hold are contradictory, is undeniable. That his description of my 'way of thinking' is utterly at variance with the evidence as presented in my books, is no less demonstrated. And it is equally certain that the conceptions of right treatment, medical and political, which he ascribes to me are opposite to those I have myself set forth.

HERBERT SPENCER.

THE ASCERTAINMENT OF ENGLISH.

In the year 1712 Dr. Jonathan Swift, the renowned author of *Gulliver's Travels* and the *Tale of a Tub*, one of the literary magnates of an eminently literary age, published a pamphlet, containing a proposal for 'correcting, improving and "ascertaining" the English tongue.' The idea excited little attention, except among the witlings and petty punsters, who hung on to the skirts of literature, as their successors do now, and who did their best, or their worst, to turn it into ridicule. These people were especially hostile in their own small way to the notion that the Government should give any assistance to the project of establishing an Academy of Letters, similar to that which had not long previously been instituted in France by royal authority. The Academy was the main recommendation of the plan by which Dr. Swift hoped to effect his much-needed reform. The proposal, in spite of the indifference and the opposition with which it was received, had much to recommend it, although the necessity of such a regulation of the literary language of the nation was much less imperative than it has since become. Dean Swift was not sanguine enough to hope that the reformation would apply to the wild and reckless colloquial speech of the multitudes which then as now was overburdened by vulgar slang unfit for the purposes of literature, and confined his efforts at correction and improvement to the language employed in books, or in the speech of the educated classes, of the bar, of the pulpit and of the senate, and the ordinary conversation of refined and intelligent people. In those days slang was almost wholly confined to the lowest classes, to the tramps, the beggars, and the thieves to whom books and letters were unknown, and whose jargon had not penetrated out of the slums, and the haunts of the dishonest and disreputable, into the ordinary conversation of gentlemen and gentlewoman, or become the stock-in-trade of vulgar and aggressive journalists of the lowest grade, and had not grown into excrescences and deformities on the fair body of literature.

Possibly the project would have had a better chance of acceptance, if it had not been encumbered with the scheme of the Academy on the Paris model, unwelcome to the English people because it was French, if for no other reason; and might have been considered on its merits, as the Dean of St. Patrick's doubtless hoped that it would

be. But in those days everything that was French was unpopular; and literature itself was not much regarded unless its influence was directed to the support of factions and parties which were then, as now, the scandal and misfortune of Great Britain and all free countries, and governments dependent upon mob support. Had the ruling powers of that day understood the importance of literature to a great nation —great because of its literature, as well as on account of its arts, its arms, and its material wealth—and had had sagacity and forethought enough to include a Minister of Education, as well as a Minister of War, of Finance, and of Foreign Affairs, among its high functionaries, the project of the Dean might have fared better at the hands of his contemporaries. This is a consummation, however, to which the nation has not even yet arrived, though some approaches have been made towards it.

In our School Board era—when the new generations are being taught to handle the tools of knowledge, to read, to write, and to cast accounts, and boys and girls think themselves educated because these tools of education are put within their reach, although the skill and the power to use them to advantage are not given them, or are possible to be acquired by them in the fierce competition for bare existence, consequent on the excess of population and the over-crowded state of the labour market in our narrow islands—a revival of the project of Dean Swift might have a more favourable chance of acceptance by the State than it had in his day.

The questions involved are still open for discussion. Our noble speech promises to become the predominant, though not perhaps the only language of the civilisation of the coming centuries, and is already heard like the morning drum-beat of British power in every part of the globe. It floats upon the wings of a widely pervading literature, and of a still more pervading commerce to the uttermost ends of the earth, and will inevitably be the speech, more or less preserved in its purity, or corrupted by ignorance, carelessness, or the imitative perversity of the semi-educated multitude of the young and mighty nations, now in their adolescence or early maturity, which have arisen or are arising in North America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and every country where seed can grow or man can thrive, to take the place of such old grandfathers of civilisation as the English, French, Italian, and German languages of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

The purpose of the present paper, as was that of Dean Swift a hundred and seventy years ago, is to treat of the purity and preservation of literary English, and to leave undiscussed and with slight mention the colloquial parlance of the multitude, which is governed by its own laws or by the absence of laws, and corrupted by the changeful, frivolous, and often base and degraded fashion of the time, and which has no claim to represent the culture of the nation; and

to maintain a purity of language which it neither appreciates nor is able to understand. The subject naturally divides itself into three branches; *first*, the correction of old or new orthographical errors; *second*, the misuse of words that are still legitimate and necessary parts of the language; and *third*, the restoration to currency of the words that have been unnecessarily suffered to drop out of the speech of our cultivated ancestors, whose genius created and adorned our literature, and gave it a foremost place in the intellectual history of mankind.

As regards the first branch of the subject, few will deny that the orthography of the English language demands reform. We need not go the length of the fanatics of phoneticism (who would spell wife *yf*, knee *nee*, and write *eye* in the same manner as the personal pronoun *I*) to desire a change in the spelling of many English words which are a stumbling-block to foreigners as well as to natives. The instances of 'plough,' 'though,' 'enough,' 'borough,' 'cough,' 'dough,' 'ought,' in which seven words the letters ought to have seven different sounds, are more than sufficient to prove that a reformation in spelling is highly desirable, and that plough ought to be written and printed *plow*; through, *thru*, or *throo*; enough, *enuf*; borough, *burrow*, or *burro*; cough, *cawf*; dough, *doe*; and ought, *aut* or *ort* with the *r* quiescent. In like manner the verb 'to do' ought to be written 'to du' or 'to doo,' and the past tense of 'to read' ought not to be spelled in exactly the same manner as the present tense of the same verb; but I did *read* (pronounced I *redd*) should be written phonetically; and I did *eat* (pronounced I *ett*, or I *ate*) should follow the same rule. Why the double *l* should necessarily be employed in the words spell, well, bell, smell, fell, and many others, while one *l* is considered sufficient in rebel, propel, excel, repel, expel, &c., is not apparent to ordinary intelligence, or explicable by any philological and etymological reasons.

Why English writers, talkers, and printers should persist in ignoring the past tenses of so many verbs in daily use passes comprehension, so needless and so anomalous is the lazy and incorrect habit into which some good writers as well as the vulgar have permitted themselves to fall. 'I *bid* him do it *now*' is correct; but 'I *bid* him do it *yesterday*,' in which the present tense is used instead of *bade* in the past, is an indefensible corruption. Among the verbs which have been deprived of their past tenses and their preterites, may be specified to bet, to beat, to let, to spread, to shed, to cut, to put, and to shut. There are no grammatical or any other reasons why they should not have been among the verbs which have inflexions in other languages, but never had in English, though they ought to have had if intelligent grammarians had had the original ordering of the language. 'Can' and 'must' have not even the infinitive 'to can' and 'to must.' 'Can' has a past tense ('could'),

but no future, which can only be rendered by the paraphrase 'I shall be able,' or 'It will be in my power.' 'Must' has neither a past nor a future—'I *must* do it to-day' has to be put into the past tense by the roundabout locution, 'I was obliged to do it,' or 'It was necessary that I should do it;' while the future of the verb *falloir*, which in the corresponding case, in the more precise language of the French, is *il faut*, becoming *il faudra* in the future, is in English only to be expressed by a periphrase, expressive both of compulsion and obligation in futurity. The same disability to express the future belongs to the verb *may*, which, like *can*, has no infinitive, though it has a past tense as *might*, but no future in *will may*, and no present participle corresponding with the French *pouvant*. The French are more precise than the English, and say '*il se peut*' and '*il se pourra*.' But no such niceties of grammatical construction are permissible in the English. These defects are ineradicable and irremediable in the old age of the language, but might have been adopted in its youth if any great authors had given them currency.

The very common substitute of *had* for *would*, consequent upon the abbreviation of *I'd*, which does duty both for *I had* and *I would*, stands in a different category, and is easy of correction, if competent and fashionable writers would but take the trouble to understand the language which they employ. 'I *had* rather not,' instead of 'I *would* rather not,' is a phrase of constant recurrence in the editorial columns of influential journals of the first rank, and in the pages of authors of established reputation. The few following instances may serve to show the prevalence of the error.

People in the responsible position of ministers *had* better take time. (It *would* be better for people in the responsible position of ministers to take time.)—*Times.*

Interesting as is the subject, and eloquent as are the speakers, we *had* (would) rather hear them descant upon some other theme.—*Times.*

The preface *had* better not have been written. (It *would have been better* if the preface had not been written.)—*Morning Post.*

A gentleman of such delicate susceptibilities as Mr. Walpole *had* better not *have* trusted himself to a personal interview with Mr. Beales.—*Saturday Review.* (It *would* have been better if Mr. Walpole had not trusted himself, &c.)

I *had* rather have lost an arm. (I *would* rather have lost an arm.)—*Thackeray, 'The Virginians.'*

The account of it *had better* be given in his own words. (*It would have been better* if the account had been given in his own words.)—*Leigh Hunt, 'The Old Court Suburb.'*

Reforms in the orthography not affecting the structure of a language, or much, if at all, affecting its grammar, are comparatively easy for any Government, whether free or despotic, to establish. The fact is evident from the attempt successfully made by the German Government in 1880 to purify the German language as spoken in Prussia, from the literal excrescences which it had inherited from

the past, or which had been suffered to grow upon it by the careless ignorance of new generations. In that year, the then Minister of Education under Kaiser Wilhelm the First (a monarch who personally cared little or nothing for literature, but was sensible enough to allow a free hand to his ministers), introduced, recommended, supported, and, as far as his authority extended, enforced several amendments in the recognised orthography of the German language. Of the first of these reforms no notice requires to be taken, inasmuch as it merely refers to the *umlaut*, or dots over the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, which modify their pronunciation, and are sometimes represented by the diphthongs *ae*, *oe*, and *eu*. These modifications do not exist in English, or if they do, are otherwise represented. The second abolishes or substitutes a single for a double *s* in the termination *niss*, equivalent to the English *ness*, as in goodness, forgiveness, &c. The third abolishes the *h* in words of which the syllable *thum* forms a part, as in *Eigenthum* (property), which is thenceforward to be written *Eigentum*. The fourth abolishes, as unnecessary, the *h* in such words as *Thier* (an animal), *That* (a deed), *Theil* (a part), &c. The fifth abolishes the *h* in all the words where it is not sounded, as in *Armuth* (poverty), *Athem* (breath), *Noth* (need), *Thurm* (a tower), *Wirth* (a host), *wuth* (mad), and many others. The sixth omits the *d* where it is mute and wholly unnecessary, as in *Schwert* (sword), *Ernte* (harvest), and others, while the last abolishes the double vowels in such words as *Schaam* (shame), *Schooss* (a lap, or bosom), *queer* (crooked)—the root of our English queer—*Schaaf* (a sheep), *Loosing* (a lottery), &c.

The Americans have endeavoured, in a minor degree, to introduce into their books an alteration in the common English spelling of words, in which it appeared to them that the vowel *u* was used unnecessarily. They print *honor*, instead of *honour*, *valor* instead of *valour*, *favor* instead of *favour*, &c., in which alteration they follow the Latin in preference to the French orthography. The reform, though of comparatively small value, has been accepted by American authors and printers, and might be advantageously adopted in the mother country. The change from *theatre* to *theater* has less to recommend it, though it is not without its advantages. They have also abolished the double consonant in such words as traveller, waggon, and others, a change of which the propriety is questionable. *Bitter*, with a single *t*, might be pronounced *biter*, and *waggon*, if written *wagon*, might become *way-gon*.

An English minister of education could have no difficulty in enforcing, by his authority and example, such reforms as these, and in introducing them into all Acts of Parliament, blue-books, proclamations, and official documents of every kind. Printers and authors, without any compulsion, but by the sheer force of fashion and good example, would gradually conform themselves to the new spelling;

all new dictionaries and school-books would adopt it, obstinate and opinionated printers would follow suit, and in no long time the much-needed reform would establish itself upon a basis too firm to be shaken.

A grammatical reform would be a matter of much greater difficulty, and possibly no Minister of Education would have courage to grapple with it, and endeavour to reduce into order our irregular and imperfect verbs by the restoration of their past tenses and preterites. Such a task, however, if successfully accomplished, would confer lasting honour upon the memory of any minister. But what a British functionary, even of the highest rank, might vainly strive to do, British poets, novelists, historians, essayists, and orators might do, if they were of one mind on the subject, by setting the example of restoring to daily use the words that were good enough for Wickliffe, Tindal, Chaucer, the author of *Piers Ploughman*, Spenser, and Shakespeare, but have, for no inherent demerits of their own, fallen out of the speech and literature of the nineteenth century. The true poets and the great historians may be, and are, trusted to preserve, and even to restore, the beauty and the purity of the language. But no such merit can be claimed for the ordinary novelists, male and female, or the multitudinous writers of our too prolific journalism. Most of these seek popularity among the half-educated classes and the *alumni* of the School Board, and do their best to perpetuate the language of the streets, the stables, the smoking-room and the tea-table, and encumber it either with slang, or with senseless exaggerations or perversions of meaning. The multitude is parrot-like in its power of imitation of that which it often hears, and adopts the stupidest words and phrases, out of sheer want of thought, and the ignorant perversities of an imperfect education, or the abortive struggle to originate or to reproduce a dull jocosity. Even the better instructed classes fall into this idle and vulgar habit, and talk of *dilapidated* garments, *dilapidated* boots, and even of *dilapidated* lungs (a phrase employed by no less a talking master than Mr. Gladstone, as an excuse for not making a speech to the mob). Such mocking-birds describe the *christening* of a horse, a dog, a gun, a street, or a ship, utterly forgetful of the fact that to *christen* is to admit into the community of the Christian Church by the sacred rite of baptism, and that a thing, an animal, or a person may be *named*, without being admitted into the Christian fold, and that to name, even if to *clepe* (except in the past participle *yclept*) be obsolete, is a good English word.

Others equally, if not still more, vulgar, speak of a woman as one of the *feminine persuasion*, of a penny-a-liner casually employed on the cheaply conducted newspaper as a person of the *reportorial persuasion*, and of a sailor as being of the *naval persuasion*. These people seem to think that *persuasion* is synonymous with distinction

of sex, or of employment, and not with a mere difference of opinion in religious matters. It is quite correct to speak of a person as being of the Protestant, the Baptist, or the Methodist persuasion, but it is both vulgar and incorrect to describe a jockey as being of the *horse-racing persuasion*, or a clergyman as belonging to the *pulpit persuasion*. Speakers and writers of this mental calibre never condescend to *support* or agree to, but are always ready to *endorse* a statement. They never *discuss* a subject, but always *ventilate* it or 'let the wind' into it. They describe a dinner party or a smoking concert as a *function*, and a person as a *party*. And if the parrot-like pertinacity of repeating the current words of society, whether it is used in newspapers or in novels, be so strong, it might, under authoritative direction, be made available for the repetition of legitimate and correct English words if influential speakers and writers would but study to use them.

'Function' is a favourite word among the penny-a-liners, male and female, and generally among the demi-semi-educated writers for the daily press, as well as among the multitude whose only literature is supplied by the penny newspapers. 'Function' is correctly defined by the dictionaries as the task to be performed by a rational being as a duty, natural or acquired, or by a mechanical contrivance that answers the purpose for which it was constructed. Thus it is the function of a judge to hear and examine, and to deliver judgment; and the function of a barrister to plead for justice, the function of a jury to hear evidence, and of a vane or weathercock to turn with the wind—of a steam engine to draw or propel a carriage or a ship, and of the bowels in man and other animals to perform a part in the retention or digestion of food. But a concert of music, a garden party, a *fête champêtre*, or a dinner, a festivity, or a ceremony of any kind, is not a *function*, though the penny-a-liner and the *alumni* of the Board School speak and write of them as such.

Unfortunately gross errors and solecisms of speech have a greater tendency to establish themselves in popular favour than the correct expressions which they displace. The English public persist in calling the *gorse* berry the *gooseberry*, and *gorse-berry* foulé (gorse-berry crushed or mashed, from the French of the menu, *fouler*, to crush) as *gooseberry fool*. The English, in repeating to their children the fairy tale of Cinderella, persist in calling her slipper one of glass (*verre*), which no lady could dance in, instead of the slipper of *vaire* (miniver or white fur), which would offer no impediment to the little fairy feet of any sylph of the ball-room. They prefer also *sparrow grass* to asparagus—Peckham *Rye* to Peckham Rise—Peerless pool to perilous pool, and 'feather few' to febrifuge, and say that a ship *swims* instead of *floats*, as if a ship were a duck or swan, and propelled itself through the water by its own volition.

A very objectionable word that has lately become popular, as the

synonym of dainty, is toothsome—from the supposed derivation of *dainty* from *dens*, a tooth. But dainty is not etymologically referable to *dent* or *dens*, but comes from the Keltic *deanta*, completed—perfect—finished. Shakespeare when he speaks of the '*dainty* Ariel' uses an epithet that has no relation to the palate, though it is commonly applied to articles of food and drink, as 'a dainty dish' and 'a dainty glass' of wine. The toothsome Ariel would be a vile phrase if *dainty* and *toothsome* were as synonymous as the persons who perversely use them consider them to be. *Toothsome* is otherwise objectionable if applied to the delicacies of the palate, for though we masticate with our teeth we do not taste with them. Taste is a faculty of the tongue and the palate, and does not disappear with the loss of the natural teeth or depend upon the usefulness of artificial ones.

Of course no language is theoretically perfect, but all languages, however imperfect they may be, are susceptible of improvement and extension by the progress of civilisation and by the growth of new wants and ideas. But though susceptible of improvement, they are still more susceptible of decay. The English language, perhaps more than any other now spoken, has suffered losses which it ought not to have undergone, and received corrections which neither add to its dignity nor its usefulness, and express no new meanings better or more succinctly than they can be expressed by the previously existing words that were used by our ancestors and enshrined in their still living literature.

The English have lost many essential native words which their greatest writers once used, and have replaced them by weaker words from the classic languages of Greece and Rome, which there were not the slightest reasons to borrow. In the first of these two categories are to be placed the equivalents of such words as honour, virtue, education, religion, morality, patriotism, fame, glory, spirit, energy, and others, all of which had their synonyms in the early language, commonly but erroneously called the Anglo-Saxon. This language was not derived from the Saxon, a dialect never spoken in England or anywhere but in a small corner of Germany, where it was but a *patois*. The earliest English instead of being called Anglo-Saxon ought to have been called Anglo-Dutch, Anglo-Danish, or Anglo-Norman, of which, with a considerable modicum or residuum of Keltic or Gaelic, it was almost wholly compounded. Synonyms for these absolutely essential words existed in the English language a thousand years ago, though but few of them have been suffered to survive, and even those in an attenuated and shadowy form—such as *worthship* for virtue, and *worship* for religion—*training* for education, *good manners* for morality, *ghost* for spirit, as in the phrase 'the Holy *Ghost*' for the Holy Spirit, and 'love of country' for patriotism. In the second category must be placed the absence of

appellations of courtesy or respect applied to any but to persons of exalted rank. Such titles are to be found in other languages, but are not indigenous in English, where such honorary titles as Miss, Mistress, and Madam are all words of foreign derivation, mere corruptions of the French *maîtresse* and *madame*. Mister is but a form of the Latin *magister*. A word once used in English in a respectful but now only employed in a ludicrous sense was *dan*, as *Dan* Cupid, *Dan* Chaucer, and now surviving in the Universities as 'Don,' and in the Spanish Don and Donna derived from the Latin *dominus*, and from the still older Keltic word *duine*, a man. 'Lord' and 'Lady,' however, are strictly English words, and are both derived from the Keltic without any relation either to the Dutch, the Danish, the Norman French, or any of the branches of the Teutonic and sub-Teutonic, or of the classical tongues of antiquity. They are clearly traceable to the Keltic, though philologists of the old school who think themselves to be Saxons, refuse to admit the etymology. Earl, count, viscount, baron, marquis, duke, and their feminines are all foreign—as is king, if not queen, though each is English by adoption. Even the title of Knight is not of English growth, while Squire is notoriously of French origin, from *écuyer*, a shield-bearer—though perhaps not one squire, or esquire, out of a thousand ever bore a shield, or even saw one.

A still more remarkable deficiency in English is to be found in the non-existence of feminine nouns, that are common in French, German, Italian, Spanish, and other European languages. The French have *ami*, a male friend, and *amie*, a friend of the other sex. The Germans have *Freund* and *Freundin*, and the Italians *amico* and *amica*. The English has 'companion,' which may be of either sex, but if the speaker who uses the word be desirous of a more particular description, he or she is compelled to resort to the coarse explanation of a 'male companion,' or a 'female companion'—unless he use a more elevated form of expression and say a gentleman or a lady companion, though the companion may not be really either a gentleman or a lady. The French do better, and have *compagnon* and *compagnonne*. Attempts have of recent years been made to invent, to restore, and to re-establish feminine terminations to masculine nouns, as in poetess, authoress, and sculptress, but there are still numerous words that would be better understood if the same alterations were made in their terminal syllables. The French have *voleur* and *voleuse*, but the English have not *thiefess* or *robberess*, but must express their meaning by *female thief*, *lady thief*, and *woman thief*, which are all objectionable and inelegant.

The English has also the defect of not possessing any better or more available words than the affix of the primitive syllable *man* to describe the persons engaged in certain trades, pursuits, and professions, as a butterman, a porkman, an eel-pie man, a sportsman, a

literary man, a postman, a workman, a pressman, a showman, a ploughman, a night man—all of which might have been more elegantly rendered if a grammarian of constructive genius had had the ordering of the English language in the earlier days of its formation. The same high functionary, in a simpler and ruder state of society, before the great bulk of the community had become shopkeepers, and when they were almost wholly engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, cattle-dealing, or were workers in metals, would have certainly been able to find and to invent a better word than 'wholesale' to describe *murder* when it ceased to be the murder of a single individual. The English language desperately needs a better adjective to designate an *indiscriminate massacre*, than one derived from the till or the counting-house. It is almost hopeless, however, to expect that such a word will now be invented, or if invented that it will meet with general acceptance. Such a combination of adjective and noun as 'indiscriminate massacre' would meet all the requirements of elegance and correctness, and would commend itself to the literary community as well as to the general public if it could be generally adopted. Wholesale robbery, wholesale swindling, wholesale flattery, and others of a like kind, are equally objectionable, though not quite so offensive as 'wholesale murder,' and ought to be banished from speech and writing, as by far too suggestive of the shop and the warehouse. The French synonym *en gros* is not open to the same objection, or so appropriate to a nation of shopkeepers as both the French and the English are.

Another deficiency in the English language is that of a verb which will express the act of drawing anything out of the water. We are made to say that we *fish* a dead body out of the sea or the river, and to *fish* any substance out of the water that has been lost or thrown into it, although the action might be expressed in a synonym, such as draw up, draw out, rescue, haul up, retire from, &c. And not only speakers but writers make use of the utterly inappropriate vulgarism of 'fish.' This word ought not to be permitted in literature.

The great strength of the English language, its bone and sinew, comes from its Dutch, Flemish, Danish, and other *quasi*-Teutonic words, and not from its borrowings from the classic languages of antiquity, with which it once did and could still dispense. These borrowings at the best are but ribbons and furbelows that scarcely adorn the loveliness of the nude Aphrodite on which they are fastened. At one time the thrusting of such weak words into the strong vernacular was a positive deterioration of the language. It may be said to have commenced with Chaucer, whose language was by no means 'the pure well of English undefiled' that it is popularly represented to be, and was carried out by Lyly, the author of *Euphues*,

and by Lord Bacon (but happily not by Shakspeare), by Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Religio Medici* and *Urn-Burial*, and to a smaller extent by Dryden, Pope, Addison, and Samuel Johnson. The innovations of Chaucer and his less illustrious successors did not, however, take firm hold on the language, or emasculate the vigour which it derived from 'Piers Ploughman,' Wicliffe, and the admirable translation of the Bible by the ripe scholars of the time of James the First, and is still maintained in the speech of the uneducated peasantry. It is, however, fast diminishing under the modernising touch of the democratic School Board, that qualifies female domestics and tradesmen's errand-boys to enjoy the penny novels and the murder and adultery cases in the newspapers. But the coinage of anglicised words of Latin origin is still too abundant, and either overload the language by their superfluity or enfeeble it by dilution and by distinctions without differences. When Samuel Johnson would have substituted 'post-prandial promenade' for 'after dinner walk,' he outraged the noble simplicity of the language of which he pretended to be a teacher, and put himself on a par with the silly young naval lieutenant who ordered a sailor to 'extinguish the nocturnal luminary' instead of calling upon him to 'put out the light,' or the Irish major who ordered his men to *lave* a dirty soldier in the Liffey, because he thought to *wash* him in the Liffey was not a sufficiently elegant expression.

In literature the ladies who gush into novel-writing are worse offenders against good taste and the ordinary laws and amenity of the language than 'the mob of gentlemen who write with ease' but scarcely with the unaffected elegance and propriety of their predecessors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These ladies too often write as they talk, although they not unfrequently forget, when they have pens in their hands, that something more elevated than the gossip of the tea-table or the ball-room is requisite, if they would aspire to the dignity of the printed page, or recommend themselves to the favour of the more or less educated multitude who are the main support of circulating libraries. They employ words of which they do not always understand the meaning, and coin others which are not admissible into the dictionaries nor conformable to the rules of the language or even to the conventional usages of the upper and the lower classes, and not always comprehensible by the literate or the illiterate. The following examples, taken from the pages of one of the popular story-tellers of the day, afford amusing specimens of the want of taste and of the perverse ingenuity and cleverness of imperfectly educated young women, when suffered to run riot in the literary field. It is not my purpose to advertise either the name of the authoress or the title of her book, but merely to present a few of the specimen bricks of the literary edifice which she constructs with the fatal unscrupulousness of what in the slang of the

day is called a jerry-builder, to whom stucco is better, as well as cheaper, than granite, and lath and plaster than solid oak.

An *apricot* sunset.
Velvet-coated stags.
The *amusingness* of the dinner.
Very *matter-of-factly*.
She replied *snubbingly*.
The *tail* of her bright eye.
It was a *beast* party.
A serene *flower* face.
She said in a *wounded* voice.
A *gossamer-dressed* September morning.
A *gold-misted* moon.
A *crisp* afternoon.
His head was in a *grisly whirl*.
A *soul and body biting December* dawn.
Having let the glass *chokily* down.
The chairs *stood on their heads*.
He was cross and *furry*.
In a state of *invalidhood*.

All these elegant extracts are from one novel. The following are from another also written by a lady:—

Shall I ever forget my feelings as Frederick and I *sneaked out* together, *with our tails between our legs*?

He was as handsome as a Greek god, and he pleaded *with both his ultramarine eyes*!

A third female novelist of considerable repute, who writes good English when she devotes time and thought to the work as she sometimes does, has coined the verb *to peacock*, in an article on marriage in a monthly magazine. It is to be supposed that by peacock she means to flaunt or strut as the bird does; but, whatever she means, the word, as used by her, is vulgar and objectionable.

The great danger to which the purity of the beautiful and sufficiently copious English language is exposed arises from the offensive coinage of wholly unnecessary and mongrel words by the imperfectly educated vulgar, such as *to peacock*, just cited, *cablegram*, *parlous*, *lengthy*, and others that threaten to become permanent blotches upon the face of the language. *Lengthy* means long, though *strengthy*, with about as much reason, might equally well supersede strong. It might, however, grate somewhat harshly upon the not very sensitive ears of the people of the present day, if they were told that a person had had a *lengthy* ride upon a *strengthy* horse, or that another had had a *lengthy* struggle with a *strengthy* opponent. But we may come to that, nevertheless, if the penny press and the lady novelists will but set the example. *Lengthy*, however, it must be admitted, has merits of its own, when it signifies tediously long, and would cease to be objectionable if only used in that restricted sense. The abolition of the distinction between active and passive, personal and impersonal verbs, by speakers and writers, is an error. They do not reflect that the phrase 'he *rushed* into the battle' is correct, but that 'he *rushed* the book through the press' is grossly incorrect; or that the American boarding-house keeper, who said she could '*eat* a hundred boarders, but could only *sleep* fifty,' used the verbs 'to eat' and 'to sleep' in a sense that (although it may have conveyed the meaning to her uncritical auditory) was a savage assault upon the head of poor Priscian, and that its perpetrator

was guilty of a worse than Yankee outrage upon correct English. The slang of the streets and the stables, and of the would-be witty and comic young men of the universities and great public schools, is another predisposing cause of the increasing vulgarity of vernacular English. Brevity may be the soul of wit, but there is neither soul nor wit in such fashionable brevities as *vet* for veterinary surgeon, *exams* for examinations, *pub* for public-house, *comp* for compositor, Saturday *Pops* for Saturday popular concerts, the *Zoo* for the Zoological Gardens, *perks* for perquisites, *thou* for thousands, *cit* for citizen, *ad* for advertisement, *bizz* for business, and such Americanisms as 'he goes out nights and works mornings.'

A still more prevalent and more deeply-rooted inelegancy is the use of the possessive case in such phrases as 'a friend of Mr. Jones's,' 'a sister of Mr. Brown's,' 'a whim of Mr. Smith's,' where the *s* with the apostrophe is clearly unnecessary. The 'of' is quite sufficient as a mark of the possessive; and the French in similar cases would say, 'un ami de M. Jones,' 'une sœur de M. Brown,' and 'une fantaisie de M. Smith,' all of which could be correctly and clearly rendered in English without the *s*. This colloquialism should be left to the exclusive use of the illiterate, and never suffered to blossom into print.

Five hundred years are but a short time in the history of a nation, but long in the history and life of a language, unless the language becomes fossilised like Greek and Latin, and only exists in the literature of past ages. The language spoken five hundred years ago in England, copious and beautiful as it was, is all but unintelligible to the men of the present day, except to a few scholars; and the English of to-day is likely to be as unintelligible to the Americans and the Australians of the future as that of Beowulf to the School Board children and the shopkeepers of our time.

For this reason and for many others, it is incumbent upon us, who have inherited the precious literary legacy of bygone ages, to hand it down to posterity as we have received it from our illustrious ancestors, of the seventeenth and eighteenth and (now rapidly expiring) nineteenth centuries. The abortive proposals of Dean Swift are far more opportune in our day than they were in his, and the correction, improvement, and ascertainment of the English tongue are easier of accomplishment by the quiet authority of a Minister of Education, whom public opinion is ripe to acknowledge, and whose efforts would indubitably be supported by the highest intellects of the time. The 'ascertainment' of what is really and truly the classical English language, freed from the slang, the vulgar colloquialisms, the silly coinages of new words, and what may be called the 'gabble' of the multitude, would not overtask the mental energies of any competent lexicographer whose work would receive the imprimatur of the Minister of Education. Such a man would not need to wander in

the bewildering mazes of etymology, where he would be almost as certain to lose his way as his predecessors have done, but might marshal the literary words of the language into a compact army without inquiring into the pedigree of every soldier in the ranks. It is these generals and commanders of the noble army that fights all the battles of civilisation with pens for sword, and thoughts for cannon-balls, and that ought not to be encumbered with the ragged rabble of camp-followers who pollute the wholesome air with their crazy shibboleths and make use of base slang, of no more literary value than the hissing of geese or the lowing of cattle.

The correction and improvement of the language are more difficult now than they were in the days of Dean Swift, in consequence of the unparalleled extension of an imperfect education among the labouring classes in this democratic age, but its 'ascertainment' is not impossible of accomplishment. The third of the proposals of the Dean is easy, if the works of the classic authors of the present and the last two centuries are to be the bases of the enterprise, and if the universities, the great public schools, and the Government, by the agency of a responsible Minister of Education, will but unite their energies and work in concert.

CHARLES MACKAY.

THE DANGERS OF ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

DREAD of lightning is of all ages; it is not much lessened by knowledge of its nature, even though that knowledge enables neutralisation of its most violent effects. Indeed, the awe may well be increased when we learn that the lightning flash, splitting the steeple from pinnacle to base, rending the oak, scattering herds in lifeless heaps, may be rivalled by the electricity obtained by separating the gaseous constituents of a single drop of water.

Happily deaths from artificially produced electricity have in this country been rare. In America, where the protean force is in every-day use for lighting streets and houses, and driving machinery, accidents have been numerous, and are increasing in frequency. Upwards of 100 lives have been lost in New York alone during the past twelve months. Day by day we read that men are killed by the very force which flashes the news of their death across the world. One is at work on a telegraph cable: he touches a lightning wire; instantly he hangs lifeless and burning above the head of a horror-stricken, shrieking crowd. (It is said that a woman died of the sight.) A few days later a shopman moving a metal show-case was done to death; in his shoe a projecting nail pierced the stocking, and thus helped on his fate. Quite recently a workman died on the roof of a building alone, unseen, and for some hours unsought for: the wire he was at work upon, by some mismanagement, carried a greater current than it was intended to do. In consequence of these accidents some 80,000 miles of overhead electric wires in New York are ordered to be taken down.

The electric conductors laid in subways are at times sources of danger. A succession of tremendous lightning flashes from the sky would be required to equal the effect of an accidental concentration of electricity in one of these conductors which Mr. Edison thus describes:—

> Near the corner of William and Wall Streets, New York, the underground conductors of the Edison Illuminating Company became crossed, and the current, which was passing through them at a pressure of only 110 volts, melted not only the wires, but several feet of iron tubing in which they were encased, and reduced the paving stones within a radius of three or four feet to a molten mass.

According to Mr. Westinghouse, the Edison underground lines leak in a short time after they have been laid, and it is possible to draw off a sufficient quantity of electricity to light a number of lamps when connection is made between a water pipe and one of the mains.

The American municipalities have some ground for their contention that the enormous expansion of the new industry has created a somewhat contemptuous familiarity with its dangers in place of the wholesome dread which sought for every possible safeguard.

Our own experience is yet to come. Already are overhead wires and underground conductors being laid in every direction to supply electricity in quantity and of intensity hitherto unknown in England.

The public have the right to insist that the users of force dangerous to life and property shall have ascertained and secured the conditions necessary for their own safety, and, above all, that they shall not in any way interfere with the physical or mental comfort of those who do not use it.

Even in the interest of the electric lighting and power companies it is imperative that the public shall be assured that telegraph and telephone wires, gas and water pipes, railings, and gratings of houses, posts and pavements will always be as absolutely free to their use as now.

Sufficiently stringent regulations will no doubt be made at some future time. Would it not be better that they should be made before accidents happen rather than after?

Electricity is dangerous in three ways. When in great quantity but of small intensity, it destroys by fusion conductors of insufficient capacity and semi-conductors. When of high intensity it destroys insufficient or semi-conductors by disruption or heating or both, and has the tendency to leave the road laid down for it and cut out a new path for itself. Thirdly, whenever electricity enters or leaves an electric conductor, it, by its mere presence in one, evokes a momentary current of electricity in neighbouring conductors: this is termed induction.

Voltaic electricity, the current produced between a zinc and a copper plate sunk in an oxidising liquid, is electricity of low tension; if the plates are large and the liquid active, the quantity will be great. Two plates coiled in a tank as big round as the dome of St. Paul's would produce electricity sufficient in quantity to light a great part of the City, to melt a bar of iron like a tallow candle; its current turned into a system of conductors of insufficient size would carry fire and destruction wherever it went. Nevertheless, the intensity would be scarcely more than that of a cell made up of a brass thimble and a bit of zinc, viz., about one 'volt,' and would be unfelt by the human body. The equivalent of one hundred such cells, in dynamo-electric machines, is proposed for a London district. When voltaic cells are connected in sequence, *i.e.* so that the current passes through

all in succession, the intensity is multiplied, the quantity remaining constant. The late Dr. De la Rue, with a battery of 11,000 cells, obtained electricity of sufficient intensity at the terminals to leap across a space in the air of nearly three-quarters of an inch. The shock from this battery would have caused instant death, and extraordinary precautions were taken to avoid chance contact with any part of it or its connections. Dynamo machines of nearly equal potency are being constructed.

The apparatus so often seen in the streets, whereby a moderate amount of electric tetanus can be experienced for a penny, is an example of electric induction. The current of a few cells is made to circulate round a bobbin or reel of insulated wires, on its way back having to pass through a little magnetic arrangement which makes and breaks the circuit many times in a second. Outside this primary coil of wires, but not in contact with it, is wound a large coil of much finer wire, the two extremities of which are connected to brass handles to be grasped by the experimenter. There is no connection between the first and the second coil. Every time the low-tension current enters or leaves the primary or inner coil a current of higher 'potential' passes through the secondary or outer coil; thus a 'potential' of two or three volts is made to *induce* a potential (ten or fifteen volts in the case quoted) dependent on the relative length and fineness of the two separate coils. Induction coils have been made of great capacity. Dr. Spottiswoode constructed one which when worked with a few cells producing an imperceptible shock induced in the secondary coil electricity of tension sufficient to flash across four or five feet of air, and pierce glass a quarter of an inch thick.

In electric lighting induction coils of converse construction are employed, the primary coil being of fine wire, and the secondary or induction coil of the thicker wire. These coils convert high-tension into low-tension electricity, and under the name of 'converters' are already in use in several electric lighting systems.

Electricity for lighting and other purposes is now universally produced by means of dynamo machines founded on Faraday's discovery of magneto-electricity. Momentary currents in alternate directions are induced in coils of wire passing the poles of powerful magnets, by rotating these coils between the poles. In some machines these induced currents are immediately carried off to do the required work; these are termed alternating-current machines. They are commonly worked at an electric tension of 1,000 volts, enabling a large number of arc or other lamps to be worked in series—or the current passes into a 'converter' as above described, and is thus reduced to a tension of 100 volts.

Generally, however, the alternating current is by an ingenious arrangement twisted round upon itself in the machine, so that when the separate impulses leave it they are all in the same direction.

These machines are termed continuous current machines. They, like the alternating-current machines, can be made of any desired 'potential' or electric pressure.

The physiological effects of alternating currents of electricity are very different from those of continuous currents. In the former case 10 to 15 volts are as much as can be borne for any length of time, whereas in the latter as much as 100 volts can be endured, though even here much depends on the quantity. Westinghouse says, 'With even less than 100 volts it is painful beyond endurance to grasp firmly with the hands the brushes or any bright brass work of a large dynamo or to grasp any metal connected with the wires.'

A 220 volt continuous current will burn the human body if the flesh is in contact with the conductors, that is if the skin is broken. A current of 90 volts will burn meat, boil water, melt cast iron. In Mr. Edison's experiments a continuous current of 400 volts killed a dog in 40 seconds; 304 volts did not kill in 30 seconds. A current of 1,000 volts killed a large strong dog instantly. The alternating current he found to be much more hurtful; 120 volts killed, and 100 volts may cause death; 200 certainly will. The hands are unable to relinquish the grasp of a conductor carrying an alternating current of more than about 20 volts; this adds materially to the danger of this system.

Death by electricity is not always instantaneous. A person fixed to the conductors by an alternating current might live some time before death released him from his sufferings; and it is to be feared that this sometimes happens.

In America the alternating currents pass through the streets at a pressure of 1,000 volts. Arriving at the place to be lit, the wires pass into a converter as described above, and the lights are worked at a pressure of 100 volts. There is always some danger of the 'converter' being pierced, in which case the house wires would be fused if nothing worse happened, and the house would almost certainly be set on fire. This is no imaginary danger. Mr. Edison, corroborating the experience of many other workers, points out that the insulating material, under the continued stress of millions of strong currents in opposite directions, undergoes molecular change, and ultimately becomes so disintegrated that piercing and disruption follows. It is common experience that such is the end of an induction coil.

The conditions of absolute safety, as we know them at present, are, conducting wires of large size and great capacity and conductivity, perfect insulation, currents of low tension, and installations for limited areas.

It is commonly said that, to save cost of conductors, a higher potential than any known in New York will be carried through the streets of London, and the appalling intensity of 10,000 to 15,000

volts is talked of! Apparently the following regulation of the Board of Trade contemplates such action:—'Every high-pressure aërial conductor must be insulated with a durable and efficient material, to be approved by the Board of Trade, to a thickness of not less than one-tenth of an inch, and in cases where the extreme potential in the circuit exceeds 2,000 volts, the thickness of insulation must not be less in inches or parts of an inch than the number obtained by dividing the number expressing the volts by 20,000.'

Thus it appears that the existing regulations permit any pressure the electric companies may desire to use.

Sir William Thomson holds that 'nothing beyond 200 volts, on any account, should be admitted into a house or ship.' It may be asked—Why, then, into the streets? 8,000 volts' pressure was surely safer in Dr. De la Rue's house than in the highways and by-ways of London, where the insulation is liable to be disturbed every time a gas- or water-pipe is hunted for or the road opened for drainage purposes.

Beyond this there is a further and perhaps still greater because unrecognised danger. Currents of 10,000 to 20,000 volts have power of inducing currents in surrounding conductors at a very considerable distance. At the Royal Institution recently a rapid succession of discharges of a Leyden jar, through a wire running round the front of the gallery, caused by induction at a distance of 8 or 10 feet the points and interstices of the gold leaves ornamenting the wall of the theatre and the metal gratings of the ventilators to scintillate with bright sparks: given an escape of gas, and the theatre might have been fired.

In the neighbourhood of a wire carrying an alternating current of 20,000 volts, wires carrying harmless currents become dangerous, for in addition to the risk of contamination by leakage, they are liable to carry induced currents.

Large installations of electricity introduce fresh risks. There is danger to property if quantity is very great, even though potential be low. There is danger to life if potential be high.

Fortunately it is ordered 'that the Board of Trade may from time to time make such regulations as they may think expedient for securing the safety of the public from personal injury or from fire or otherwise.'

Many people think that the time for such regulations is *now*!

CHARLES W. VINCENT.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TITHES.

As Parliament is to be asked when it re-assembles to consider another Tithe Bill, a careful study of what occurred with regard to the abortive Bill on this subject of the last session can hardly fail to be useful, especially as the proceedings upon it in the House of Commons are far from encouraging as to the manner in which the question is likely to be dealt with when it is again taken up. Few impartial observers will deny that these proceedings were discreditable both to the members who took the chief part in them, and to the House itself. In this observation I do not refer solely or even principally to the obstructive action of the Parnellite party and their English allies; what is even more to be regretted is the want of firmness and judgment displayed in the management of this business by the servants of the Crown, and the fact that some of their independent supporters objected to their measure on grounds which indicate that they have adopted views on the subject which I regard as mistaken and dangerous. Their adoption of these views, and the undecided manner in which they were met by the members of the Government, seem hard to account for except by supposing that there must be a very imperfect knowledge of the reasons for adopting the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 on the part both of the objectors to the Bill and of its official supporters. Nor is this lack of accurate knowledge on the subject to be wondered at; of the active politicians of the present day the majority were hardly born when the Commutation Act was passed, and hardly any had then reached an age at which they could be expected to take interest in such a subject. But as a knowledge of the state of things which led to the Commutation Act, and of the grounds on which it was passed with the general assent of all parties, is indispensable in order to form a sound judgment as to what amendments it may now be expedient to make in the measure, it may be useful that, as the last survivor of those who took an active part in passing it, and in carrying it through Parliament, I should call the attention of the present generation to facts and considerations of which they may well be ignorant.

In 1836, when the Bill for the commutation of tithes was brought forward, there had been for some years loud and increasing complaints of the hardships inflicted on the owners and occupiers of land by the

manner in which tithes were then levied. No one at that time denied that tithes formed a charge upon land from which its owners had not the slightest claim to be relieved. It was a charge to which their land had been subject long before it came into the possession of those from whom their title to it was derived, and they had no more right to ask that the tithes they had to pay should be given to them than that their estates should be increased by adding to them adjoining fields. This has always been so distinctly recognised, that when the monasteries were dissolved under Henry the Eighth the tithes they held were not given up to the owners of the land liable to them, but were granted by the king to others. But, on the other hand, it was asserted with truth, that giving to the titheowner a right to one-tenth of the gross produce of the land not only led to mischievous disputes and ill-feeling between the payers and receivers of tithes, but was also a serious obstacle to improvement, since one-tenth of the additional produce obtained from land by expensive improvements would often amount to the whole of what the owners could expect to gain from them after paying ordinary interest on the money they had cost. In a rude state of society tithes levied in kind probably afford the most convenient mode of raising a revenue from land, and accordingly we find that from the very earliest ages they have been used for that purpose in the dawn of civilisation. But as civilisation advances, and population and wealth increase with it, a larger and larger outlay of capital becomes necessary to provide subsistence for growing numbers from a limited territory. This change of circumstances is a necessary consequence of the progress of a prosperous nation, and when it takes place, to call upon the cultivators of the soil to give up a tenth of its gross produce is attended with extreme inconvenience and becomes a highly injurious obstacle to improvement. In 1836 this state of things had existed in England for many years, and had become a cause of discontent which it was generally felt ought to be removed. After much discussion it had at length also come to be pretty generally agreed that upon the whole the fairest, and the only practicable, mode of getting rid of the grievance would be to relieve land from the obligation to pay tithes in kind to which it was generally subject, imposing upon it, instead, a fixed annual charge equal to the average amount actually received by the titheowner during a certain number of past years. Accordingly the Act of 1836 provided that tithes should cease to be levied, and that in lieu of them a rent-charge should be imposed on the lands liable to them equal to the average amount actually received for them by the titheowner during the seven previous years. Very careful arrangements were made for ascertaining what had been the real amount of tithes obtained during the years in question in every parish, and for apportioning this amount on the different lands within it. The very able men who were

appointed tithe commissioners accomplished this laborious and difficult task in less time and with more success than could well have been expected.

The settlement of a very difficult question which was thus accomplished was by no means free from objections, one of the most serious it was open to being that it gave a permanent advantage to persons who had successfully resisted the full payment of what was due from them on account of tithes over those who had more honestly paid what they owed. As a general rule throughout the kingdom, the amount actually paid as tithe had been much less than the titheowners were legally entitled to demand, except when tithes had to be paid to laymen, either as impropriators, or as lessees for long terms under bishops or ecclesiastical or collegiate bodies. These lay receivers of tithes had usually insisted upon and obtained payment in full of their claims, but the parochial clergy, who were the largest titheowners, had most commonly acquiesced in having deductions (often very large deductions) made from the amount they were entitled to claim as tithe. The amount of these deductions varied much in different counties, and it is worthy of notice that the counties in which they were habitually the largest were those in which the outcry against tithes had been the loudest. In the south-western counties the clamour raised against tithes had long been very serious, and it was in them that the clergy had met with most difficulty in obtaining their proper income, and had habitually submitted to the largest sacrifice of their rights. On the other hand, in this county (Northumberland) serious difficulty had never, or very rarely, been met with in collecting sometimes the whole, almost always nearly the whole, amount of tithes due by the occupiers of the land, yet here there was little or no complaint on the subject. That the amount of the rent-charge to which land was made liable in commutation for tithes should in this manner have been more or less reduced, according to the greater or less success with which full payment of what was due to the titheowner had been resisted, was greatly to be regretted, as it created an evil precedent, but it was unavoidable. In many parts of England the rural clergy had so long been used, from very praiseworthy motives, to abstain from enforcing their full claims to tithes by legal means, that a feeling had grown up among the owners and occupiers of land that they had a right to large deductions from what they were by law bound to pay. If in this state of things the Commutation Act had been brought forward in such a form as to require the rent-charges, given in lieu of tithe, to be fixed according to the real value of the tenth part of the gross produce of the land, it is not likely that the measure could have been passed, nor could it have been easily enforced even if Parliament had accepted it. In spite, therefore, of its faults, I am convinced that the arrangement which was made was the best

that could have been adopted,[1] and in more than half a century which has gone by since it came into force it has conferred benefits upon the nation for which it ought to be grateful to Mr. Jones, who is entitled to the chief credit for having devised the measure. By the passing of this Act all serious difficulties in the collection of tithes were removed, and what had been a fertile source of ill-will between the clergy and their parishioners had been almost entirely got rid of until, within a very short time, an exceedingly unprincipled agitation was got up on the subject in one part of the kingdom. Freeing the clergy from their former invidious position was in itself an important advantage to the country; it was another, and not a less valuable one, that by substituting a fixed rent-charge upon land for its former liability to a demand for a tenth of the gross produce, English agriculture was relieved from what had been one of the greatest impediments to its improvement. This change enabled the owners and occupiers of land to apply in its improvement whatever labour and money they thought fit, with the certainty of reaping the whole fruits of their enterprise. But for this change it would have been practically impossible to have employed in draining and in other useful works the enormous sums which, since 1836, have been invested in the improvement of land; in draining alone it is shown by authentic returns that many millions have been spent. Other causes have, no doubt, greatly contributed during these years to give a stimulus to agricultural improvement, and especially the abolition of the old corn law, which, ten years after the passing of the Commutation Act, gave a fresh spur to improved cultivation of the soil. Still the commutation of tithes was an indispensable preliminary to the great development of industry in this direction that followed it, and must therefore be regarded as having added very largely to the total value of the land held by English owners. I do not mean to assert that the whole of this advantage was conferred upon them at the cost of the titheowners, since a part, perhaps the larger part, of the increased value given to land has arisen from its having been rendered possible, which it was not before, to invest money in improving it without adding to the burden of tithes. But the value of the boon given to landowners was not diminished by the fact that it was not entirely, though certainly in great part, derived from the sacrifice the Act imposed on the owners of tithes. If tithes in their old form had not been abolished, though the progress of agriculture would have been much slower than it was when this obstacle to improvement was got rid of, there is no reason to suppose that it would not have continued to go on so long as the wealth and population of the nation were in-

[1] I have not adverted to the clauses relating to extraordinary tithes, which were felt at the time to be a blot on the measure, because they are now got rid of, and it is therefore not worth while explaining the reasons which made their introduction into the Bill unavoidable, and caused it to be assented to, though most unwillingly.

creasing, and every addition to the annual produce of the soil would have caused a corresponding addition to the amount its possessors would have been bound to pay to the titheowners, who to that extent were losers by the measure. Besides this loss of a considerable prospective increase of its revenue, the Church submitted to a further and large sacrifice of the income to which it was legally entitled by acquiescing in having the actual receipts on account of tithes in past years accepted as the measure of the permanent rent-charge to be imposed on land for the future. These receipts, as I have shown, fell far short of what the clergy had had a full right to demand, and the difference represented a large surrender of property made to the owners of the soil.

It was greatly to the credit of the heads of the Church, and of the clergy generally, that, although they were well aware how much of what were the incontestable pecuniary rights of the Church would be taken away by the measure brought before Parliament in 1836, their anxiety not to stand in the way of what was justly considered to be greatly for the public good induced them to allow the Bill to pass without serious opposition. In doing so the Church acted wisely as well as generously; it submitted to a considerable pecuniary loss; but, on the other hand, by the passing of the Commutation Act the parochial clergy were relieved from the annual recurrence of an irritating question as to what was the sum they were entitled to demand on account of tithes, or from being compelled, as they sometimes were, to obtain the income they depended upon for support by taking their tithes in kind. It was a gain of the greatest importance for the usefulness of the Church that, instead of being derived from so vexatious an impost as tithes had become, the income of the parochial clergy was secured to them by a rent-charge on the land, of which the amount was settled once for all, and for the payment of which the owners of the soil were made responsible.[2] This gain was

[2] This was unquestionably the object of the Commutation Act, though it has of late been otherwise understood from an erroneous interpretation put upon the clauses it contains, making the amount of rent-charge payable by land depend upon the average price of corn during seven years. It has been assumed that these clauses were meant to make the amount of the charge upon land vary according to the variations which might take place in the value of its produce, but this is a complete misconception of their purpose, as I have more than once had occasion to point out. If they had been intended to make the rent-charge fixed upon land vary according to the varying value of its products, it would have been absurd to take the average price of corn during the previous seven years as the measure of what was to be paid for rent-charge in each year; the price of corn during the current year would have determined the amount, as it did under the Scotch law of teinds. The purpose of the clauses in question in the Commutation Act was the very different one of guarding the Church against the loss which it was supposed it might sustain by a great fall in the value of gold. When the Commutation Act was passed many persons believed that in consequence of the discovery of new gold mines the value of gold was almost sure to fall, and might possibly do so as largely as it did after the discovery of America. It was therefore supposed (wrongly as it turned out) that for a permanent arrangement gold would afford a less secure measure of value than the price of corn, provided that this

well purchased for the Church, by its abandoning both its right to a gradual increase of its revenue from tithes, and also in no inconsiderable part of that to which it was actually entitled.

I can affirm with confidence the strict accuracy of the account I have just given of the objects of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, and of the reasons which led to its being passed with such general assent on the part of those whose interests it affected. It now remains for me to show the important bearing of the facts I have stated on the question whether any, and if any, what, changes ought now to be made in the law as it was then settled. In the votes of the House of Commons there is a long list of the amendments that were to have been moved if the consideration of the Tithe Bill of last session had been proceeded with, and the first remark that occurs to me upon reading these amendments is, that a large proportion of them would, if adopted, have had the effect of diminishing to a greater or less extent the value of the property of titheowners for the benefit of the persons to whom land subject to tithe rent-charges belongs. I say advisedly, for the benefit of those to whom the land subject to tithe rent-charges belongs, for, though the truth seems to be often and strangely overlooked, they are the persons who would be the real gainers by any reduction of these rent-charges. Upon this point there is no room for doubt: tenants in bargaining for farms are guided by what they consider to be the net value of the land in deciding what rent they will consent to pay. They calculate what will have to be deducted from the gross produce of the land on account of rates, tithe rent-charges, or any other charges they may have to meet under their agreement with their landlords, in order to judge what rents they can afford to pay. Accordingly, every man who has had anything to do with letting or taking farms is perfectly aware that when a farm is let tithe-free it commands a rent higher than the rent that could be obtained for it if it were let subject to tithe rent-charge by the amount of that charge. I may be allowed to add that I believe (and for many years I have acted on that view of the subject) that, since 1836, to let their land tithe-free is the right course for landlords to take, not only because it is that which they were clearly expected to follow when the Commutation Act was passed, and which is most fair to those entitled to rent-charges on their

price was taken upon the average of a sufficient number of years to correct the great inequality there would otherwise have been in the amount of the rent-charge in good and bad seasons. Having taken part in the discussions in which this arrangement was settled before it was submitted to Parliament, I can assert most positively that the account I have now given of the reasons for adopting it is correct. I believe, but on this point my memory does not enable me to speak with certainty, that the first suggestion of this mode of dealing with the subject came from persons who spoke on behalf of the Church. I may add that the owners of the soil were clearly made responsible for the payment of the rent-charges substituted for tithes, since if they were left unpaid, and could not be otherwise recovered, those entitled to them were enabled to take possession of the land.

estates, but also because it is what is most for their own interest. The reason for regarding it as for the interest of landlords to let their land tithe-free, taking upon themselves the obligation to pay the rent-charge, is easily explained. If the payment of tithe rent-charge is imposed upon a tenant and he should neglect to make it, and then unfortunately become insolvent, the person entitled to the rent-charge has a right to recover all arrears, for a period not exceeding two years, either by distress on the stock found on the property or, if this should be insufficient, by taking possession of the land itself. The landlord already would have virtually paid the rent-charge by allowing for its amount in the rent he accepted from his tenant, but this would not save him from having to pay it again to the person entitled to receive it in order to avoid the loss of his land. The risk to the landlord of being thus compelled to pay the rent-charge on his property twice over is by no means an imaginary one. I know of at least one case in which a second payment was successfully enforced against the owner of a farm subject to a tithe rent-charge which the tenant was bound, but had neglected, to pay.

Perhaps it may be said that there are many cases in which the total amount of rent and of tithe which the tenant formerly paid was not more than he could well afford; but that in the bad times we have lately had it has been impossible for him to pay both, and that it is therefore unreasonable to refuse him some reduction of the tithe rent-charge. I am quite aware that there are many cases in which a reduction of the amount tenants have to pay for their land is absolutely necessary; indeed, I believe that there are very few farms on which it has been possible to resist the demands of tenants for a reduction, and that landlords have almost universally been obliged to consent to a diminution of their income, which they have felt very severely. Of this fact there can be no question, but it by no means follows that it would be just to throw any part of the loss arising from the diminished return, now obtainable from land, on the titheowner instead of on the owner of the soil. This is what was contended for by many members of the House of Commons in the recent discussions, and not exclusively by those on one side of the House, but the arguments they urged in support of their conclusion seem to me quite unable to stand even a slight scrutiny. The most plausible of these arguments was that tithes now bear a far larger proportion to rent than they did fifteen or twenty years ago, and that it would therefore be just to reduce the rent-charges so as to preserve the former proportion between the two. This would be a very good argument if the tithe rent-charges had been settled with a view to their bearing a definite ratio to the letting values of land; but this was not what was intended by the measure. If it had been so, provision must have been made in the Act for increasing the charge in prosperous times, and less than twenty years ago any such provision

would have given the titheowner a claim to a larger income than he received. But this would have been directly opposed to the very principle of the measure, of which the whole object was to impose a fixed and permanent charge upon land, in lieu of the fluctuating and uncertain burthen of tithes. This permanence and fixity of the charge assessed to titheowners was the consideration granted to them in return for a great deduction made by Parliament from the real value of their ancient and legal claim upon the land. By the Commutation Act titheowners became entitled to receive from the owners of the soil a certain annual payment, subject only to a variation of which the rules were carefully laid down, and which were intended to insure, as far as possible, the uniformity of the charge within narrow limits for all time to come. The income thus secured to the owners of tithe was not to be increased, neither was it to be diminished. During half a century the arrangement has been one by which the owners of the soil have been large gainers, and it would be a gross injustice if, after they have so long enjoyed this advantage from it, they should now insist upon its being altered because they feel the pressure of bad times. There are other charges upon land of which the burthen has been far more inconveniently increased by the bad times than that imposed by the Commutation Act. For instance, there are many landed estates having mortgages upon them, of which the interest could formerly be paid by the owners of the property without serious difficulty, but of which the rents now yield to the possessors of the land very small incomes indeed, and in some cases none at all, after paying the interest they have to provide for. Yet nobody has yet ventured to suggest that the interest on mortgages should be reduced by law, because the bad times have brought such severe distress on the owners of encumbered estates. Titheowners have quite as much right to receive, undiminished, the incomes assured to them by the Commutation Act as capitalists have to the interests due to them on their mortgages until the mortgagers can pay them off, and Parliament cannot pass a law to take away from either the one or the other any part of what is due to them, without acting in open violation of the first principles of justice, and giving a disastrous shock to the public feeling of the security of every kind of property from spoliation.

For this reason I hold that Parliament ought to reject every proposal for altering the Tithe Commutation Act in such a manner as to inflict a loss of property on titheowners, but at the same time I admit that some amendment of that Act is required. In some parts of the kingdom—chiefly, if not exclusively, in Wales—difficulties have arisen in collecting tithe rent-charge, and in maintaining the authority of the law, which it would probably be hard now to overcome without the aid of legislation. That such a state of things

should have been allowed to grow up implies, in my opinion, grave faults on the part both of her Majesty's Ministers and of landowners in the district where it exists, but what these faults may have been is a less urgent matter for consideration than how the difficulties that are acknowledged to exist ought now to be dealt with.

The measure first proposed for this purpose by the Government in the last session of Parliament was directed to the giving of greater facilities for enforcing the claims of titheowners. I much doubt whether it was well devised for attaining this object, but at all events the object was a right one; and the principle of the Bill originally brought in having been sound, if it had obtained the assent of Parliament and had been vigorously acted upon it would probably have proved successful. Unfortunately this assent was not obtained, and though the manner in which the Bill was opposed can hardly be too severely condemned, I cannot think that the blame for its failure rests entirely with its opponents. The faults of the measure, and the lack of firmness shown by her Majesty's Ministers both in dealing with the agitation in Wales against tithes in its first beginning, and also in their mode of introducing and defending their Bill, seem to me to have had at least as much to do with its having been lost as the obstructive action of their adversaries. Much more than was attempted might have been done by a vigorous exercise of the executive powers of the Government to put down insubordination in its beginning, and its speedily rising into open defiance of the constituted authorities was only the natural consequence of the irresolution with which it was at first dealt with. So, too, when the defiance of authority had come to such a pass that it was considered necessary to ask for the aid of Parliament to enforce the law, this appeal was not made in such a manner as to render it likely to succeed. The duty of Parliament and of the Government to maintain the authority of the law, and to protect all the Queen's subjects from having their acknowledged rights withheld from them by violence, and also the justice of the claim of the titheowners to the full payment of the rent-charges awarded to them under the Act of 1836, ought to have been clearly explained and firmly asserted.

A very different tone was taken by members of the administration in proposing and supporting the Bill they submitted to the House of Commons. Their language was not that of men boldly defending a measure they felt to be right, but had almost the character of an apology for proposing it, and came dangerously near to implying that being required to pay the tithe rent-charges upon land was a grievance of which its owners and occupiers had a right to complain, and which afforded some excuse for the lawless violence with which the ordinary legal process for enforcing the payment of these charges had been resisted. That a measure so feebly defended should have obtained little support can be no matter for surprise to anyone, but the course taken

by her Majesty's Ministers when they discovered the formidable character of the opposition to the Bill they had brought in may well be regarded not only with surprise but with amazement. If they had merely withdrawn the Bill they would probably have been generally thought to have shown a want either of foresight and judgment in asking Parliament to pass an ill-considered measure, or else of firmness in giving up a good one which they had very lately declared to be urgently required in order to maintain the public peace. Still the lateness of the session and the temper of the House of Commons might have been plausibly pleaded in excuse for their having given way; what they did admits of no such apology. Instead of withdrawing the Bill, the Attorney-General on behalf of the Government gave notice that he would move in committee amendments which would have entirely altered its character. As originally proposed, the Bill was one for enabling titheowners more easily and effectually to obtain payment of tithe rent-charges from those who endeavoured by combination and violence to prevent the execution of legal process for the recovery of money due from them. By the amendments the Attorney-General gave notice of moving the measure would have been converted into one which, instead of giving greater facilities to the owners of tithe rent-charges for obtaining payment of their just claims, would have deprived them of their most effectual means of doing so, would have thrown new difficulties in their way, and would further have made a large inroad on the property secured to them by the Commutation Act. That is to say, if the Bill had been passed in the shape proposed by the Attorney-General, those who had suffered wrong from lawless violence would have had a further loss inflicted upon them by Parliament for the benefit of those by whom the wrong had been done.

Some simple considerations will, I think, suffice to show that this is what would have been the real effect of the Bill with the amendments suggested. Up to 1836 tithes had from early times been a first charge on the gross produce of the land,[1] and green boughs stuck into every tenth of the shocks of corn in a field marked them as the property of the titheowner, and protected them against seizure by the landlord when he had occasion to recover his rent by distress. The priority of the titheowners' claims to those of the landlords was thus secured, and it was maintained under the Commutation Act by the clauses which enabled titheowners to take possession of the land itself if sufficient distress was not found upon it to meet undischarged payments for rent-charges which had fallen due within two years. For this effectual provision for securing the payment of

[1] By the Statute 2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 13 it is enacted 'that if any person shall carry off his prestial tithes before the tenth part is duly set forth, or shall withdraw his tithes of the same or hinder the proprietor of the tithes from carrying them away, each offender shall pay double the value of the tithes, with costs.'

tithe rent-charges as the first charges on land subject to them, the amendments which stand in the order book of the House of Commons in the name of the Attorney-General would have substituted a power to the County Court, on the application of a person entitled to any tithe rent-charge, to order what might appear to the Court to be due 'to be paid out of the rents and profits of the lands' subject to the rent-charge, and then proceed to add that 'the Court, on being satisfied by evidence that it is just so to do, shall make such order for the remission of part of the sum claimed as will prevent the total sum paid for rent-charge during the period of twelve months preceding the day on which the sum claimed became due from exceeding the annual sum which under all the circumstances of the case may reasonably be taken to have been the net profit of the lands during those twelve months, and if there were no such net profit, the whole sum may be remitted, and the amount so remitted shall not be recoverable.' This subsection (two) of the very extraordinary clause which her Majesty's Ministers intended to have asked Parliament to enact is exceedingly difficult to understand. It suggests a question of vital importance to the parties concerned, to which I cannot find that it supplies any answer. What is meant by the 'net profit of the lands' during twelve months, which the amount of the tithe rent upon them which is to be recoverable is never to be allowed to exceed? Does this 'net profit' mean what is left to the tenant after paying his rent to the landlord as well as the expenses of cultivation? From the next subsection (three) it may be inferred that this is what is intended, as it is there provided that, 'in considering the net profit of land occupied by the owner, regard shall be had to the rent which might be obtained for the land if let to a tenant, and also to the value of such occupation to the owner.' Taking these two subsections together, it seems hardly possible to put any other interpretation upon the clause than that which would leave to the titheowner no more of the property, on which he has now the first claim, than what would remain to him after the landlord and his tenant had been allowed to deduct a very ill-defined amount from the rent-charge he is by law entitled to demand. Perhaps it may be said that I have misunderstood the Attorney-General's proposed clause, and from its obscurity I should not be surprised to find that I have failed to put upon it a strictly correct construction. But, be this as it may, it is at all events plain that the clause as it stands would empower the County Court in some circumstances or other to deprive the owner of a tithe rent-charge of a part or the whole of what might be due to him on account of this charge, which had been awarded to him as a permanent one not liable to diminution, in lieu of the right taken from him of drawing tithes in kind.

The passing of an Act containing provisions to this effect would amount to a simple confiscation by the authority of Parliament of

a portion, and possibly of the whole, of the income which the Commutation Act of 1836 permanently secured to the titheowners of England in consideration of the large sacrifice of their legal rights which was then demanded from them, and to which they offered no resistance because they trusted to the good faith of Parliament for the fulfilment of its obligations to them. A discretionary power is conferred upon a judge to reduce what was given, and has been regarded, as a fixed and permanent charge. This is indeed a startling proposal to come from a Conservative Government, and it is the more so from the circumstances in which it is made, and the manner in which it is brought forward. During upwards of half a century the arrangement made in 1836 worked well for all parties, and especially for the owners of land, who, as I have shown, in all these years enjoyed a large addition to the value of their property from the bargain made with the titheowners; yet it is now suggested that, because there has been a great depression in the value of landed property, part at least of the loss arising from it should be thrown upon those who had derived no benefit from the previously large increase in the produce of land because the undoubted claim they would have had to it under the old state of the law had been surrendered on the express ground that they were guaranteed against any diminution of the income assigned to them under the Commutation Act. It is difficult to conceive anything more flagrantly unjust, and were Parliament to give its sanction to such a measure a rude shock would be given to that sense of the security of all property which in every country, and especially in a great commercial country like this, is the indispensable foundation for the fabric of national prosperity.

Much evil must, therefore, have resulted from passing the Tithe Bill of last session with the amendments recommended by the Attorney-General, as it would have afforded an example of a barefaced invasion of the rights of property by the authority of the Legislature. This evil would also have been greatly augmented by the manner in which the proposed alteration of the Tithe Bill was brought forward. It must not be forgotten that the object of the original Bill was directly the opposite of that of the clause I have been considering; the former was intended to give increased security to those entitled to tithe rent-charges for their undisturbed enjoyment of the rights conferred upon them by the Commutation Act, which the new clause would have openly invaded. What was the reason for this change, in a very short time, from a measure deliberately recommended by her Majesty's Ministers, as being urgently required to prevent gross injustice, to one committing the very injustice they had denounced? So far as the public had the means of judging, there was but one way of accounting for so sudden and so violent a change in the intentions of her Majesty's Ministers. They must have been terrified by the violence of the agitators against tithes in

Wales, and have thought it better to give way to it, even though for that purpose they were compelled to join in committing what they had argued to be a wrong.

The facts as to what had occurred before the Government decided on trying to amend the Tithe Bill they had brought forward, and the true character of what they did in consequence, deserve to be somewhat further considered. For many months a number of persons in Wales—some from a desire for selfish gain, others from bitter feelings of sectarian hatred and an avowed hope that the popular dislike to the payment of tithe might be used with success as a 'lever' for the overthrow of the Church—had combined together to resist by violence the execution of legal process for enforcing the payment of tithe rent-charges by those from whom they were due. The outrages and the acts of open defiance of the law committed in pursuance of the objects they had in view by those who took part in this combination are too well known to require description. Nor is any argument needed to prove that their conduct was in plain violation of the first rules of morality, and of their duty as subjects of the Crown; it implied also a most unchristian disregard of the wrong and suffering which, in seeking to gratify their own selfish desires and passions, they inflicted on a body of men whose generally deserving character and conscientious discharge of their duties have never been denied. Such a disregard of their Christian duty to their neighbours deserves especial condemnation in those who plead their religious opinions as their justification for seeking to overthrow the Established Church. The agitation for a reduction of tithe rent-charges in Wales, and resistance to the execution of legal process for enforcing their payment, went on for many months—I believe for more than a year before the opening of the last session. During that time I am not aware that any effective steps were taken by her Majesty's Ministers to put an end to a state of things so injurious to the public welfare, and so sure to get worse if nothing were done to check the progress of the evil. The first attempt to arrest it seems to have been made on the 4th of June last, by bringing into the House of Commons the Government Bill 'to amend the law relating to the recovery of tithe rent-charge.' Probably there were reasons more or less satisfactory for deferring so long an endeavour to amend the existing law if the need for such an amendment were so urgent as it was said to be, but it surely requires to be explained why the executive authority of the Government was not used earlier and more vigorously to put down all attempts to resist the execution of the law as it stood.

The first duty of the servants of the Crown is to maintain order, and to repress in their very beginnings all acts of resistance to lawful authority, and they are invested with very large powers for that purpose. By the law officers they can bring all offenders promptly

under the cognisance of the courts of justice, and if process issuing from these courts is resisted, they have at their command the whole civil and military force of the kingdom to compel obedience to it. Why were these large powers not made use of to suppress the earliest manifestation of a spirit of insubordination in Wales? They ought to have been so; and when it appeared that there was a combination to prevent the process of distress for the recovery of tithe rent-charge from being executed, the Attorney-General might have been instructed to indict all who were engaged in it, since there can be no doubt that it is a serious offence under the law of England to enter into any such combination. A special commission might have been issued for the speedy trial of offenders, and if there was reason to distrust the fairness of juries of their own county, the courts of law might have been asked to remove the trials to another.

Perhaps it may be said there was no evidence of such a combination, but if it existed, as seems to be very clear, I cannot believe that evidence against those engaged in it might not have been obtained, if proper pains had been taken to collect it, and even if attempts to do so had failed (which would have argued a want of activity and intelligence in those entrusted with the duty) there would have been no difficulty, with a sufficient force on the spot, in arresting at once every man who attempted to interfere with the officers of courts of law in executing their process. The county magistrates would, of course, have obeyed (as would have been their duty) the instructions of the Secretary of State for causing such arrests to be made, and if they had not sufficient civil force at their disposal for that purpose, the Secretary of State would only have had to order any number of troops required to be sent to support the police. A heavy responsibility rests upon her Majesty's Ministers, and especially upon the Home Secretary, for not having adopted some such measures as these, or even stronger ones if they were required, instead of looking on with apparent indifference while such shameful disorder was long allowed to prevail unchecked in Wales. I am at a loss to conjecture how any valid apology can be found for their inaction, while there are plain signs that it has done much to encourage that spirit of lawlessness which seems to have become unfortunately prevalent among large numbers of our countrymen, not only in Wales but also elsewhere, and to constitute the greatest political danger of the time in which we live.

Many men seem now to act as though they were under no obligation of duty to obey laws they disapprove, and as if it were tyrannical to inflict the appointed legal punishment on those who obstinately refuse obedience to laws which do not please them, though duly enacted by the sovereign authority of the State. To give way to this, or to any other display of the spirit of lawlessness, must obviously tend to destroy the very foundations of any orderly

government, and even of civilised society itself. Much evil, therefore, can hardly fail to follow from the feeble exercise of the authority entrusted to the servants of the Crown, which has permitted successful resistance to the regular administration of the law in the matter of tithes to be maintained so long by a part of the Welsh population, and apparently to be still continued.

The evil which must have been thus done would have much aggravated had Parliament consented to make the concession to the anti-tithe agitation in Wales which was suggested by the Attorney-General, as this would have shown the power of illegal combination and violence to extort from the Legislature, with the assent of the Government, a measure absolutely inconsistent with what the same Government had just before declared to be just, and which would in effect have transferred a part of their property from its actual holders, under a title resting upon the prescription of centuries as well as upon statute law, to persons who could not put forward even the shadow of a right to it. This would have been to take a first step, on this side of the Irish Channel, in a line of policy of which we have seen the natural results on the other, and if we consider what these results have been in Ireland, we shall, I think, be loath to enter here upon a similar course. I have already had an opportunity of showing how deplorable these results were,[4] and what a sad contrast there was between the condition in which Mr. Gladstone left Ireland, when he quitted office in 1885, and that in which he found it when he came into power after displacing the Conservative Ministers of 1868. I will not go over the same ground again, and indeed the evils under which Ireland has suffered so severely from the unwise management of its affairs are too notorious to require further description, and I have only referred to the fact of their existence on account of the warning to be drawn from them of the danger of following the example set by Mr. Gladstone's Irish administration in dealing with the existing difficulties in Wales. This warning deserves most serious consideration, because from all that has been done, and all that has been left undone, by her Majesty's Ministers with regard to tithes, and from what we have been told as to their views on the subject, we are almost irresistibly led to infer that they are falling on this matter into the very same political errors that have had such disastrous consequences in Ireland.

The main errors of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, which fully account for its utter failure, were his disregard for justice and the rights of property in the legislation he induced Parliament to adopt for Ireland; and the encouragement which was given to lawlessness both by this legislation and by the general character of the executive government during his two administrations. The disregard for justice and for the rights of property manifested in the Land Bills,

[4] In an essay upon Ireland published by Mr. Murray in 1888, pp. 129–138.

which deprived the owners of a large part of the value of their estates, effectually checked the efforts many of them were making to improve their property, while it demoralised the tenantry by teaching them to look for an improvement in their condition less to their own exertions than to what they might gain by intimidation from the property of others. Lawlessness was encouraged as well by a want of vigour and judgment in the executive government as by legislation conferring on tenants boons to which they had no right, and which were almost avowedly granted as concessions to violence and illegal combination; and the prevalence of lawlessness necessarily proved an obstacle to industrial enterprise of every kind.

What I have said in the preceding pages as to the conduct of the Government with regard to the agitation against tithes in Wales will, I think, show that it has been acting entirely in the spirit of Mr. Gladstone's Irish administration. Just as he attempted to conciliate discontented tenants by confiscating in their favour a part of the property of their landlords, the Attorney-General gave notice on behalf of the Government that he would ask Parliament to bribe those who were resisting the law into submission by abandoning to them a part of the tithe rent-charge without regard to the rights of the owner, whose title to it was unquestionable as resting upon long prescription, and having been confirmed by statute more than half a century ago. In like manner, exactly as Mr. Gladstone's second and largest measure of confiscation was extorted from him, in direct contradiction to what he had formerly declared to be just, by the increasing violence of those who were resisting the law, and was, in fact, a reward to them for their misconduct, so it was in deference to the more determined defiance of the law by the anti-tithe agitators in Wales that the Attorney-General proposed his amendments, which would have entirely altered the character of the Government Tithe Bill, and made it one for giving up to the holders of land a part of the rent-charges which the measure, as originally proposed, was intended to make more easy to recover. To complete the parallel: as Mr. Gladstone had allowed resistance to the law and acts of violence to attain the terrible pitch they reached in Ireland by neglecting to take sufficiently early and decisive measures to put them down, so her Majesty's Ministers seem now to be taking no active steps to support the officers of the law in Wales in the performance of their duty, although new cases of successful resistance to the execution of legal process for enforcing the payment of tithes are continually reported in the newspapers.

I observe with deep regret that the public does not appear to be as yet alive to the extreme danger of the course taken by her Majesty's Ministers in thus acting with regard to the troubles in Wales. In spite of the lesson which ought to have been learnt from the history of Ireland during the last twenty years, it is to be feared

that it is not even yet generally understood how great a shock must be given to the security of every kind of property, and how much encouragement to lawlessness, if in this matter of tithes the Government, from fear of a serious struggle, should continue to permit successful opposition to be offered to the execution of legal process for the recovery of rent-charges, and should induce Parliament to sanction the making over of any portion, however small, of what rightly belongs to others to those who have combined together to keep by violence property they have got into their hands, but to which they have no just claim.

Seeing, as we do on all sides, significant signs of an increasing disposition among no small number of our countrymen to shut their eyes to the vital importance of maintaining the security of property, and to the terrible calamity it would be to all classes of society (and to none more than to the poor) if this security were seriously impaired, it is surely time that there should be some stronger demonstration of opinion than has yet taken place against the neglect of her Majesty's Government to guard Welsh titheowners against any invasion of the right they have in common with all other proprietors to the undisturbed enjoyment of what legally belongs to them. If attempts forcibly to withhold from Welsh titheowners what is lawfully theirs are suffered to succeed, we may be sure that it will not be long before the holders of other kinds of property will find their rights exposed to invasions of a similar character. All classes of society are, therefore, deeply interested in showing that their severe condemnation will be incurred by any failure of the Government to discharge that first and most important of its duties, which consists in giving full protection to all her Majesty's subjects against every unjust attack on their persons or property.

And there is one class of persons of whom it is more especially alike the duty and the interest to make their strong disapproval of the illegal proceedings which have been going on in Wales promptly and clearly understood: I refer to the landowners in that part of the kingdom. The place they hold in its society, and their position as regards both the titheowners and their tenants, require from them much more than a mere declaration of their disapproval of the disorderly conduct of those who have resisted the payment of tithes. Tithes, as they well knew, are a charge on the land which they as its owners are bound to meet, and when difficulty began to arise in collecting from the occupiers the tithe rent-charges which they had been in the habit of paying instead of their landlords, the latter ought to have put an end to this difficulty by paying for themselves what their tenants had hitherto paid for them as their agents. So far as I can gather from the information within my reach it appears that the difficulty of collecting tithe rent-charges

from the occupiers of land began to be seriously felt when the pressure of agricultural distress became severe throughout the kingdom: tenants could then no longer afford to pay what they had hitherto paid for their land, and reductions of rent to a very large amount had to be almost universally made. In England, as a general rule, these reductions have been amicably settled between landlords and tenants without either of them seeking to throw part of the loss caused by bad times on the titheowner. There have been exceptions to this rule, and when farmers have been called upon to pay tithe rent-charges they have not unfrequently remonstrated against their not being reduced in consideration of the badness of the times; but I am not aware that out of Wales objections to paying the usual amount have anywhere been carried so far as resisting the demand. Considering that the former rents of some farms have had to be reduced by not less than forty or even fifty per cent., it is much to the credit of the great body of both owners and occupiers of land that they should have submitted to such heavy loss without any serious attempts having been made to obtain some relief from it at the expense of the titheowners. It is not less to their credit that the amount of reduction to be made in rents has been settled between the parties concerned without the intervention of any public authority, so that there has been no departure from the great principle of leaving rents to be determined by free contract, and that this has been accomplished with less friction or disturbance of amicable relations between the parties concerned than might have been expected.

The course things have taken in Wales has been very different, if I rightly understand the facts from the accounts given in the newspapers. From these it appears that Welsh farmers have generally sought for relief from the difficulties brought upon them by bad seasons and low prices by demanding large reductions of what they have had to pay as tithe rent-charge. Abatements of rent have also, I believe, been granted in many cases; but, so far as I am aware, few, if any, attempts have been made by landlords to check the prevailing agitation by making agreements with their tenants for their land being held by them tithe free, subject to rents increased by the amount of the tithe rent-charge from which they would be relieved, but diminished by such a reduction of the landlord's rent as the times might demand. There can be little doubt that, by a judicious and conciliatory exercise of the influence and power of landlords, tenants might have been induced, with few exceptions, to agree to arrangements of this kind, by which they would have gained a substantial reduction of what they were legally liable to pay for their land, taking tithe rent-charge and landlord's rent together. I have no means of judging why the owners of land have not taken this course, but I can have little doubt that in failing to do so they have made a mistake even more injurious to their own interest than to that of the public.

There is no occasion for pointing out how much the public has suffered from the disorders which have arisen from the struggle of Welsh farmers to get rid of the payment of tithe-rent-charges, but it seems to be less generally understood how seriously it is likely to affect the owners of the soil; some persons seem even to imagine that they would be gainers if these charges were abolished or reduced. Nor is there any reason to doubt that they would really be so if a measure for that purpose were passed by Parliament unaccompanied by any other change. But of this there is not the smallest chance; it is now quite well understood that the owners of land subject to tithe rent-charge have no right whatever to the income arising from this source, which is now devoted to the support of the clergy, when it is not held by various public bodies or by private persons as their property. The attack on tithe property in Wales is carried on mainly by the farmers of land subject to tithe rent-charges, and by some of the Welsh Dissenters. The latter are taking part in this attack mainly, as it appears, from hostility to the Established Church. How they propose that the income they desire to take from the Church should be used has not as yet been explained, though it has been shown pretty clearly that they would not consent to its being put by the landholders into their own pockets.

As to the farmers who have been active in resisting the collection of tithe rent-charges, there is no doubt what is their object; they mean that the abolition of tithe rent-charges should enable them to continue to hold their farms on easier terms than at present. But they are quite aware that this object would not be gained unless they were secured against having their rents raised by their landlords. At present, if I am not mistaken, Welsh farmers generally hold their land only as yearly tenants; some have the security of leases, but in all cases the owners of the soil have full power to raise their rents, either immediately or at the expiration of the current leases, to the full amount of the market value of the land. If tithe rent-charges hitherto paid by the occupiers of land should be abolished or diminished by Act of Parliament, its market value for letting would be increased exactly by the amount of the payment on account of tithe from which it would be relieved. And though it is improbable that any increase of rents would be immediately asked for, it cannot be expected that the tenants would be long permitted to enjoy the whole advantage of being relieved from the tithe rent-charges, if this should bring the rents they pay to their landlords below the market value of the land. The farmers would not fail to perceive that they could not rely upon deriving any permanent benefit from the passing of a measure simply relieving the owners and occupiers of land, partly or entirely, from their obligation to pay the rent-charge to which it is now subject. If, therefore, any measure of this kind should be proposed, it would certainly

be insisted in the interest of the tenants that it should contain provisions to secure them against being deprived of what they would expect to gain from it. But there would be no means of giving them this security, except by conferring upon them the right of having the amount of the rents they can be called upon to pay submitted to the control of some public authority, which means nothing less than doing away with the principle of maintaining freedom of contract in the letting of land, and establishing instead that system of 'dual land ownership' which has worked so ill in Ireland. Need I add that such a change would be ruinous to the owners of land, and in the end to their tenants also? On this ground I must repeat my assertion, that a regard to their own interests as well as a sense of duty ought to lead the landowners of Wales to do their best to defeat the attempts that are now being made to deprive the titheowners of what lawfully belongs to them. This is the more clear because there are already plain signs that the spirit of lawlessness which is now displayed in resisting the payment of tithes is not unlikely to lead before long to a similar opposition to rents. If this spirit should be encouraged by even partial success in seeking to extort unjust concessions in the matter of tithes, there can be no reasonable doubt that it will go on to show its power on the question of rents.

In trying to prove the conclusive objections there are to the policy which the conduct and language of her Majesty's Ministers indicate that they are likely to pursue, I have left myself little room for an explanation of my views as to what they ought to do. This is, however, immaterial, as I am convinced that exceedingly little change ought to be attempted in the Tithe Commutation Act, which has worked well for upwards of half a century; and the principal thing we have to desire from them is that they should show more vigour and firmness in promptly putting down all attempts to impede by violence the regular administration of the law. This is what is of vital importance, and I cannot but fear from the manner in which they have acted not only with respect to tithes, but also to other matters, that they have an insufficient sense of their imperative duty to enforce strict obedience in all classes of society to the authority of the Queen and of the courts of law. In legislation there is but one of the changes they have suggested which it appears to me desirable that Parliament should sanction: I refer to the proposal that the owners of land, not the occupiers, should be the persons by whom tithe rent-charges should be paid. When the Commutation Act was passed, it was expected and intended that tithe rent-charges should be paid by the owners of the land. I am certain of this from my recollection of what took place at the time, and my recollection is confirmed by the recorded discussions on the subject in the House of Commons. There would be no injustice to landlords in making it obligatory upon them to take the payment of tithe rent-charges upon

themselves, which they were expected to do of their own accord when the Commutation Act was passed, nor yet in making this change take effect at once, since it would not deprive them of any part of the income to which they are entitled. I can affirm from my own experience in letting land tithe free and paying the rent-charges myself for somewhere about forty years, that I have not lost a shilling by doing so, and that it has rendered negotiations with tenants as to the terms on which land is let more simple and satisfactory to both parties.

But, while I entirely approve of the change proposed, the mode of carrying it into effect, suggested by the Attorney-General in the amendments he placed on the notice paper of the House of Commons, seems to me to be so complicated and cumbersome that it could hardly fail, if adopted, to give rise to future disputes and difficulty. I will not attempt to support this opinion by criticising the Attorney-General's amendments in detail, but I will venture to point out that their object would be better attained by simply enacting that the owners of land subject to tithe rent-charges should be the persons by whom payment should be made; that the amount of these rent-charges, if left unpaid, should constitute a debt which the titheowner might recover by the same means that the payment of any other debts may now be enforced; and that, where land has been let under agreements by which the tenant is bound to pay the tithe rent-charge, the landlord should be entitled to add to the rent agreed upon the amount of the rent-charge of which the payment is transferred from his tenant to himself. This arrangement would be strictly just to all parties, and when the whole payment for the land he holds was made by the tenant in the form of rent, instead of partly as rent and partly as tithe rent-charge, it would then remain for the landlord and tenant to settle between them what the rent should be.

The titheowner would have no concern in this settlement; he would be entitled to receive the amount guaranteed to him by Parliament, and the farmer would have to look to his landlord for such a reduction of the amount to be paid for his land as the times might demand, and the landlords of Wales would, like landlords in other parts of the kingdom, have to submit to the loss of income which the fall in the value of land ought to impose upon them. I must add that, in making this arrangement, it would not be just to deprive the titheowner of his remedy by distress on the produce of the land, if he should not be able otherwise to obtain payment of the rent-charge due to him; in that case he should be entitled to obtain payment by distress; but the tenant would not suffer by this if he were entitled to deduct from his rent the amount he had thus been compelled to pay on account of the tithe rent-charge due by the landlord, together with the cost of the legal process by which it had been enforced. Of course, the titheowner should be required to

begin by exhausting all other means open to him for recovering what is due to him, but the power of having recourse to distress, and ultimately seizure of the land, ought to be reserved to him as a last resort, because otherwise a dishonest landowner, having no visible property except his land, and living abroad, might successfully resist all attempts of the tithe-owner to obtain payment of what was due to him. When the Tithe Commutation Act was under consideration in 1836, there was a desire, if possible, to dispense with giving a power of distress for the recovery of tithe rent-charges, but it was the general—I believe the unanimous—opinion of the best lawyers of the day that, for the reason I have just endeavoured to explain, this could not be safely done.

There is another point of importance which I must not pass by without notice. Lord Salisbury has expressed what I regard as an ill-advised opinion, that a satisfactory measure with regard to tithes must contain provisions for the general redemption of tithe rent-charges, and the investment of their value in some other property to yield a revenue for the benefit of those now entitled to the rent-charges. I call this an ill-advised opinion, for a very slight consideration would have shown Lord Salisbury that in the present state of the money market it would be impossible to cause the tithe rent-charges to be redeemed, and the money obtained for them to be re-invested for the benefit of the owners, without inflicting a heavy loss on them or else on those to whom the land subject to these charges belongs. The latter would certainly object, and most justly, to being compelled to redeem the rent-charges by the payment of a sum of money which would produce anything like the same income, and the persons who depend upon that income, and especially the parochial clergy, could not without gross injustice be required to submit to an arrangement by which it would be materially reduced. The measure is therefore clearly impracticable, and it is unfortunate that it should have been suggested by the Prime Minister, since this tends to encourage the unfounded notion, that being called upon to pay the rent-charges to which their estates are liable is a grievance from which owners of land ought to be relieved.

In conclusion, I have only to add that it is not without great reluctance that I have so strongly condemned the policy her Majesty's Ministry are pursuing on the subject I have been discussing, because no one can be more desirous than myself that they should continue in office. Few greater calamities could, I believe, at this time befall the nation than that power should be transferred from its present holders to those who must almost inevitably be their successors if they should be compelled to retire. But, anxious as I am that no such change should take place, I am so convinced that if the line of policy on which the Government has entered should be persevered in it must prove disastrous to the country, that I have thought it my

duty to do what little I can towards opening the eyes of the public to the dangers before us. And, in attempting to warn the public of these dangers, I believe I am also doing what is in reality most friendly to the Ministers themselves—for it is still not too late for them to abandon what I regard as the unwise policy in which they have as yet taken only the first steps; and, if public opinion could be so aroused on the subject as to lead them to do so, they would escape many difficulties which can hardly fail to arise if they adhere to their present course, and which would be so serious as probably to prove fatal to their administration.

GREY.

POSTSCRIPT.

Just after the MS. of the foregoing article had been sent to the Editor of *The Nineteenth Century*, Lord Selborne's letter of the 2nd of December appeared in the *Times*. I have read that letter and the statement appended to it with very deep regret, as it shows that many persons, whose high character gives the greatest weight to their authority, have taken so entirely opposite a view from myself of the subject I have discussed. But, high as is the authority of those who have signed the statement transmitted by Lord Selborne to the *Times*, I am unable to surrender in deference to it the opinion I have expressed. This statement does not explain the grounds on which those who have signed it are of opinion that such an inroad as they would approve might be made without injustice on the rights now enjoyed by the owners of tithes under an Act of Parliament which has for more than half a century been accepted as a final settlement of a very difficult question. I must submit to the signers of the statement that, unless they can show the course they recommend to be strictly just, no considerations of its convenience ought to induce Parliament to adopt it. As I have already remarked, the evil arising from the violation of justice by Parliament in transferring what rightfully belongs to one set of men to another is incalculable, since it tends to demoralise the public mind and to weaken the general sense of the difference between right and wrong.—G.

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NATURAL RIGHTS AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

In looking through a series of critical notices the other day, my eye was caught by a remark upon my essay 'On the Natural Inequality of Men' published in the last number of this Review—to the effect that it was well enough; but why should I have taken all that trouble to slay the slain?

Evidently, the propounder of the question believes that the doctrines of that school of political philosophers of which Rousseau was the typical representative, are not only killed but dead. But, whatever may hold good of men, doctrines do not necessarily die from being killed. Many a long year ago, I fondly imagined that Hume and Kant and Hamilton having slain the 'Absolute,' the thing must, in decency, decease. Yet, at the present time, the same hypostatised negation, sometimes thinly disguised under a new name, goes about in broad daylight, in company with the dogmas of absolute ethics, political and other, and seems to be as lively as ever. It would seem to be to no purpose that the history of every branch of physical and historical science teems with examples of the fate which befalls the hasty generaliser who numbers, rather than weighs, supposed facts; and treats the rough approximations to truth obtained by the observation of highly complex phenomena as if they had the precision of geometrical theorems.

There is, unfortunately, abundant evidence that the vicious method of *a priori* political speculation which I have illustrated from

the writings of Rousseau is not only in full vigour, but that it is exerting an influence upon the political action of our contemporaries, which is extremely serious. No better evidence of the fact need be adduced than the avidity with which the writings of political teachers of this school have been and are being read, especially among the more intelligent of the working classes; and I doubt if any book, published during the last ten years, has obtained a larger circulation among them, not only in this country but in the United States, than *Progress and Poverty*. The other day there was a rumour that some devoted disciple of its author, Mr. Henry George, had bequeathed a large sum of money to him in order to aid in the propagation of his doctrines.

In some respects, the work undoubtedly deserves the success which it has won. Clearly and vigorously written, though sometimes weakened by superfluous rhetorical confectionery, *Progress and Poverty* leaves the reader in no doubt as to Mr. George's meaning, and thus fulfils the primary condition of honest literature. Nor will any one question the author's intense conviction that the adoption of his panacea will cure the ills under which the modern state groans.

Mr. George's political philosophy is, in principle, though by no means in all its details, identical with Rousseauism. It exhibits, in perfection, the same *a priori* method, starting from highly questionable axioms which are assumed to represent absolute truth, and asking us to upset the existing arrangements of society on the faith of deductions from those axioms. The doctrine of 'natural rights' is the fulcrum upon which he, like a good many other political philosophers, during the last 130 years, rests the lever wherewith the social world is to be lifted away from its present foundations and deposited upon others. In this respect, he is at one, not only with Rousseau and his conscious or unconscious followers in France and in England; but, I regret to say, may claim the countenance of a far more scientifically minded and practical school of political thinkers —that of the French *Physiocrates* of the eighteenth century.

The founder of this school, Quesnay, the sagacious physician of Louis the Fifteenth, whom even that graceless prince appreciated and called his 'thinker,' was an eminently practical man, especially conversant with agriculture. As the name taken by his disciples implies, his teaching was, professedly, based upon careful observation of, and induction from, the course of nature, as it bears upon politics. It would hardly be too much to say that we owe to the Physiocrats the modern clearness of conviction that the world of human society is as much the theatre of order and definite sequence of cause and effect as the world of extra-human nature; that there are rules of action, the observance of which brings about prosperity, while their neglect entails ruin, which have nothing to do with the laws

of morality or with the ordinances of religion; and that the wicked who follow these rules will not beg their bread, while the pious who neglect them will. But Quesnay and his followers would have been more than mortal if they had escaped the influence of the spirit of their age; and though they never fall into the speculative monstrosities of Rousseau, yet, about the time that the latter was occupied with his essay on *Inequality*, Quesnay composed that short work, entitled *Le Droit Naturel*, which is all too largely infected by the *a priori* method.

Quesnay begins by laying down the proposition that 'Natural Right' may be 'vaguely defined' as 'the right which a man has to the things which are fit for his enjoyment.' Truly a vague enough definition, and one that would need a great deal more defining before it could be safely turned to any practical account. Quesnay's friend and collaborateur, Dupont de Nemours, in the introductory discourse prefixed to the collection entitled *Physiocratie: ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement le plus avantageux au genre humain*, published in 1768, has somewhat improved upon it. 'Natural Right,' he says, is 'the right a man has to do that which is to his advantage.' He considers that this right is founded upon the condition that we are 'charged with our own preservation under penalty of suffering and death.' And he adds: 'The final degree of punishment decreed by this sovereign *law* is superior to every other interest and to every arbitrary law.' 'Natural Right,' then, is the right of a man to do anything necessary for his own preservation, and to possess himself of any means of enjoyment. It is possessed to its full and literal extent by any and every wholly isolated man. 'Natural Right,' by this account of it, must vest in the individual before he has entered into the social state, and must be antecedent to all forms of relative justice and injustice. But the contemporaneous and contiguous existence of many such individuals, all of whom assert their natural rights, must also necessarily end in the Hobbesian state of war of each against all, unless they agree to conventions which shall allow to each his natural right to things enjoyable; or, in other words, his freedom to profit by the advantages which he is competent to obtain from the order of nature.[1]

There seems to me to be a wonderful admixture of wholesome truth and of very unwholesome fiction in these propositions; and, as is not uncommon, the fiction has become popular while the truth is neglected. Indeed, Quesnay himself saw deeper than his disciple, and writes thus in the opening chapter of the treatise I have cited (Daire, p. 41):—

> He who has said that the natural right of man is a nullity has spoken truly.

[1] Daire, *Physiocrates*, Partie première, pp. 19, 20.

He who has said that the natural right of man is the right which nature teaches to all animals has spoken truly.[2]

He who has said that the natural right of man is the right which his strength and his intelligence assure him has spoken truly.

He who has said that natural right is limited to the private interest of each man has spoken truly.

He who has said that natural right is a general and sovereign law, which regulates the rights of all men, has spoken truly.

He who has said that the natural right of men is the unlimited right of all to everything has spoken truly.

He who has said that the natural right of men is a right limited by a tacit or explicit convention has spoken truly.

He who has said that natural right has nothing to do with either justice or injustice has spoken truly.[3]

He who has said that natural right is a just, decisive, and fundamental right, has spoken truly.

But none has spoken truly in relation to all cases.

What is one to make of this litany of antinomies? Quesnay himself seems to have been content to leave the riddle unanswered—while his successors do not appear to have understood that there was a riddle to answer. Each proposition may certainly be plausibly justified, and yet contradicts, or is hard to reconcile with, some other. Now, when this is the case, we may be pretty sure that the difficulty arises from some ambiguity of language. If 'Natural Right' is susceptible of these opposing predicates, it must be that it stands for two or more widely different ideas. I propose to endeavour to show that this solution of the difficulty is correct.

Some time ago I fell in with an Indian tiger story of a peculiarly gruesome sort, and I repeat the substance of it, not from any especial love for horrible stories, but because the tale led me, and therefore may easily lead my readers, into a train of fruitful reflections upon this very question of 'Natural Rights.'

A tigress carried off an unfortunate Indian villager—as a cat may carry off a mouse—without doing the man any mortal injury. Tracked to her lair in the jungle, the brute was seen to set down the half-disabled captive before her cubs, who commenced mumbling and mauling him to the best of their infantine ability, while the tender mother complacently watched their clumsy efforts to deal with the

[2] In a note Quesnay says 'This is the definition of Justinian.' It would be more accurate, I imagine, to say that it is derived from Ulpian: 'Jus naturale est, quod natura omnia animalia docuit: nam jus istud non humani generis proprium sed omnium animalium.' It is to the same Roman jurist that we owe the maxim that all men, according to the law of Nature, are equal and free: 'Quod ad jus naturale attinet, omnes homines æquales sunt.' 'Quum jure naturali omnes liberi nascerentur.' See the exhaustive work of Voigt: *Das jus naturale æquum et bonum und jus gentium der Römer*, Bd. 1, § 86, whence these citations are taken.

[3] In a note Quesnay observes that this is the case of a man alone in a desert island, whose natural right to the products of the island involves neither justice nor injustice, inasmuch as these terms express the relations of two or more persons.

big game she had brought home. But, if the man, driven desperate, succeeded for a moment in beating off his small tormentors and crawling away a few yards, a judiciously administered grip with the thoughtful parent's strong jaws, or a cuff from her heavy and sharp-clawed paw, at once reduced the victim to a state in which the cubs could safely resume their worrying and scratching of him.

I suppose that no one in whose imagination these words suffice to body forth a vision of the thing will fail to be horrified at the apparently wanton infliction of such grievous mental and bodily torture upon a harmless peasant; nor think, without satisfaction, of the justice done by the rifle-shots that eventually laid the tigress and her ferocious progeny low. The assertion that the tigress had a 'natural right' to do what she did, or that she and her cubs were justified by the 'law of Nature' in their course of action, will perhaps seem to most a monstrous, if not a wicked, doctrine. Yet this very doctrine is implicitly inculcated in one of the most familiar works of an author from whom the youthful mind half a century ago derived its earliest impressions of ethics; and also, unfortunately, of poetry. The young people of that day were taught to repeat:

> Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
> For 'tis their nature to;
> Let bears and lions growl and fight,
> For God hath made them so.

As poetry, good Dr. Watts's pious doggerel is undoubtedly nought. But, as moral philosophy, ripe, nay even aged reflection must, I think, satisfy us that it is not only sound, but has the merit of putting the case in a nutshell. For, whatever tigers and tigresses may be and do, it is quite clear, if we adopt the creative hypothesis and believe that God made them, that He 'made them so.' The acts which we are pleased to denounce as wantonly cruel are, therefore, necessary and intentional consequences of the divine creative operation. In fact, if there is evidence of intention anywhere in the fabric of things, the study of the structure of one of the cats, great or small, will prove it to be a machine most admirably adapted to slay and tear to pieces other living quadrupeds; and will demonstrate that, if it was intended to do anything, it must have been intended to perform exactly that butcher's work which it executes so well.

On the other hand, if we prefer to say no more than there is good evidence for saying, it is unquestionably true that the 'nature' or innate tendency of the whole race of tigers is to prey on other large animals, men included, inasmuch as not only is their bodily and mental constitution especially fitted for that operation, but since they must perish if they fail to perform it. Tigers (as M. Dupont says of men) are charged with their own preservation under penalty of

death. Moreover, when we inquire into the past history of these predaceous animals, we find that the cats, great and small, are but the last term of a long series of species of animals most of which are now extinct; which have succeeded one another through the tertiary epoch, therefore, for many thousands, or more probably millions, of years; and which, in their capacity of butchering machines, have undergone a steady though slow and gradual improvement, every step of which has been effected at the expense of an enormous total of suffering to the animals butchered. If, then, we deny that tigers have a natural right to torment and devour men, we really impeach, not the conduct of the tigers, but the order of nature. And if we ourselves, with our notions of right and wrong, are, like the tigers, products of that order, whence comes our competence to deny the exercise of their natural rights to those beings who stand upon the same foundation of natural right as ourselves? To say that a thing exists in nature and to say that it has a natural right to existence are, in fact, merely two ways of stating the same truth; which is that, in nature, fact and justification of the fact, or, in other words, might and right, are coextensive. To be and to have a natural right to be, to possess a faculty and to have the natural right to exert it, are all one. Thus, it really must be admitted that the hymnologist of my childish days has reason on his side. Whether children's little hands 'were made to tear each other's eyes' or not, it does not lie with us to object to tigers, any more than to dogs or bears or lions growling and fighting as their natures dictate. Beyond a doubt, by the 'Law of Nature,' which is the foundation of 'natural right,' the cats and their carnivorous allies are justified.

Having thus established the 'rights of tigers' to the exercise and enjoyment of the faculties with which nature has endowed them, it will be interesting to follow out the logical development of the doctrine, such as might be expected from a thoroughgoing advocate of those rights. It is admitted that a tiger has a natural right to eat a man; but if he may eat one man he may eat another, so that a tiger has a right of property in all men, as potential tiger-meat. Men are as much the 'gratuitous offering' of nature to tigers for their subsistence, or part subsistence, as fruits are to men. But any one tiger has no more natural right of property in men than any other tiger. All tigers are free to eat any man they can seize; and, if two tigers are sneaking along through the jungle on opposite sides of a footpath, their rights to the villager, who, travelling thereby, fondly imagines he is going home, are equal. So that we may, safely, enunciate the conclusion that all tigers have an equal natural right to eat all men.

I think it would be difficult to object to this argument on purely logical grounds; and the conclusions to which we are forced appear startling enough; but here we stop. If the advocate of the

'rights of tigers' attempts to drive us into the further admission that, as tigers have a right to eat men, it is wrong of men to put obstacles in the way of their having their rights by refusing to be eaten, we protest against the doctrine, not on the low and selfish ground of mere personal interest, but because, however plausible, it is a patent fallacy. The champion of the 'rights of tigers' has, in fact, made a convenient, though unwarrantable, jump from one sense of the word 'right' to another—from 'natural right' to 'moral right.' No doubt, he who hinders or refuses to admit a moral right is morally wrong—unjust, or, if you will, wicked. But very little consideration will show that hindrance or denial of 'natural rights' may not only be far from wrong, but is, in fact, a necessary consequence of the existence of such 'natural rights.' Grant that the tiger kills and eats men in the exercise of his natural right to preserve his own existence, and to do that for which nature has expressly fitted him; it is no less true that men kill tigers in the exercise of their equal natural right to preserve their existence. If the tiger is entitled by the law of nature to use his claws and teeth and soft-footed stealthy cleverness for the purpose of his self-preservation, the man may employ his hands and the weapons they are so admirably adapted to fabricate and wield, and use his still greater cunning, in tracking and stalking tigers to the like end.

Thus the natural rights of tigers and the natural rights of men, though quite indisputable and alike safely founded on the 'Law of Nature,' are diametrically opposed to one another. It follows, therefore, that they are rights to which no correlative duties belong—rights of which the exercise may be impeded, or prevented, without the perpetration of wrong. And that is just the difference between 'natural laws and rights,' on the one hand, and 'moral and civil laws and rights' on the other. Moral laws and civil laws are commands of an authority which may be disobeyed; but the sanctioning authority threatens and visits with penalties those who disobey. 'Thou shalt not steal,' the negative form of the recognition of rights of property, is both a moral and a civil law. It rests on the authority either of a Deity, or on that of conscience, or on that of some civil person whose dominion is recognised; and its sanction, or penalty incurred by disobedience, is hell, or remorse, or imprisonment, or all three.

The proper object and effect of moral and civil laws are to benefit all who are subjected to them by bringing about a state of peace and mutual confidence—the laws restraining each individual from acts which are hurtful and encouraging those which are beneficial to the polity of which he is a member. On the contrary, the 'Law of Nature' is not a command to do, or to refrain from doing, anything. It contains, in reality, nothing but a statement of that which a given being tends to do under the circumstances of its existence; and which,

in the case of a living and sensitive being, it is necessitated to do, if it is to escape certain kinds of disability, pain, and ultimate dissolution. The natural right deduced from such a law of nature is simply a way of stating the fact, that there is, in the nature of things, no reason why a being possessing such and such tendencies to action should not carry them into effect. Confused with moral and civil laws and translated into the language of command, the law of nature would bid the individual: 'Do what you will so far as you can.' But it is only inexactly and by way of metaphor, that we can speak of disobedience to a law of nature or of penalties for such disobedience. If, by impossibility, a tiger were to have an attack of the philozoic and vegetarian fanaticism which is going about, and to declare that he would neither kill, nor eat flesh, any more, he would undoubtedly undergo a lingering and painful death by starvation. But there is neither disobedience nor penalty here. The laws of nature are statements of tendencies, and if one law expresses the truth, that tigers which kill and eat will live and wax fat, another expresses the converse truth, that if tigers do not kill and eat, they will wax lean and die. The results are consequences of two modes of action, both of which are in accordance with natural law (or they could not occur) and not rewards or penalties. Indeed, that they cannot be the latter is clear from the further truth, that the tiger who has grown old in doing his best to fulfil the first 'law of nature,' as with age his limbs grow stiff and his tusks wear down, falls, very much against his will, under the second 'law' and dies as miserably of starvation as if he had refused to kill and eat on the loftiest of antivivisection and vegetarian principles.

The crown of the differences between the 'law of nature' with its consequent 'natural rights' and moral or civil laws lies in this: that consistent and thoroughgoing action, based upon the law of nature and the natural rights which flow from it, tends to benefit the individual at the expense of all other individuals whose needs and desires are of the same kind; and, so far from bringing about a state of peace among such individuals, necessitates a state of war—that is to say of either conscious or unconscious competition among them. The ceaseless and pitiless 'struggle for existence' which obtains throughout the whole world of living things is, in truth, the inevitable consequence of the circumstance that each living being strives knowingly, or ignorantly, to exert all its powers for the satisfaction of its needs; and asserts a tacit claim to possess (to the exclusion of other beings) all the space on the earth's surface which it can occupy and to appropriate all the subsistence which it can utilise.[1] The state

[1] Sixteen centuries ago Ulpian drew the conclusion that, according to the 'jus naturale,' the elements 'mare,' 'aer,' and, at any rate, 'litora,' are the common property of all living things. Isidore of Seville (see *Voigt*, i. 576), probably founding himself on Ulpian, reckons 'communis omnium possessio et omnium una libertas,

of sentient nature, at any given time, is the resultant of the momentarily balanced oppositions of millions upon millions of individuals, each doing its best to get all it can and to keep what it gets; each, in short, zealously obeying the law of nature and fighting tooth and nail for its natural rights. This is the *ne plus ultra* of individualism; and, wherever individualism has unchecked sway, a polity can no more exist than it can among the tigers who inhabit the same jungle. It is, in fact, the sum of all possible anti-social and anarchic tendencies.

Even among tigers (or at any rate tigresses), however, pure individualism does not always dominate. When the tigress has brought forth her cubs, and while she is nourishing, protecting, and training them, she and they enter into an association, formed of individuals held together by the attraction of the instincts which constitute the animal basis of sympathy, and thus constitute a polity, however small its scale and short its duration. And it will be observed that this most rudimentary of polities, the *family*, could not exist without the renouncement, on the part of the tigress at least, of some of the 'Rights of Tigers.' The tigress no longer acts upon her natural right of eating all she kills, for example; she acts as if she were conscious of duties towards her cubs. The cubs, on the other hand, are fond and more or less obedient, acting as if they had correlative duties towards their parent. It will not be supposed, I hope, that I suggest that either tigress or cubs are capable of entertaining moral ideas; all that I desire to point out is that, partly by instinct, partly by the effects of very simple experiences, both sides perform acts which a more developed intelligence symbolises by these moral ideas.

I have pointed out in the course of this discussion that among the jurists of old Rome, who first systematically developed the conceptions of the 'Law of Nature' and 'Natural Rights,' Ulpian rightly judged that brutes came under such law and had such rights, no less than men. It is obvious that, without recurrence to that 'state of nature' of mankind, of which so very much is said and so very little known, an individual man, isolated from his fellows and removed from all social relations, comes under the same law of nature; and has 'natural rights' in exactly the same sense as the individual tiger possesses them. Before the advent of man Friday, Robinson Crusoe's right and might were coextensive, except in so far as he might be influenced by remembrance of the moral and civil laws of his former social existence. There was no reason why he should abstain from doing anything it pleased him to do, and which lay within the scope of his natural faculties. No one would deny that he had a natural right to take possession of his cave; to cut down

acquisitio eorum quæ cœlo, terra marique capiuntur' as among the natural rights of men.

the trees that suited his purpose; to gather fruits; to kill any of the wild goats for his subsistence; to shoot any number of the cannibal visitors, who would otherwise kill him for their subsistence. Crusoe's 'natural rights' thus potentially extended over the whole island and everything in it. According to the law of nature as defined by Quesnay, he was owner of everything therein which he desired and was able to appropriate. Suppose, however, that another wreck had simultaneously cast Will Atkins upon the opposite shore, and that Atkins had established himself there in Crusoe's fashion; then it is plain that the law of nature would confer upon him rights no less extensive. Crusoe and Atkins, stalking the same goat from opposite sides, would have been in a position identical with that of our two tigers in the jungle, slinking after the same Hindoo, so far as the law of nature is concerned. And if each insisted upon exerting the whole of his natural rights, it is clear that there would be nothing for it but to fight for the goat. In the case of the men, as in that of the brutes, extreme and logical individualism means isolation and the state of war; it is plainly incompatible with the peace and co-operation which are the essentials of even temporary association. On the other hand, if the two men followed the dictates of the commonest common sense, not less than those of natural sympathy, they would at once agree to unite in peaceful co-operation with each other, for their mutual comfort and protection. And that would be possible only if each agreed to limit the exercise of his natural rights so far as they might involve any more damage to the other than to himself. That is to say, the two men would, in reality, renounce the law of nature, and put themselves under a moral and civil law, replacing natural rights, which have no wrongs, for moral and civil rights, each of which has its correlative wrong. This, I take it, is the root of truth which saves the saying of Paul of Tarsus that 'sin came by the law' from being a paradox. The solitary, individual man, living merely under the so-called law of nature, which cannot be violated, and having rights the contradictions of which are not wrongs, cannot sin. Wrong-doing becomes possible only when, by associating with another man, or other men, for peace and co-operation, the individual becomes implicitly, or explicitly, bound to observe certain rules of conduct in relation to him or them; any violation of these rules is a wrong.

Probably none of the political delusions which have sprung from the 'natural rights' doctrine has been more mischievous than the assertion that all men have a natural right to freedom, and that those who willingly submit to any restriction of this freedom, beyond the point determined by the deductions of *a priori* philosophers, deserve the title of slave. But, to my mind, this delusion is incomprehensible except as the result of the error of confounding natural with moral rights. It is undoubtedly true that a man, like a tiger or any

other animal, has a natural right to freedom, if by that phrase we merely mean that, so far as he is a mere individual being, there is no reason why he should not do what he pleases. But that is a very harmless proposition, and neither despot nor slaveowner need boggle at it. If, on the other hand, the champion of freedom means, as he usually does, that the natural right to freedom affords, in itself, a ground for objecting to this or that restraint upon the liberties of men who form a polity, the argument appears to me to be as sophistical as it is mischievous. For, as we have seen, it is a necessary condition of social existence that men should renounce some of their freedom of action; and the question of how much is one that can by no possibility be determined *a priori*. That which it would be tyranny to prevent in some states of society it would be madness to permit in others. The existence of a polity depends upon the adjustment of the two sets of forces which its component units, the individual men, obey—the repulsive of natural right, and the attractive and coactive of individual sympathy and corporate dominion. Which of them ought to predominate at any given time must surely depend upon external and internal circumstances and upon the degree of development of the polity. The Duke of Wellington is said to have defined martial law as 'the will of the Commander-in-Chief for the time being'—that is to say, it is the sweeping away of all 'rights,' natural, civil, and moral, except so far as they are sanctioned by the commander. Yet, surely, no one but a lunatic can maintain that, in case of invasion, or rebellion, threatening the social person—the polity—with destruction, that composite man has not as much natural right to take any measure essential to self-preservation, as an individual man has under the law of nature. And from this extreme case, to the petty question, as to whether the depositary of dominion in a polity has or has not the right to infringe the 'natural right' of a man to leave the path in front of his house unswept of snow, there is an endless gradation in the importance of the problems, all of which can be solved only by the application of the same principles. Is it, or is it not, for the welfare of society at that time and under those circumstances—looking at the question all round and taking fully into account the disadvantages of restraint of liberty—that its members should be compelled to do this, or be restrained from doing that?

The political delusions which spring from the 'natural rights' doctrine are multitudinous; but I think there is only one more which is worth attention at present. That is the extraordinary notion that the logical consequence of the 'natural right' of all men to any given thing is the sharing of the rights of property in that thing equally among all the claimants. Let us suppose two boys, John and Peter. I take an apple out of my pocket, and I say, 'This apple is entirely yours, John; and, Peter, it is also entirely yours.

The whole apple belongs to each of you, and you have each a right to eat the whole of it. Now, my boys, you may eat it, so long as neither of you gives up any fraction of the right I have given him nor infringes the other's right.' The boys, I take it, would be somewhat puzzled. If their common sense, *plus* their appetites, were stronger than their logical faculty, they would probably suggest that they should divide the apple and each eat half. But I should have to say 'No. You are violating my conditions—which were that you should neither of you give up any portion of his right to the whole. The arrangement you propose necessitates that John should give up his right to one half, and Peter his right to the other.' Not improbably, my young friends, if of English extraction, might propose another way out of the difficulty; namely, the wager of battle. But again I should have to refuse. The trial by battle would unfortunately involve the infringement of the natural rights of the vanquished by the victor, which is, once more, contrary to my stipulation. In fact, under the conditions stated, the apple would have to remain uneaten.

Thus we see once more, that the absolute 'natural rights' theory—that is to say individualism pure and simple—if carried out logically, is merely reasoned savagery, utter and unmitigated selfishness, incompatible with social existence. And this would be obvious to every one, were it not that the ambiguous sense of the word 'rights' gives a moral colour to human relations which are neither moral nor immoral, but, as Quesnay rightly says, antecedent to morality.

My readers may imagine that I have forgotten *Progress and Poverty*. By no means; the preceding pages must, in fact, be regarded as a sort of 'Prolegomena' to that work and especially to the first chapter of the seventh book, which contains the theoretical foundation of the practical measure which its author advocates.

According to Mr. George, society is very ill; and he proposes a method of treatment professedly based upon strict deduction from the principles of absolute political physiology. Whether the remedy is calculated to achieve the results predicted, or not, is a question I shall not now discuss; but it will be admitted that it is drastic, consisting as it does in neither more nor less than the eviction of all several landowners and the confiscation of that which is, and, for many centuries has been, regarded as their undoubted property. The measure is of exactly the same order as would be the confiscation of the interest of all money belonging to working-men in savings banks, on the ground that interest, as usury, is contrary to the principles of absolute ethics—an opinion which it must be remembered has been (perhaps still is) supported by papal infallibility; which is, at least, equal in weight to the philosophical species of that commodity. Surely the medicine is a strong medicine. Now

I humbly submit, that while one might take Epsom salts, on the recommendation of the first old woman who proposed that remedy for a sick headache, a rational man would like to have clearly intelligible reasons, or extremely trustworthy authority, before he ventured, with an equally light heart, upon croton oil or tartar emetic. The latter might certainly put an end to his sick headache—but what if at the same time it put an end to him? So, it is at any rate possible, that the expropriation of landowners, while it might put an end to a state of things inconsistent with the principles of absolute political ethics, might also destroy the society it strove to heal. Therefore, I think we are bound to see that Mr. George's 'absolute' principles are 'absolutely' true before we act upon even the most logical of deductions from them. Without presumption, it may be said to be just possible that the principles may be unsound and the deductions fallacious.

In the chapter to which I have referred, the author sets out by putting the question What constitutes the rightful basis of property? And I have conscientiously endeavoured to set forth, accurately, the essentials of his answer in the following abstract of it.

I. All men have equal rights:

> The laws of nature are the decrees of the Creator. There is written in them no recognition of any right save that of labour; and in them is written broadly and clearly the equal right of all men to the use and enjoyment of nature: to apply to her by their exertions and to receive and possess her reward. Hence, as nature gives only to labour, the exertion of labour in production is the only title to exclusive possession. (*Progress and Poverty*, 1889, p. 237.)

II. There is no foundation for any rightful title to ownership except this: that a man has a right to himself; to the use of his own powers; to the enjoyment of the fruit of his own exertions (p. 236); therefore, to whatsoever he makes or produces.

III. The right to that which is produced is 'vested' in the producer by natural law (p. 236). It is also a 'fundamental law of nature that her enjoyment by man shall be consequent upon his exertion' (p. 241).

IV. Land is a gratuitous offering of nature, not a thing produced by labour (p. 238); all men therefore have equal rights to it (p. 239). These rights are inalienable, as existing men cannot contract away the rights of their successors (p. 240). Every infant who comes into the world has as good a right to landed estates as their present possessors, by whom he is, in fact, robbed of his share (p. 240).

This, I believe, is a complete, if a succinct, statement of Mr. George's case. And I, for one, am quite prepared to admit that, if it can be sustained, the sooner the foundations of our present polity are broken up and replaced by something less open to objection, the better. But even Mr. George, I imagine, will admit that the

enterprise is grave, and by no means to be undertaken with a light heart, still less with that superficial intellectual apprehension which comes of a light head. The political philosopher who uses his *a priori* lever, knowing that it may stir up social discord, without the most conclusive justification, to my mind comes perilously near the boundary which divides blunders from crimes.

The several elements of the proposition which I have quoted under I. might have been taken almost *verbatim* from the writings of the Rousseauites and the Physiocrats. But it is one of the most interesting features of *a priori* speculation, that different philosophers, starting from verbally identical propositions, arrive at contradictory conclusions. And the Physiocrats deduced the right and the necessity of maintaining several ownership of land from the principles common to them and Mr. George, as confidently as, and, in my judgment, with much better reason than, Mr. George deduces its hideous wrongfulness and the paramount necessity of abolishing it. The equality of men question has already been sufficiently discussed. If, as I maintain, there is no such thing as natural equality among men, then of course any argument based upon it is necessarily worthless. From the fact that men are unequal it cannot well be concluded that they have 'equal rights to the use and enjoyment of nature.'

Passing from this point, we are met by the broad assertion that 'the exertion of labour in production is the only title to exclusive possession.' So far Mr. George is at one with the Physiocrats, who also rest the claim to ownership on labour bestowed. Let us consider the grounds upon which Mr. George rests this assertion. We need not trouble ourselves whether they are the same or different from those set forth by his predecessors.

The following questions and answers enlighten us on this head.

> What constitutes the rightful basis of property? What is it that enables a man to say justly of a thing, 'It is mine'? Is it not, primarily, the right of a man to himself, to the use of his own powers, to the enjoyment of the fruits of his own exertions? (*Progress and Poverty*, p. 236.)

And, on the same page, we are told that the title to everything produced by human exertions 'descends from the original producer, in whom it is vested by natural law.' Here we are back again on the ground of the 'law of nature' and 'natural rights,' according to which, as we have seen, a man has a right to keep anything he is strong enough to keep, whether he has produced it or not. But the law of nature affords not the least reason why another man who is stronger should not take his possession away from him.

As I have already fully shown, there is not the least connection between the natural rights of the solitary individual and the moral or civil rights of the man who has entered into association with

others. A man may justly say that it is no more than the 'use of his own powers,' to knock another down and rob him of his dinner; and that it is no more than 'the enjoyment of the fruits of his own exertions' to proceed to eat that dinner. Is it pretended that the man who has entered into association with others retains those 'natural rights'?

But let us assume, for the sake of argument, not only that labour is the 'only' title to exclusive possession, but that the foundation of this title lies in the right of a man to himself; in which is, somewhat sophistically, included the right to the use of his own powers and the enjoyment of the fruits of his own exertions. If we try to believe both these propositions at once, surely we fall into perplexities worse than any that have yet befallen us. If labour is the only title to exclusive possession; if, for example, there can be no exclusive possession of cultivated land simply and solely because, according to Mr. George, it is not a product of labour—propositions on the axiomatic certainty of which the whole fabric of *Progress and Poverty* rests—how in the world does a man come by the 'right to himself'? I have paid a good deal of attention to those branches of natural history which treat more especially of man, but never yet have I come across even the smallest grounds for believing that a man has ever been known to make himself, or to endow himself by his own labour with the powers he exerts. I have heard often enough of men who were said to be self-made. Indeed, I have known some cases in which the fact was alleged in justification of the ways of Providence, and by way of shifting the responsibility for the existence of some people on to the right shoulders. But I have always taken this phrase about 'self-making' to be a metaphor, and a very foolish one, inasmuch as the men said to be self-made are usually those whom nature has especially favoured with costly gifts and exceptional opportunities. No doubt it may be said, with justice, that a man who learns diligently and strives hard to do right, really bestows labour on himself, and does so far fulfil the necessary conditions of self-ownership laid down in *Progress and Poverty*. But, on the other hand, might not his teachers, on the very same ground, claim possession of the fruits of their labours in him? Might not the mother, who not only bore him, but bore with him, day and night, for half-a-dozen years, fed him, clothed him, nursed him in sickness, taught him the rudiments of civilisation—might not she rightfully appeal to this wonderful labour-test of ownership?

Is there any logical way out of the following argumentation, the like of which is perhaps to be found only in *Alice in Wonderland*? The exertion of labour in production is the only title to exclusive possession. No gratuitous offering of nature can be the subject of such private ownership. Therefore a man can have no exclusive possession of himself, except in so far as he is the product of the

exertion of his own labour and not a gratuitous offering of nature. But it is only a very small part of him which can in any sense be said to be the product of his own labour. The man's physical and mental tendencies and capacities, dependent to a very large extent on heredity, are certainly the 'gratuitous offering of nature;' if they belong to anybody, therefore, they must belong to the whole of mankind, who must be, so to speak, a kind of collective slaveowners, all of each. So much of the man as depends on the care taken of him in infancy and childhood is the property of his mother, or of those who took her place. Another smaller portion belongs to the people who educated him. What remains is his own. So that the man's right to himself and to all his powers and to all the fruits of his labour, which the writer of *Progress and Poverty* makes the foundation of his system, turns out, if we follow another fundamental proposition of the same author to its logical consequences, to be a right to a mere fraction of himself and to the exercise of the powers which exclusively belong to that fraction. Surely it would take a greater sage than Solomon to settle the respective claims of mankind in general, the mother and the educators, to the ownership of a child; and when these were satisfied, what might remain in the shape of a right to himself would be hardly big enough to form a safe basis for anything, let alone property.

Unless my readers can see their way better than I can through this logic-chopping maze, we must give up the attempt to reconcile the two fundamental propositions of the system we are discussing: the first, that labour is the 'only' title to exclusive possession, and the second, that the foundation of this title lies in the right of a man to himself—that is to say to the exclusive possession of himself. What our political philosopher appears to me to mean is this. A man is the exclusive possessor of himself and of the powers with which he is endowed by nature; therefore he is the exclusive possessor of whatever is brought into existence by the exertion of those powers in the form of labour. On the other hand, a man possesses, exclusively, nothing else than these powers, therefore he cannot be the exclusive possessor of anything but that which they produce. Substantially, as I have said, it is the position taken up by the Physiocrats, and, right or wrong, it is, at any rate, intelligible. But I do not quite see how it is to be proved by any one who disputes it. The statement that a man is the exclusive possessor of himself, even in the sense of bare ownership, is most assuredly not known to be true by intuition—as, for example, the proposition that two straight lines will not enclose a space is said to be. The whole ancient Roman world would have cried out against it. For them, a man's children, grown up or not, no less than his slaves, were so far from being exclusive possessors of themselves that their father could dispose of them as he thought fit. Nor, as far as I know, is there

any part of the modern world in which a legal 'infant' has the full ownership of himself and the absolute right to the usufruct of his own powers. Again, to the best of my knowledge, there is no country or nation in which an adult man has, or ever had, in any sense, the exclusive possession of himself. On the contrary, the state invariably lays claim to him for the discharge of various military or civil offices, and to more or less of the fruits of his exertions in the shape of rates and taxes for the support of the machinery of external defence and internal protection. In truth, as I have already pointed out, the very existence of society depends on the fact that every member of it tacitly admits that he is not the exclusive possessor of himself, and that he admits the claim of the polity of which he forms a part, to act, to some extent, as his master. I do not think we need discuss, any further, propositions which, as they are stated, are contradictory; and which, when they are remodelled so as to escape such contradiction, fall into the no less fatal difficulty of contradicting plain facts. The axiom that a man has a right to himself, in the sense in which it is used in *Progress and Poverty*, is a baseless assumption of exactly the same order as that other that all men are free and equal.

However, there is no greater mistake than the hasty conclusion that opinions are worthless because they are badly argued. The principle that 'the exertion of labour in production is the only title to exclusive possession' has a great deal to say for itself if we only substitute 'may be usefully considered to be a' for 'is the only.' And, besides this, it will be interesting to trace out its logical consequences, even without such alteration. For we shall find our result to be wonderfully different from that set forth in *Progress and Poverty*. It is there declared to be irreconcilable with exclusive (or several) ownership of land. I think that it will become apparent that it authorises the several ownership of land to exactly the same extent as it does the several ownership of anything else.[5]

Let us consider what *Progress and Poverty* has to say about this question.

> What most prevents the realisation of the injustice of private property in land is the habit of including all the things that are made the subject of ownership in one category, as property. . . . The real and natural distinction is between things which are the produce of labour and things which are the gratuitous offerings of nature; or, to adopt the terms of political economy, between wealth and land. These two things are in essence and relations widely different, and to class them together as property is to confuse all thought when we come to consider the justice or the injustice, the right or wrong of property. . . .

[5] See the clear recognition of this fact in L'Abbé Baudeau's *Première Introduction à la Philosophie Économique*, 1771, in Daire's collection (p. 667). All *biens* or commodities, including land, are, in the long run, more or less fashioned natural products; 'présents de la nature, mais aussi effets de l'art.'

> The essential character of the one class of things is that they embody labour, are brought into being by human exertion, their existence or non-existence, their increase or diminution, depending on man. The essential character of the other class of things is that they do not embody labour, and exist irrespective of human exertion and irrespective of man; they are the field or environment in which man finds himself; the storehouse from which his needs must be supplied; the raw material upon which and the forces with which his labour alone can act. (*Progress and Poverty*, pp. 238 239.)

The latter kind of property is land, the former all other commodities which constitute men's possessions; and the latter are said, it will be observed, to be 'brought into being by human exertion, their existence or non-existence, their increase or diminution depending on man.' Surely this is an assertion which, though pardonable enough as a common manner of speaking, becomes a glaring fallacy the moment it is regarded as a scientific statement from which the most serious practical consequences are deducible. Can anything whatever, in strict truth, be said to be 'brought into being by human exertion'? Let us consider one of the earliest and simplest products of human industry, a flint implement. Probably, its earliest condition was a natural flint nodule, such as one may find on any chalk down, rounded at one end, roughly sharp at the other, and thus convenient to the hand of the savage who picked it up. Now did he thus acquire any right of property in his find or not? He certainly spent no labour upon it, beyond that of taking possession. It was emphatically 'a gratuitous offering of nature,' just as much as the land on which it lay. The existence or the non-existence of flints, their increase or diminution, nowise depends on man; they exist irrespectively of him, their quantity is strictly limited, and no man, by taking thought, can add a flint to those which already exist. If taking possession could give a title to the one thing, why not to the other? But suppose it did not. Let it occur to our forefather that a few knocks with another stone would chip the thin end of his flint to a sharper edge and make it a handier tool or weapon. Let him give those half-dozen blows; then, forsooth, it 'embodies labour' and may be said to have been 'brought into being by human exertion.' By the sacramental operation of these half-dozen taps, that which previously was the common property of all men has now become several property vested 'by natural law' absolutely in one man.

With the gradual improvement of the art of flint chipping, the implement advanced from the rough, hardly modified, natural nodule to the exquisitely symmetrical and delicate axe, or spear, or arrow head of a subsequent epoch, or to the still more finished ground axes of yet later date. The quantity of labour invested in each implement, therefore, steadily increased, as time went on, in proportion to the quantity of the raw flint. But the latter was always there. The assertion that the most perfected and artificial of these implements is

'brought into being by human exertion,' becomes a gross error, if it leads us to forget that, without the peculiar physical properties of the flint, which are emphatically 'the gratuitous offering of nature,' any amount of human exertion would be thrown away.

Now, what is true in this extremely simple case, is true of everything which is said to be produced by human industry. In all such things there is something—a bundle of natural qualities and powers which exists irrespective of human exertion—and something, a shaping and modification of the bundle, which is the effect of human exertion. It is only the relative proportion of the two which varies.[6] A man who hurls a stone loads it with a dose of labour which evaporates when the missile strikes its object, and the stone returns to its previous condition of a mere offering of nature. A man who slices the same stone and cuts a cameo out of the slice, permanently incorporates an enormous amount of labour with it. In the one case, the 'gratuitous offering' is at a maximum, in the other at a minimum; but the foundation in each case is a gift of nature.

Progress and Poverty sets before us the case of a steel pen with much elaboration (p. 236). But the author fails to notice the patent fact that the iron ore, the existence of which is the *conditio sine qua non* of that of the pen, is a gratuitous offering of nature. The well-known case of the chronometer balance-wheel spring would have still better exemplified the maximum incorporation of labour with the minimum of 'the gratuitous offering.'

Now, is there any real difference between land and other things in this respect? In Upper Egypt, I have stood with one foot on soil bearing a rich green crop, and the other on the stony desert as barren as a brick floor, which extended for hundreds of miles to the westward without supporting so much as a blade of grass. The green crop, in fact, reached exactly as far as the muddy water of the Nile had been carried by the labour of the irrigator. Surely, in this case, the cultivable land 'embodied labour' and had no more existence independently of human exertion than the pen or the watch spring.

In the state of nature, I doubt if ten square miles of the surface of the chalk downs of Sussex would yield pickings enough to keep one savage for a year. But, thanks to the human labour bestowed upon it, the same area actually yields, one way or another, to the agriculturist the means of supporting many men. If labour is the foundation of the claim to several ownership, on what pretext can the land, in this case also, be put upon a different footing from the steel pen? The same argument holds good for even the richest soil in the west of North America or in the south of Russia. In the natural state of such land, the savage hunter needs access to a vast area in order to make even a precarious livelihood. The labour

[6] I have long since argued all this out in my *Introductory Primer of Science*.

spent upon it is an important factor in bringing about its rich harvests.

If we keep these simple and obvious truths in mind, the value of the following argument will be readily appraised:—

'The right to exclusive ownership of anything of human production is clear. No matter how many the hands through which it has passed, there was at the beginning of the line, human labour—some one who, having procured or produced it by his exertions, had to it a clear title as against all the rest of mankind, and which could justly pass from one to another by sale or gift.'

Suppose, however, that we let this go and proceed to the next sentence:—

But at the end of what string of conveyances or grants can be shown or supposed a like title to any part of the material universe?

Well, but surely all 'human productions,' from the roughest flint implement to the most exquisite chronometer, are 'parts of the material universe'? We have seen that man cannot make flints; nor can he make the iron, or gold, or sodium, or silicon, which enters into the structure of the watch or the pen. His most consummate art is but a moving into certain places of the parts of the material universe with which nature supplies him at least as gratuitously as she supplies land.

What then becomes of the next part of the argument?

To improvements such an original title can be shown, but it is a title only to the improvements and not to the land itself. If I clear a forest, drain a swamp, or fill a morass, all I can justly claim is the value given by these exertions. They give me no right to the land itself, no claim other than to my equal share with every other member of the community in the value which is added to it by the growth of the community.

By a parity of reasoning, it would seem that I might say to a chronometer maker: 'The gold and the iron of this timepiece, and, in fact, all the substances out of which it is constructed, are parts of the material universe, therefore the property of mankind at large. It is very true that your skill and labour have made a wonderful piece of mechanism out of them; but these are only improvements. Now you are quite entitled to claim the improvements, but you have no right to the gold and the iron—these belong to mankind.' The watchmaker might reasonably think the task set before him as difficult as that imposed upon Shylock, when he was told that he was entitled to have his pound of flesh, but that he must shed no blood in the cutting it out. He might urge that for all practical purposes the 'improvements' are the chronometer, while the gratuitous offering of nature in the shape of raw material is relatively insignificant.

[1] *Progress and Poverty*, p. 242.

To the ordinary mind there seems to be a great deal of sanity in this contention: not so to our political philosopher.

> But it will be said: 'There are improvements which in time become indistinguishable from the land itself!' Very well; then the title to the improvements becomes blended with the title to the land: the individual right is lost in the common right. It is the greater that swallows up the less, not the less that swallows up the greater. Nature does not proceed from man, but man from nature, and it is unto the bosom of nature that he and all his works must return again. (p. 243.)

What answer is appropriate to such stuff as this but Mr. Burchell's famous, if unpolite, monosyllable 'Fudge'?

It is one of the special characteristics of the *a priori* school to assume the exact truth of any currently received proposition which is convenient for the business of deductive brain-spinning. But every one who is conversant with things, and not merely with what is more or less properly said about things, is aware that widely received propositions, even in many branches of physical science, may be only approximately true; and that if a chain of deductions of unusual weight is to be suspended from any of them, it is highly needful to examine it afresh, in order to see whether it will bear the strain—whether, in fact, it is accurate enough for the new purpose to which it is to be put. For ordinary purposes, a foot rule is an accurate measure, but it does not follow that it will suffice for ascertaining the exact length of the base line of a trigonometrical survey.

In this very case of the ownership of land, Mr. George essentially agrees with the Physiocrats who declared agriculture to be the only really productive industry, because land alone produces the food-stuffs by which men maintain their existence. In a rough and ready sense this is true, and it would be pedantic to object to it. But when such a statement is taken as the peg on which to hang deductions which end in grave practical consequences, it is needful to re-examine it thoroughly. And an elementary knowledge of the realities of the case enables one to see that, in any but a popular sense, the proposition is untrue. In a strictly scientific sense, the soil is no more a producer than air and water and sunshine are; indeed, is altogether less important than they as a condition of production. For food-plants, which are the producers and the only producers of food-stuffs properly so called, could not possibly get on without air, water, and sunshine, though they might do without soil. It would be possible to grow a crop of food-plants, no part of which had ever been in contact with the soil. On the other hand, the richest of soils may be as barren as the desert in regard to economic production—for the simple reason that it is occupied by a luxuriant growth of plants that are not producers of food-stuffs adapted to human needs.

The 'gratuitous offering of nature' in the shape of a hundred

acres of tropical forest would be of not much more use to a savage than the like area of a gorse common.

We have all this time been occupied with the eleven pages—not very large pages either—which make up the first chapter of the seventh book of *Progress and Poverty*; but there are more fallacies than pages, and I have not yet done with them. Indeed, like a careful entertainer, I have saved some of the best for the last. Here is a very fine one:—

> The Almighty, who created the earth for man and man for the earth, has entailed it upon all the generations of the children of men by a decree written upon the constitution of things—a decree which no human action can bar and no prescription determine. (p. 240.)

One would think that the utterer of these 'prave 'ords' had been the conveyancer who effected the entail of which he speaks thus confidently. Big-sounding but empty phrases may be the making of a stump-orator; but what is to be said of them in the mouth of a professed thinker? And what is the practical outcome of this tall talk?

> Though his titles have been acquiesced in by generation after generation, to the landed estates of the Duke of Westminster, the poorest child that is born in London to-day has as much right as his eldest son. Though the sovereign people of the State of New York consent to the landed possessions of the Astors, the puniest infant that comes wailing into the world in the squalidest room of the most miserable tenement house, becomes at that moment seized of an equal right with the millionaires. And it is robbed if the right is denied. (p. 240.)
>
> Landowners can make no just claim to compensation if society choose to resume its right. (*Progress and Poverty*, Preface, p. vii.)

Who would not be proud to be able to orate in this fashion? Whose heart would not beat high at the tempest of cheers which would follow stirring words like these addressed to needy and ignorant men? How should the impassioned speaker's ear be able to catch a tone as of the howl of hungry wolves among the acclamations? Why should he care that his stirring words might stir up the plain enough conclusion: If these things are all ours as much as theirs, and we are the stronger, why do we not take our own, and that at once? What harm in robbing robbers?

Well, whether exhortations in this style are legitimate or not, this much is certain—that, as I hinted before, it is desirable to make very sure of your ground before proceeding to such extremities. Many years ago I heard of an Englishman who had gone to see the Coliseum at Rome by moonlight. He had been warned that the place was haunted by thieves, and was on the alert. Sure enough, a man brushed hastily past him, and the Englishman, looking back, saw a watch in his hand. Without more ado, our countryman, being a prompt sort of person, knocks the fellow down, captures the watch,

and makes off to his hotel, lest there should be accomplices about. And, lo! when he is safe in his room he finds he has two watches.

I am disposed to think that the communities who follow out Mr. George's suggestions will find themselves, on Mr. George's own principles, in the position of our too ready-fisted Briton. For, according to Mr. George, that deed of entail which he should have somewhere in a tin box in his office, confers the land upon 'all the generations of the children of men.' Hence it follows that the London infant has no more title to the Duke of Westminster's land, and the New York baby no more to Messrs. Astor's land, than the child of a North American squaw, of a native Australian, or of a Hottentot. Property of the community, forsooth! What right has any community, from a village to a nation, to several property in land more than an individual man has?

> Natural justice can recognise no right in one [*body of men*] to the possession and enjoyment of land that is not equally the right of all [*their*] fellows. (p. 240.)

Does it make any difference to the validity of this proposition if I substitute the words in italics for the actual words 'man' and 'his'? So the splendid prospect held out to the poor and needy is a mere rhetorical mirage; and they have been cheated out of their cheers by mere 'bunkum.' Consider the effect of a sober and truthful statement of what the orating person really meant or, according to his own principles, ought to mean; say of such a speech as this:—

> My free and equal fellow-countrymen, there is not the slightest doubt that not only the Duke of Westminster and the Messrs. Astor, but every body who holds land from the area of a thousand square miles to that of a tablecloth, and who, against all equity, denies that every pauper child has an equal right to it, is a ROBBER. (Loud and long-continued cheers; the audience, especially the paupers, standing up and waving hats.) But, my friends, I am also bound to tell you that neither the pauper child, nor Messrs. Astor, nor the Duke of Westminster, have any more right to the land than the first nigger you may meet, or the Esquimaux at the north end of this great continent, or the Fuegians at the south end of it. Therefore, before you proceed to use your strength in claiming your rights and take the land away from the usurping Dukes and robbing Astors, you must recollect that you will have to go shares in the produce of the operation with the four hundred and odd millions of Chinamen, the hundred and fifty millions who inhabit Hindostan, the— (Loud and long-continued hisses; the audience, especially the paupers, standing up and projecting handy movables at the orator.)

T. H. HUXLEY.

THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA IN ASIA.

A CONFUSED picture of moral degradation shot across with single rays of strange virtues belonging to a patriarchal state of things; an appalling pool of religious bigotry crossed by dark shadows of blind superstition and crass ignorance; a wild fury of unbridled tyranny and arbitrary power, hand in hand with local and temporary anarchy; in one spot the choicest favours of Nature, in another the most utter desolation; nowhere the slightest trace of self-reliance; everywhere the greatest helplessness before the rage of the elements —such were the principal features of Central Asiatic life when I traversed that region twenty-five years ago. As I gradually in the course of years made my way from Eastern Europe into the interior of the Asiatic world, my mind's eye, so to say, accustomed itself to the gradual disappearance of European enlightenment and the thickening darkness of Asiatic barbarism. European Turkey, Asia Minor, and Persia seemed to me so many separate steps by which I descended into the deep dark vault of the old Asiatic views of life and the world. As I moved in the uncanny darkness of this unfamiliar world, I soon became aware that I had gone back several centuries in the history of the world. Among the Turkomans and the Kirghizes on the right bank of the Oxus I found myself in such a state of things as may have existed in Europe before the appearance of the Romans. The life in tents, the primitive organisation of society in which custom took the place of law; men destitute of all the comforts of life, where it was still necessary on occasions to obtain fire by the friction of two pieces of dry wood, naturally excited my youthful curiosity to the highest degree. In the cultivated oases of the three Khanates the civilisation of Islam had of course to some extent modified that archaic state of things. Still the culture which the monotheism of Arabia had brought into the high plateau of Turan was fundamentally different from the brilliant results which it achieved in Western Asia, on the banks of the Nile, and in the Iberian peninsula. The rays of the light of Islam that streamed towards the north-east lit up only the outer surface of the life of the Turko-Tartar population, and consequently could contribute little to the refinement of manners, the elevation of the mind, and the hap-

piness of that portion of mankind. The Mohammedan civilisation of Central Asia, such as I saw it, may have been that which prevailed in the remotest corners of the Caliph's empire when the Abbasides were at the height of their power. The constantly recurring inroads of hordes of warlike nomads and the isolation produced by the sandy deserts of the Steppes caused the first influence of the culture of Arabia and Persia to become soon stereotyped in the oasis-lands of Central Asia, and to remain completely free from the influences which affected Islam in those lands in which it came in contact with the classicism of the Greeks.

The arrested development and, so to say, petrifaction of the first germs of civilisation which had been imported from the South is to be observed in all departments of life and in every nook and corner of the vast territory stretching from the Thien-Shan to the Caspian Sea, from the Kirghiz Steppe to the Oxus. Religion, the life and soul of everything there, the sheet-anchor of the political and civil organisation, could display its power only in uncouth externals, without a trace of any inward spirituality, rooted in a real religious sentiment. People went to mosque partly out of habit, partly from fear of the four-thonged whip wielded by the Reis (chief of the police), who scoured the streets and bazaars. People gave alms, went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, performed the ceremonial ablutions, ate, drank, and dressed according to the strict letter of the law, not out of feelings of piety, but out of fear of denunciation and the severe punishments attached to the breach of the code of Islam. In political affairs the abuses of the Asiatic form of government made their appearance in most frightful forms. After the pattern of Mohammedan government had changed from the simple character of the Emirate to the autocratic despotism of the Sultanate, and the control and strict supervision of the sovereign power, which Mohammed had enjoined, was accepted in principle but neglected in practice, the despotism and tyranny which prevailed at the centre of the empire must necessarily become even more outrageous in the distant regions on the frontier. In Bagdad the tottering throne of consecrated tyrants was overthrown by Mongol hordes; in Teheran, in Stambul, in Cairo, and elsewhere the influence of the West, every day becoming stronger, has compelled the adoption of better methods of government, and has loosened the grip of despotism; while in Central Asia the old state of things still prevailed. It is true that here, too, Mongols and Turko-Tartars have in the course of history overthrown monarchies and set up new dynasties; but here, with every change in the ruler, the old despotic system planted itself all the more firmly, and on the very eve of the Russian occupation I was confronted in Turkestan with the most horrible exhibition of Asiatic tyranny and barbarism. Religion, which according to its original intention should have acted as a check on tyrannical exercise of power, had become in Central

Asia a support of despotism, and the pious men, who were in full possession of the confidence of the people, emulated the officials of the Emirs and the Khans in plundering the masses entrusted to their spiritual care. Among the principal religious persons whom I met in Turkestan I do not remember a single Kazi-Kelan or Ishan (chief of a religious order) or one single Mollah who ever felt himself moved to express the slightest disapproval of the conduct of the officers of the government, however great the cruelty with which the latter behaved. The whole attention of those religious men was directed to the maintenance of superstition, the suppression of all individual liberty and the exclusion of the last gleam of enlightenment. Where the spiritual and temporal powers care only for their own interests, have in view only the plunder of the people and the continuance of their own power and influence, there can be no hope of any moral elevation of the masses, of any improvement of their economical condition. Commerce and manufactures moved only in the old grooves, slowly and with difficulty. The genius of the people in Central Asia is not wanting in taste and ability, industry and perseverance. But every innovation was systematically discouraged. Clothing, house-furniture, and jewelry were forced to keep their time-honoured forms and their primitive methods of manufacture. So that even before the Russian conquest of the country the native artificers themselves avowed their inability to compete with the foreign goods imported from the north, south, and west, and during the time of my visit lamented their approaching ruin. The merchant boldly undertook the monthlong journeys with the caravans, and braved the dangers caused by the severity of the climate and the rapacity of the nomads, but could hardly succeed in protecting his bales of merchandise, which had escaped the storms of the desert and the armed bands of the Alamans and the Barantas, from the arbitrary exactions of the customs officers of the Khanates. If in spite of all these obstacles he succeeded in enriching himself, he was still in perpetual danger of being plundered by the covetous sovereign of his own country.

The agriculturist was not much better off. The soil, although cultivated with the most primitive implements, such as had been in use for thousands of years, still yielded in abundance the manifold blessings of nature; for, as I observed many years ago, the oases of Central Asia are like precious stones in a setting of sand. Yet what availed the prodigality of nature in a country where the husbandman knew not how to turn the surplus produce to good account, where the fertilising system of irrigation, neglected by the government, is abandoned to the care of the several communes, where the fearful prospect of being sanded up grows every year more imminent? It can be shown with historical certainty that four hundred years ago the cultivated region in the north and north-east of the Khanates of

Khiva and Bokhara extended from ten to twenty geographical miles further than is at present the case. Mention is made of flourishing and populous cities, where nothing is now to be seen but an unfathomed desert of sand. The prevailing wind in that region blows from the north-east, bringing with it masses of sand, which smother one field after another, continually contracting the extent of cultivable land, until the husbandman in despair gives up the unequal struggle, and leaves the enemy to cover the whole with one uniform shroud of sand. In this way cities have disappeared without leaving a trace behind, and the territory beyond the Oxus, which the travellers and geographers of the middle ages described as rich and flourishing, has now become a poverty-stricken desert.

When we take this circumstance into consideration, we shall not be surprised to find that the intellectual life of Central Asia was never able to attain the same degree of development as we find in the other lands of Islam. It is true that in the time of the Samanides and the Kharezmians, there were not wanting learned men such as Avicenna, Zamakhshari, Alberuni, and others; but these were representatives of the common culture of Islam, and were destitute of all national characteristics. The specifically Aryan or Turanian spirit attempted to express itself only in the field of theology and theosophy. On the arrival of the Mongols this too disappeared, and utter darkness spread over the oasis-lands, isolated as they were from the rest of the world. During my intimate intercourse with the so-called learned men of Bokhara, Khiva, and Samarkand, I never encountered one who had any knowledge of secular science, not even of those branches which are elsewhere allowed to be studied by Mohammedan scholars, much less one who occupied himself in their study. The richly endowed colleges (medresses) of these cities were visited by hundreds of students from India, Afghanistan, and Chinese Turkestan. Great diligence in study was displayed, but secular knowledge was rigidly separated from theological subjects. Only grammar, rhetoric, and in history hagiology were zealously studied, while the other branches of knowledge which had been cultivated in the more flourishing periods of Islam, mechanics, medicine, and astronomy, were regarded as superfluous, nay, even as forbidden. Such was the intellectual atmosphere which pervaded the studies of the two or three thousand students in the colleges of Central Asia. As for what went on in the world outside the bounds of Islam, what humanity has done in these modern times, they had no sort of care or feeling. Indeed they of set purpose despised and ignored such things. They showed even a certain pride in being able to point out these hotbeds of religious extravagance and purblind ignorance as the intellectual centre of the vast territories stretching from the Indian Ocean to Siberia, from the Hoangho to the Caspian. Sandy deserts and Kirghizes in the north, sandy deserts and Turkomans in the

south, formed the iron band that enclosed this strange world. The fear inspired by those ferocious nomads barred the way thither against all intruders. And not one single ray of that sun which had risen for the rest of the world was able to find its way into that realm of darkness, which had remained five hundred years behind the age.

Such was the state of things in Central Asia when the advanced posts of the modern spirit, clad in Russian garb, knocked in 1864 at its gates. Entrance was of course refused, and as far as possible prevented. But cobweblike defences of religious fanaticism broke down at the first blow, and the Northern conqueror advanced on his career of victory with even greater ease and rapidity than the wild hordes of Mongols in the thirteenth century, while the results of his victory were incomparably more important and more permanent. It is now twenty-five years that the banner of the two-headed eagle floats over Central Asia, and Western civilisation in a Russian dress has made its entrance into the territories of old-world Asiatic barbarism. The strange guest, unloved and unexpected, has already made himself at home on several points of those territories; his stay is now evidently permanent, and his influence increases continually both in extent and in intensity. He is now engaged in founding there a new order of things, and the consequent change in the minds of men has already given a new colouring, a new form to an interesting relic of the old world. We may, therefore, be pardoned if we attempt to raise the veil of the future and to answer the question so often asked: What will become of Central Asia under Russian protection? The answer, in vague and general terms, Central Asia will become civilised, civilised in the Russian sense of the word, will not satisfy us. It is not precise enough. Our curiosity urges us to examine: *first*, What measure of success will this civilisation achieve? *Secondly*, What effects will it have upon our own political and economical circumstances? And we must at starting remark that we are led to discuss these questions by no vain ambition of the credit of a prophet, nor do we intend to satisfy ourselves with idle speculations, but to try our conclusions with the touchstone of known historical facts, to use the experience of the past to cast a light upon the future.

Russia's influence upon the culture of Central Asia will, in the first place and to a preponderating extent, be shown in changes of a material and economical character. The treasures of the soil which have hitherto been neglected or but imperfectly developed will, thanks to means provided by Western civilisation, be more thoroughly appropriated, be turned to better account, and be transported to Europe along new ways of communication, and thus secure to the natives a source of increased wealth. This is already clearly indicated by the statistics of the exports and imports, which show an extraordinary rise. At the time of my visit the Russian exports from Central Asia amounted to 1,014,237*l.*,

and the imports to 1,345,741*l.*, while now, according to the latest data, Russia exported raw material to the value of 3,530,000*l.*, and imported Russian manufactured goods to the value of 4,530,000*l.* This threefold rise clearly proves a more rational and diligent cultivation of the soil, an extraordinary improvement of the means of agriculture, and an undoubted rise in material prosperity. Certain branches of agriculture and manufactures, such as cotton, silk, corn, rice, &c., have advanced in an extraordinary manner. Certain articles for which there was formerly scarcely any demand, or whose export, owing to the primitive state of the means of communication, was difficult or even impossible, now contribute materially to enrich the native population. Of course the Russian merchants secure the lion's share of this increase of wealth, but still a large part comes into the hands of the natives. The public peace and immunity from the extortions of the sovereign and the official class are sufficient of themselves to place the cultivator and the merchant in a position of ease they have never before experienced. Formerly, anyone who had made money had carefully to conceal his good fortune under an appearance of poverty. Now he can freely exhibit his riches, enjoy all the comforts of life, and revel in such pleasures as formerly he only knew from the tales of the story-tellers. This economical expansion must, and in course of time will, assume still greater dimensions. The consideration of ethnical relations and the diverse characters of the different nationalities point to the original Aryan inhabitants of the land, the Sarts and the Tadjiks, as those have the fairest prospect before them. Peculiarities of race seldom or never fail to assert themselves. Both in the middle ages and in still older times it was these Aryan autochtones who created a temporary efflorescence of material and intellectual splendour in those lands. In like manner, as may be safely predicted, this section of the population will, under Russian guardianship, make the most rapid progress on the path of reform, will turn out the most skilful merchants and manufacturers, and prove the aptest scholars of the new teaching. To this conclusion we are led by the experience of the first quarter of a century of Russian rule. The Sarts of the basin of the Yaxartes and the Tadjiks on the banks of the Zerefshan have displayed the greatest readiness in accepting the new orders of things; they have furnished the first scholars to the Russian schools; they have best known how to ingratiate themselves with the conquerors, and have most easily qualified themselves to become efficient and trustworthy instruments of Russian domination. It is true that to revolt or to resist has never occurred to the Özbegs or the Karakalpaks. But on the one side the national character of these Turkish peoples, marked by heaviness and slowness of intellect, stands in the way of their assimilating new and foreign ideas; on the other side, these people have been accustomed to play the part of a dominant

caste, and are distinguished by a more martial spirit, and consequently cannot bring themselves to bear the yoke of subjection so easily as the Aryan population, who have grown up in servility and been for centuries accustomed to serve and not to rule.

Everything at present seems to lead us to the conclusion that Central Asia under Russian protection will attain to such a degree of economical development as is without a parallel in the gigantic empire of the Czars, swollen, as it is, by conquest and national absorption. In consequence of changes in the state of civilisation in Kasan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea, the Russians conquerors there came in contact with a similar state of things prevailing among a Mohammedan population. Here too the conquerors, strong in the support afforded them by the civilisation of the Christian West, were assisted in their conquest by the abuses produced by an excess of religious fanaticism combined with the anarchy and feebleness of the degenerate descendants of wild and warlike dynasties. At that time, however, the difference in civilisation between the Christian conquerors and the conquered Mohammedans was not so great or so important as that between the Russians of the second half of the nineteenth century and the Central Asiatics who had been sunk for centuries in a stereotyped degeneracy. It is therefore quite natural that the Russian people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries penetrated with greater ease into the newly conquered territories, and felt themselves in a short time at home in the novel surroundings, than can be the case at the present day. The number of Russians who during the twenty-five years that have elapsed since the conquest of Turkestan have settled on both sides of the Yaxartes, in Khokand, in the valley of the Zerefshan and the delta of the Oxus, and in those regions live a Russian life, is exceedingly small, when we take into account the favourable conditions offered by the Russian Government in order to induce colonists to flock to the newly conquered territories, and the natural advantages in the way of climate and soil these present. Up to the present time the Russian element is represented only by the military, by the civil service, and such merchants and manufacturers as have settled in the chief centres of the administration. The latter look upon their sojourn as merely for a time, and when they have made enough money desire to return to the mother country. Nor has the Russian Government been as yet successful even in the case of the penal settlements. A like failure of Russian schemes of colonisation is to be observed in the Caucasus. In spite of the favourable climate, in spite of the uninterrupted connection with the mother country, in spite of the important fact of the preponderance of the Christian element in the native population, the number of Russians who have voluntarily settled in the delightful and fertile valleys of the Caucasus is even now after fifty years' occupation of the country

so small as not to be worth taking into account. Only an enforced colonisation has succeeded in producing a full stream of immigration into the conquered districts, as is the case with Siberia, where the Russian element forms a third of the population, reckoned at 4,869,365 souls. To bring this about was in the first place the work of centuries, and in the second place final success was only achieved through the fact that the Ostiaks, Voguls, Kirghizes, and other inhabitants of Siberia were on a much lower level of civilisation than the Russians, and consequently, in spite of considerable resistance, fell at length victims to the Moloch of Russification. Wherever traces of Mohammedan culture were to be found—for instance, at Tobolsk and on the Upper Yenissei—the absorption has not even yet taken place. There the spirit of the Mollahs brought thither from Bokhara and Khiva in the time of Kotchum Khan is still active. In other parts of Siberia, however, the law of the strongest prevails. Yakuts, Voguls, Teleuts, Shors, Koibals, Kondomers, &c., either die out altogether, or are absorbed in the ever-increasing mass of the Russian population; and if ever the projected railway ring traverses the immense empire of the Czars, the Russification of the non-Mohammedan peoples will be carried out with still greater rapidity.

In Central Asia the metamorphosis consequent upon the Russian occupation will assume a form peculiar to itself. That occupation will not draw after it such consequences as we see in Kazan, Ufa, and Bakchiserai, nor, on the other hand, such as we find in the Southern and Eastern Caucasus. In the latter country the compact masses of Sunnite and Shiite Moslems have proved a firm bulwark against the attempted Russification. After fifty years' subjection to the Russians, they are still as attached to their language, their traditions and the influence of their Akhonds as are their kinsmen and co-religionists on the other side of the Araxes. In the cities of Central Asia, where Islam has taken much firmer root than in the Caucasus or the other parts of the Mohammedan world, there can be no probability of the old and knotty trunk of religious education being soon shaken. On the whole, Islam stands everywhere firmly on its feet, nor can Christianity succeed in weakening it. Indeed, when subjected to Christian rule, it seems to become stronger and more stubborn, and to gain in expansive force. This we see in India, where, in spite of the zeal of the Christian missionaries and the millions spent in their support, the conversions to Islam become daily more frequent. We see this too in Russia, where statistics prove that the number of mosques has considerably increased in the course of this century, and that the heathen among the Ural-Altaic people are more easily converted by the Mollah than by the all-powerful Pope. The Russian Natchalniks, Pristavs and Mirovoi Sud (justices of the peace) will consequently exercise their functions for very many decenniums without being able to produce an important change in the morals, manners, and

modes of thought of the Central Asiatics. Bokhara will still long continue to boast of being the brightest spot in Islam, and her colleges will not soon lose their attraction for the studious youth among the Moslems of Inner Asia. The same holds true of Samarkand, Khodjend, Khokand, and Tashkend, where the experience of the past twenty-five years has taught us how small is the influence of the secular authorities upon the minds of the native population, how very few innovations make their way among a people absorbed in domestic life, and with what freezing indifference they regard the novel hubbub around them, in the form of machines, railways, strange faces and strange costumes, and all the manifold marvels of modern manufacture which have come among them in the train of their Christian conquerors.

Recent travellers, led astray by their ignorance of the languages of the country and an insufficient acquaintance with the religion, history and manners of the Central Asiatics, often publish highly sanguine accounts of the changes that have taken place and the great progress made in Western civilisation on the part of the native population. They have undoubtedly been guilty of gross exaggeration. As yet the foreign conqueror has exercised but little influence by his good or his bad example, by his virtues or his vices. It is true that the strict order, security, peace, and toleration that have followed the anarchy and tyranny of the native rulers, commend themselves to the peaceable citizen, and would indisputably produce even greater effect were it not that the falsehood, corruptibility and other vices of the new Russian officials often remind him of the like faults on the part of the old native officials. The schools which the Russians have founded in Tashkend, Khodjend, Ferghana, and Samarkand with a view to educating the natives have hitherto produced very slight results. The chief end had in view was not so much the enlightenment of the population as the diffusion of a knowledge of the Russian language and the training of useful officials. But of the pupils who have received their education at these institutions, none have distinguished themselves, none have acquired as much Western knowledge as has been acquired by the students at similar institutions founded by the English in India at the beginning of the present century. Yet the educational system of the English was at that time very far behind what it is at present. Out of the seminary at Tashkend there have come a few teachers planted among the Kirghizes, a few useful officials, and one writer on philology named Ish Mohammed Bukin, author of a Russian-Kirghiz dictionary. The rest of the Central Asiatics who have received a Russian education have been educated in Russia itself. When we consider the gigantic dimensions of the struggle which our culture has to engage in with the teaching of Islam, a struggle out of which even the English in India are only now emerging victorious after forty years

of conflict, it would be unfair to the Russian Government if we were to apply a too strict measure of criticism to its well-intentioned efforts. A continuation and perfection of the present system of education will certainly lead in the future to solid and beneficial results. Nevertheless Russia will never succeed in reaching the same degree of success or in exhibiting the same fruits as the English can with justifiable pride point to with their three and a half millions of pupils who are yearly educated in thousands of normal schools, in numerous colleges, and four universities. In the first place, the Russian civiliser cannot spread abroad in the darkness of the regions which he has conquered any better or more beneficial light than that which he has at his own disposal. To think of competing successfully with the greatest and most advanced representatives of Western culture in Southern Asia would be a Utopian idea. Secondly, in Central Asia are wanting those conditions which exist in India, where fifty millions of Mohammedans are urged to overcome their old prejudices by the competition of 200,000,000 of Hindus, Sikhs, and Jains. In the Khanates, on the contrary, Mohammedan religious unity is represented. In their past history they had never come into contact with people of another faith. In no other part of the Mohammedan world is the deeply-rooted Moslem view of life fostered by so large a number of elementary and high schools as here. Only a vast system of confiscation of the educational foundations could produce an important effect in the direction desired by Russia. This, however, from motives of a sound policy will not be resorted to. Certainly Russia might contrive to make use, for her own purposes, of the existing system of schools, by compelling the Mohammedan schools to take up some one or more modern subjects. This, however, does not for a moment occur to the Russian civiliser. He will never compete in this particular with free Albion, who spends vast sums annually in educating, on a compulsory system, natives of India to write fiery newspaper articles against the English Government, to pose as demagogic agitators, and create difficulties for their educators with their precocious longings after self-government and parliaments.

For the present Russia's influence, as we have already pointed out, is chiefly felt and seen in economical matters, and especially in consequence of the opening of the Trans-Caspian Railway, by means of which the pulse of European life can be felt throbbing in the interior of the slothful Asiatic world. As is proved by the newest statistical data with regard to the exports and imports, the export of raw material from Turkestan and the import of Russian manufactures has in the case of certain articles increased fivefold. A still greater increase is to be expected in the future. Russia, to the exclusion of England and the rest of Europe, will dominate the whole market of Central Asia, eastward as far as the interior of China,

southward as far as Peshawur, and westward as far as Persian Kurdistan, and owing to this mercantile superiority will be able to spread the nets of her political intrigues from the Thien-Shan to the Tigris. This cannot now be altered. It were, however, a piece of self-deception and a gross exaggeration to suppose that the acceleration of communications will accelerate a change in men's minds, and the introduction of European culture, even in a Russian garb, and that Central Asia under Russian guidance will suddenly abandon those habits of thought which have prevailed there for more than a millennium. The railway is in the East an exotic, foreign to the habits, the customs and the dispositions of the natives. The snorting steam-horse will long rush through the countries of Central Asia, and its shrill cry will long be heard in its valleys, before the inhabitants give up their inclination for ease and quiet, or their aversion to hurry and making the most of their time. There are to be found even at the present day genuine Asiatics who regret the invention of gunpowder and prefer the older way of fighting with the lance and the sword. In like manner there will be many who will prefer the creeping pace of the caravan to riding in a railway train. India, with its 9,000 English miles of railway, on which travel yearly more than forty millions of passengers, cannot be cited as an instance to the contrary. In that vast peninsula the European spirit had been at work for full a hundred years before the introduction of railways, and had duly prepared the minds of the population for that great innovation. In the second place, Islam, the greatest and most obstinate foe to all innovation and improvement, is not in India the sole or indeed the chief factor in forming the public opinion of the 260,000,000 of people. Thirdly, after all, the railway is used in India chiefly for the purpose of pilgrimages, as commerce there is chiefly in the hands of the English and other Europeans.

A similar state of things has already arisen with great suddenness in Central Asia. The number of pilgrims to Mecca from Turkestan has markedly increased during the last year Instead of undertaking the long, painful, and expensive journey through Afghanistan and India, by sea to Jeddah, or through the Kirghiz Steppe, Orenburg, South Russia, and Constantinople, or, to shorten the distance, submitting to the annoyances and ill-treatment consequent on a journey through Shiite Persia, the pious hadji in Samarkand takes his seat in a third-class carriage on the Trans-Caspian railway, crosses the Caspian Sea, and travels by the Caucasian line to Batum, and can reach the Caaba *viâ* Constantinople in fourteen days without paying more than 10*l.* passage money. The same journey, be it observed, had formerly taken ten months, and sometimes longer, and had cost at least 50*l.* This materially increased facility of travelling has, of course, led to a large increase in the numbers of the Mecca pilgrims; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that

this increase of travel on the part of the Central Asiatic alters his way of thinking, cools his fanaticism, and diminishes his conservative objections to reform. During my last visit to the Turkish capital, I had the opportunity of meeting a good number of the Central Asiatic pilgrims to Mecca. The sound of their mother-tongue, which I still speak fluently, broke the ice of their reserve and shyness in the presence of unbelievers. A few cups of tea, an Özbeg pilaff, which I prepared myself, set their tongues loose, and I was not a little surprised to find that the Central Asiatic, in the innermost recesses of his heart, still remained the same he was of old. Neither his dress, nor his weapons, nor his travelling gear betrayed the slightest trace of the adoption of anything new. The same old coarse Tatar pattern, the same green and blue striped stuff, half silk, half wool, and the same shapeless covering for the feet, still characterise his outward appearance. The features of his countenance betray, I may say, even more ferocity and defiance than in former days. It was with a grin that a thick-turbaned Mollah observed to me, how strange it was that the Khalif (the representative of Mohammed, *i.e.* the Sultan) tolerated so many unbelievers in his empire, and left them in possession of great riches, although he was not in such a constrained position as the sovereigns of Central Asia, and could act according to his own free-will. Mohammedan fanaticism, like other extravagances, seems to thrive under the pressure of foreign rule. The uncompromising defiance of all reforms and all innovations increases in intensity in the very presence of the foreign reformer. His judgment of the latter, and the view he takes of the life and actions of the Russian, are highly characteristic. He does not describe the foreign yoke as oppressive, for the Russians have always taken pains to spare the feelings of the conquered, yet his hatred and contempt of them are greater than ever. With the disgust excited by the vices of the foreign master is associated an aversion to his civilisation. Some console themselves with the idea that his rule is but temporary; but the great majority do not concern themselves about the future, find rest in fatalism, and take but little thought about mere worldly matters.

Hasty observers of the people in Central Asia report, it is true, that drunkenness, gambling, and other Russian vices have already found their way among the natives, and that the rigid discipline enforced by the Koran is already seriously relaxed. So far as I am acquainted with the Mohammedan countries in general, and Central Asia in particular, these reports seem to me to be highly exaggerated. It is true that statistics show that in Turkestan in one year, 1885–86, seven corn and wine distilleries have produced 1,914,388 per cent. of corn brandy and wine brandy distilled, and at the same time 5,555 hectolitres of schnapps manufactured and 16,690,71·5 degrees

brandy rectified. We know that the number of breweries have materially increased, and that besides all this a large quantity of alcoholic liquors has been imported. But the consumers will be found to consist of the Russian officials, commercial classes, and soldiers, while only a few of the natives fall victims to this vice, and those for the most part such as are in constant communication with the Russians, such as djigits, servants and officials, whose close and constant association with their Christian superiors belongs, in itself, to the category of sinful actions. In the whole length and breadth of the Mohammedan world the ordinances of the Koran against the use of spirituous liquor are neglected only by the upper classes of Turkey and Persia, while the mass of the people strictly observe them. The Tatars in Russia are indeed highly esteemed on account of their temperance. In India the English soldier has rather infected the Hindu than the Mohammedan with his love of strong drink. Similar observations may be made in Java, China, and in Central Asia, where the Mollahs and the members of the religious orders exercise a profound influence over the population. Is temperance still more strictly the rule? According to the accounts of the pilgrims to Mecca from Central Asia only isolated cases of Mohammedan drunkards have as yet occurred in Khiva, Yengi-Urgendj, Kungrat, Bokhara, Samarkand, Khodjend, and Tashkend. Without adopting foreign vices, the Central Asiatics have kept their own native ones, and even infected the Russians with them.

There is only one portion of the steppes of Turkestan in which the civilising influence of the Russians will leave any deep traces, and there it will effect an important transformation. This is the so-called Trans-Caspian territory; in other words, that strip of land that runs from the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea along the northern frontier of Persia to Merv, or rather to Penjdeh. Here Russia has lighted upon very peculiar ethnical and social relations. In this strip, where the Aryan world comes into contact with rude Turanian populations, established political and social order has existed only in the earliest dawn of antiquity, if indeed we could give credence to the obscure legends of the flourishing condition of Dehistan, Abiverd, and Nisa. As far back as history extends, this country has ever been a pasture ground for nomads. In the immediate neighbourhood of these nomads a few places, such as Abeskun and Djordjan in the west and Merv in the east, succeeded in attaining to a certain temporary prosperity. But the nomads, as incorrigible adventurers and mischief-makers, prevented the introduction of any settled organisation, and in consequence of their repugnance to a settled life, and their propensity to plunder and bloodshed, successfully braved the might of successive Asiatic conquerors. But they attempted in vain to withstand the power of the Russians; they were so ruthlessly and effec-

tually punished as to leave all chance of their recovering themselves out of the question. In this way Russia has made a free field for herself, a *tabula rasa*, along the northern skirts of the Kubbet Mountains, whose future transformation depends in a peculiar sense on Russia's determination, where her power as factor in its future development is considerably greater than in the three khanates of Central Asia. In the 13,000 geographical square miles comprised in this Trans-Caspian district dwell at present about 350,000 Turkomans, together with a small proportion of Russians, Armenians, Caucasians, Jews, and Persians. In discussing the future character of the population of this vast territory, the question deserves our attention, How far will Russia succeed in colonising these regions, occupied by inveterate nomads? The sanguine disposition of the Russians flatters them with the hope that these Turkomans will give up their nomadic life and become cultivators of the ground. This supposition, however, is supported neither by historical proofs nor by the character of the population in question. Turkish nomads are more likely to be crushed and extirpated by civilisation than to be transformed into an agricultural population. This general rule is proved by the fact that Yuruks in Asia Minor, where fertile regions invite them to a settled life, have preserved through centuries their nomad habits, and have hitherto resisted all temptations to become colonists. The Kirghizes in the north of Turkestan have for a century resisted all the invitations of the Russians to become settled cultivators. Their numbers have dwindled down to one-half of what they were formerly; they are continually decimated and impoverished by diseases, famines, murrains; yet they still prefer the wandering life on the steppe, involving as it does the hard struggle with the severity of the climate, to a more peaceful mode of life. The same holds true of the Bedaween in Arabia, and will no doubt hold true of the Turkoman.

An exception to this general rule is only, then, to be found where extraordinary historical events have forced a mass of nomads into the midst of a settled population, and thus rendered the continuation of their former wandering life impossible, or where some families of the nomads have been separated from the great mass of the tribe. The first-named case receives its illustration in the history of the Azerbeidjan Turks, remains of the armies of the Seljuks and of the Monguls, who were, so to say, cooped up in the ancient Atropatene between Aryans and Caucasians. The second is illustrated by the history of the population of the Kurama district, on the middle Yaxartes. They are people who call themselves also Tchala Kazak, *i.e.* half-Kirghizes, and are regarded with contempt by the true Kirghizes.

As regards the future ethnical transformation of the Trans-Caspian district, certain points on the northern slopes of the hills that form the Persian frontier, which are now fertile and well-watered, will, in

course of time, extend the bounds of their cultivation by setting a dam to the incursions of the sand, and systematically advancing their irrigation works. But for this work the necessary hands will hardly be recruited among the Turkomans. Instead of these children of the Steppe settling in masses on these new centres of cultivation, they will be settled by a mixed population of Persians, Armenians, Bokhariots, Russians, Caucasians, and Turkomans. As the Turkomans are divided into *Tchomri* and *Tcharwa*, *i.e.* half and wholly nomads, it will be the first-named class that will settle in the towns, without, however, being able to surpass in industry and perseverance the other elements of the conglomerate. This picture which we have sketched of the future is already realised to some slight degree in the case of Ashkabad. This is a place in which ten years ago there lived a few Tchomri Turkomans. By this time its population numbers 10,000 souls, in which, to be sure, is included the soldiers of the garrison. The development of Merv too supports our view. Since its annexation in 1884 there has arisen in New Merv a permanent settlement of 285 houses, in which are sheltered a mixed population of Russians, Armenians, Tatars, Poles, Caucasians, and others, while the Turkomans still remain in their tents, keep cattle, and carry on an imperfect sort of agriculture. Now that the principal source of their means of livelihood, the profitable forays into Persia and Afghanistan, has been cut off, they are fast sinking into poverty, and have greatly diminished in numbers.

We shall, therefore, hardly make a mistake if we prognosticate a better future for the Russian Trans-Caspian district than for the khanates of Central Asia. Above all, the vicinity of the Iranian population, peaceable and addicted to industry and commerce, will have a most beneficial effect on its development. If the Russians further succeed in annexing the province of Khorassan, which adjoins it on the east, the prosperity of the district, already so favoured by nature, will be secured. The traffic along the Trans-Caspian line will be an important factor in the question, if this line, at present imperfect, is extended to Tashkend, and in the end to Semipalatinsk, in Siberia. These regions will then regain the importance they possessed in the days of the Samanides, when the commerce between China and India on the one side, and Byzantine and the south of Europe on the other, passed this way. This will, however, certainly not be carried out for some time, whatever enthusiastic politicians and economists may dream. For this several decenniums of peaceful and laborious industry are required. Indeed, the future of the Trans-Caspian province depends largely on the measures which England will adopt for the security of her commercial interests and a safe communication by land between Europe and India. No serious and patriotic English statesman should for a moment think of allowing a connection be-

tween the Trans-Caspian line and the Indus Railway, now continued to Candahar. Such a connection would only serve the interests of Russia, and bring England injury and danger. The only line that can serve England's economical and political interest is one which, starting from Quetta and passing through Seistan, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, joins on to the Turkish railways. For, if England and Russia, as would seem to be the case, are to divide Asia into a southern and northern district, in which each of them is to be supreme, there must be a corresponding division of the territory in economical matters also. Nothing less than two Asiatic railways will keep the peace between the two great European powers that aspire to rule in Asia. England will secure the commerce of Southern Asia along the southern line, and Russia that of Northern Asia along the northern; whereas a connection between the two must lead to an uninterrupted succession of misunderstandings. Only in the case of England still continuing to ignore her vital interests in this matter, and still delaying the making of the Seistan line, will the Trans-Caspian line gain enormously in importance and become the principal line of communication between Europe and Asia. Otherwise it will not.

Summing up what we have already observed, it will be seen that Russia has in the last few years been able to draw considerable advantages from her possessions in Central Asia, without being able to give the inhabitants, by way of compensation, the first germs of a future civilisation. Indeed, such an aim has never been present to the minds of the Russian conquerors. To create such a state of things as we see in India, where millions of Asiatics are brought up in such a degree of enlightenment and freedom as is unknown in Russia itself, is not only beside the intentions of the Russians, but absolutely beyond their power. Twenty-five years ago the admirers of Russia's mission of civilisation in Asia—they are by this time woefully diminished in numbers—raised loud shouts of joy at the successes of the Czar's troops on the Yaxartes and the Zerefshan, and hailed the daybreak of a new era of culture for Central Asia. The results that have been hitherto attained have not been such as to encourage these enthusiastic friends of Russia. Superficial tourists, especially Frenchmen, still amuse themselves with the ungrateful task of painting in the most gorgeous colours the salutary influences of Russian rule. But all the world knows that all this is designed to beautify the abortive misalliance of republican France and autocratic Russia. In order to have a clear idea of Russia's mission in Central Asia, we must call up before our eyes what is so often to be seen in the life of the poorer classes, where the eight- or ten-year old girl, herself weak and imperfectly developed, has to act as nurse to a still younger brother or sister. This arrangement is just as injurious to the premature nurse, whose proper growth is interfered with, as it is

full of danger to the younger child. And indeed Russia, whose own culture does not rest on too firm a foundation, should hesitate to burden herself with any more Asiatic charges. There are already enough of such who are still waiting to be civilised—in other words, to be Russianised. Why, then, should she increase her own troubles and at the same time disturb others in their peaceable development?

ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY.

THE ILLUSTRATION OF BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS.

Two events of some significance in the world of art and letters—or, more strictly speaking, in the busy community of draughtsmen and writers—have been topics of conversation lately. The first is the appearance of an illustrated newspaper in London, producing and consuming thirty or forty illustrations daily; an important event in the artistic world because of the prospect for employment opened out by such undertakings. The second is the opportune issue by Messrs. Macmillan of an elaborate, not to say 'monumental,' volume on *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*, by Mr. Joseph Pennell, purporting to give examples from various countries of some of the best methods of drawing for the press.

The illustration of books and newspapers is a matter on which it might appear, at first sight, that there was little left to be said; or that at all events any observations would apply more to experts, and the artistic profession generally, than to the public. But it is the object of this paper to interest the reader as much as the illustrator; to draw attention to some of the *possibilities* of illustration, and to the systematic neglect of expressing ourselves pictorially. The subject has been discussed, with more or less knowledge, for the last twenty years. It has occupied some of the best minds; many arguments, for and against, have appeared in print, but, so far, the results have not taken practical shape.

At a very representative meeting held in London in 1875, to consider, *inter alia*, the feasibility of a daily illustrated newspaper, the general question was discussed—

> Whether in the matter of illustrating books and newspapers we are really keeping pace with the times; whether those whose business it is to provide the illustrations which are tossed from steam rollers at the rate of 10,000 copies an hour are doing the best work they can.

As regarded books, it was pointed out that 'the present system of illustrating books of travel and scientific research was too elaborate, too costly, and too absurd to last;' that, in consequence, there was much valuable material that never saw the light, and that the public was deprived continually of what it would most care to see.

In illustrated newspapers, it was argued, there should be a clearer distinction between fact and fiction, between news and pictures. The exact words may be thought worth repeating now.[1]

> In the production of illustrations we have arrived at great proficiency, and from London are issued the best illustrated newspapers in the world. But our artistic skill has led us into temptation, and by degrees engendered a habit of making pictures when we ought to be recording *facts*. We have thus, through our cleverness, created a fashion and a demand from the public for something which is often elaborately untrue.
>
> Would it, then, be too much to ask those who cater for (and really create) the public taste, that they should give us one of two things, or rather *two things*, in our illustrated papers, the real and the ideal -
>
> 1st. Pictorial records of events in the simplest and truest manner possible;
>
> 2nd. Pictures of the highest class that can be printed in a newspaper?
>
> Here are two methods of illustration which only require to be kept distinct, each in its proper place, and our interest in them would be doubled. We ask first for a record of news and then for a picture gallery; and to know, to use a common phrase, *which is which*.

The meeting concluded with the following somewhat ominous resolution: 'That it would often be desirable to have a simpler form of illustration,' but that 'the public was satisfied and that the present system paid'!

Before exploring some of the 'possibilities of illustration' it may be interesting to glance at what has been done in this direction since the inventions of producing blocks rapidly to print at the type press and the improvements in machinery.

In the spring of 1873 a Canadian company started a daily illustrated evening newspaper in New York, called *The Daily Graphic*, which was to eclipse all previous publications by the rapidity and excellence of its illustrations. It started with a sincere attempt to give a daily record of news, and its conductors made every effort to bring about a system of rapid sketching and drawing in line. But the public of New York in 1873 (as of London, apparently, in 1890) cared more for 'pictures,' and so by degrees the paper degenerated into a picture-sheet, reproducing (without leave) engravings from the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic*, and other papers, as they arrived from England. The paper was a 'photo-lithographed' sheet and survived until last year. It was not very important, but during its career of sixteen years on a small circulation it undoubtedly gave an impetus to the taste for illustrated news.

In England the first systematic attempt at illustration in a daily newspaper was the insertion of a little map or weather chart in the *Times* in 1875, which has appeared daily ever since.

But, in June 1875, the *Times* and all other newspapers in England were far distanced by the *New York Tribune* in reporting

[1] The quotations are from a paper by the present writer, read before the Society of Arts in March 1875.

the result of a shooting match in Dublin between an American rifle corps and some of our volunteers. On the morning after the contest there were long verbal reports in the English papers, describing the shooting and the results, but in the *Tribune* there appeared a series of targets with the shots of the successful competitors marked upon them, communicated by telegraph under the ocean, and printed in the paper in America on the morning after the event![2]

After this period we seem to have moved slowly, only some very important geographical discovery, or event, extorting from the daily newspapers an explanatory plan or diagram. But during the 'Transit of Venus' on the 6th of December, 1882, a gleam of light was vouchsafed to the readers of the *Daily Telegraph* (and possibly of other papers), and that exciting astronomical event, 'from which mankind was to obtain a clearer knowledge of the scale of the universe,' was understood and remembered better by three or four lines in the form of a diagram (showing, roughly, the track of Venus and its comparative size and distance from the sun) printed in the newspaper on the day of the event.

Maps and plans have appeared from time to time in all the daily newspapers, but not systematically, or their interest and usefulness would have been much greater. Many instances might be given of advance in the right direction (a little dial showing the direction of the wind is obviously better than words and figures), but it is only lately that mechanical difficulties have been overcome and that the system can be widely extended.

It remains to be seen how far the new *Daily Graphic*, with experience and capital at command, will aid in a system of illustration which will be of use to the community. Thus far it would seem that the production of a large number of pictures (more or less *à propos*) is the popular thing. We may be excused if we are disappointed in the result from a practical point of view; for, as the functions of a daily newspaper are *prima facie* to record facts, it follows that if words fail to communicate the right meaning, pictorial expression should come to the aid of the verbal.

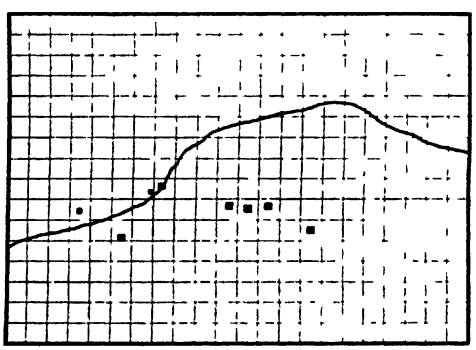
Let me give one or two examples, out of many which come to mind.

1. The transmission of form by telegraph. To realise the importance of this system in conveying news, we have only to consider (going back five-and-thirty years) what interest would have been added to Dr. Russell's letters from the Crimea in the *Times* newspaper, if it had been considered possible, then, to have inserted, here and there, with the type, a line or two pictorially giving the outline of a hillside, and the position of troops upon it. It *was* possible to do this in 1855, but it is much more feasible now. The

[2] This system of reporting rifle contests has been adopted lately in England.

transmission of form by telegraph is of the utmost importance to journalists and scientific men, and, as our electricians have not yet determined the best methods, it may be interesting to point out the simplest and most rudimentary means at hand. The method is well known in the army and is used for field purposes, but hitherto newspapers have been strangely slow to avail themselves of it. The following diagram will explain a system which is capable of much development.

If the reader will imagine the series of squares below to represent a portable open trellis-work, which might be set up at a window or in the open field, between the spectator and any object of interest at a distance—each square representing a number corresponding with a code in universal use—it will be obvious, that by noticing the squares which the outline of a hill would cover, and *telegraphing the numbers of the squares*, something in the way of form and outline may be quickly communicated from the other side of the world.



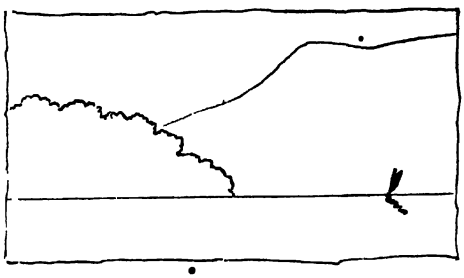
Telegraphic Code for Transmitting Form by Telegraph.

This is for rough and ready use in time of war, when rapidity of communication is of the first importance; but in time of peace a correspondent's letter continually requires elucidation. Here is an example, which, for want of better words, I will call—

2. The shorthand of pictorial art. The newspaper correspondent is in a boat on one of the Italian lakes, and wishes to describe the scene on a calm summer day.

'We are shut in by mountains,' he says, 'but the blue lake seems as wide as the sea. On a rocky promontory on the left hand the trees grow down to the water's edge and the banks are precipitous, indicating the great depth of this part of the lake. The water is as smooth as glass; on its surface is one vessel, a heavily laden market-boat with drooping sails, floating slowly down' (and so on)—there is no need to repeat it all; but when half a column of word-painting had

been written, and well written, the correspondent failed to present the picture clearly to the eye without the three explanatory lines below, which should have been sent with his letter.



This method of description requires certain aptitude and training; but not much, not more than many a literary man could acquire for himself with a little practice. The director of the *Daily Graphic* is reported to have said that 'the ideal correspondent, who can sketch as well as write, is not yet born.' He takes perhaps a higher view of the artistic functions of a daily newspaper than we should be disposed to grant him; by 'we' I mean, of course, 'the public,' expecting *news* in the most graphic manner. There are, and will be, many moments when we want information, simply and solely, and care little how, or in what shape, it comes.[3]

A newspaper correspondent is sent suddenly to the seat of war, or is stationed in some remote country to give the readers of a newspaper the benefit of his observations. What is he doing in 1890? In the imperfect, clumsy language which he possesses in common with every minister of state and national schoolboy he proceeds to describe what he sees in a hundred lines, when with two or three strokes of the pen he might have expressed his meaning better pictorially. I have used these words before, but they apply with redoubled force at the present time. The fact is that, with the means now at command for reproducing any lines drawn or written, the correspondent is not thoroughly equipped if he cannot send them as suggested, by telegraph or by letter. It is all a matter of education, and the newspaper reporter of the future will not be considered complete unless he is able to express himself pictorially as well as verbally. Then, and not till then, will our complicated language be rescued from many obscurities, by the aid of lines other than verbal.

In nearly every city, town, or place there is some feature, architectural or natural, which gives character to it, and it would add greatly to the interest of letters from abroad if they were headed

[3] It has been suggested that the great art of conducting a daily illustrated newspaper must be to know what to leave out—when, in short, to have *no illustrations at all!*

with a little outline sketch, or indication of the principal objects. This is seldom done, because the art of looking at things, and the power of putting them down simply in a few lines, has not been cultivated and is not given to many.

Two things are principally necessary to attain this end—

1. The education of hand and eye (and a knowledge of perspective), imparted to every schoolboy, no matter what his profession, or occupation, in after-life.

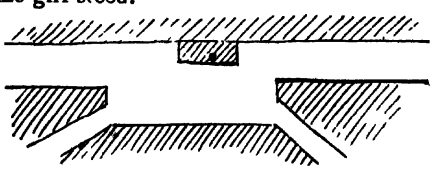
2. The education of the public to read aright this new language (new to most people), the 'shorthand of pictorial art.'

The popular theory amongst editors and publishers is that the public would not care for information presented to them in this way —that they 'would not understand it and would not buy it.' Sketches of the kind indicated have never been fairly tried in England; but they are increasing in number every day, and the time is not far distant when we shall look back upon the present system with considerable amusement, and on a book or a newspaper which is not illustrated as an incomplete production. The number of illustrations produced and consumed daily in the printing press is enormous; but they are too much of one pattern, and, as a rule, too elaborate.

In the illustration of books of all kinds there should be a more general use of diagrams and plans to elucidate the text. No new building of importance should be described anywhere without an indication of the elevation, if not also of the ground plan; and, as a rule, no picture should be described without its sketch by the artist. In history words so often fail to give the correct *locale* that it seems wonderful we have no better method in common use. The following rough plan will illustrate one of the simplest ways of making a description clear to the reader. Take the verbal one first:—

'The young Bretonne stood under the doorway of the house, sheltered from the rain which came with the soft west wind. From her point of vantage on the "Place" she commanded a view of the whole village, and could actually see down the four streets of which it was principally composed.'

In this instance a writer was at some pains to describe (and failed to describe in three pages) the exact position of the streets and where the girl stood.



It may seem strange to occupy the attention of readers of this Review with diagrams and sketches of so elementary a kind, but it

must be remembered that plans and diagrams are at the basis of a system of illustration which will one day become general. The reason, as already pointed out, for drawing attention to the subject now, is that it is only lately that systems have been perfected for reproducing lines on the printed page almost as rapidly as setting up the type. Thus a new era, so to speak, in the art of expressing ourselves pictorially as well as verbally has commenced: the arts of reproduction are to hand; the blocks can be made, if necessary, in less than three hours, and copies can be printed on revolving cylinders at the rate of 10,000 to 14,000 an hour.

The advance in scientific discovery by means of subtle instruments brings the surgeon sometimes to the knowledge of facts which, in the interests of science, he requires to demonstrate graphically. With a rudimentary knowledge of drawing and perspective, the surgeon and the astronomer would both be better equipped. At the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, where the majority of students are intended for the medical profession, this subject is considered of high importance, and the student in America is learning to express himself in a language that can be understood.

In architecture it is often necessary to the understanding of a building to indicate in a few lines not only the general plan and elevation, but also its position in perspective in a landscape or street. Few architects can do this if called upon at a moment's notice in a Parliamentary committee room. And yet it is part of the language of an architect.

These remarks apply with great force to books of travel, where an author should be able to take part in the drawing of his illustrations, at least to the extent of being able to explain his meaning and ensure topographical accuracy.

A curious experiment was lately made with some Art students in one of the Government schools to prove the fallacy of the accepted system of describing landscapes, buildings, and the like in words. A page or two from one of the Waverley novels (a description of a castle and the heights of mountainous land, with a river winding in the valley towards the sea and clusters of houses and trees on the right hand) was read slowly and repeated before a number of students, three of whom, standing apart from each other by prearrangement, proceeded to indicate on blackboards the leading lines of the picture as the words had presented them to their minds. It is needless to say that the results, highly skilful in one case, were all different, and *all wrong*; and that in particular the horizon line of the sea (so easy to indicate with any clue and so important to the composition) was hopelessly out of place. Thus we describe day by day, and the pictures formed in the mind are erroneous, for the imagination of the reader is at work at once and requires simple guidance.

That, because we cannot be very artistic, therefore we should do nothing in the way of illustrating our meaning, is the stumbling-block which it is the object of this article to help to set aside. Let me repeat that, with the means now at command for having any lines, *drawn* or written, reproduced with the proof, at a small cost and with little or no trouble to the printer, we should more often see the hand-work of the author, as well as of the artist, appearing on the page.[4]

To turn to the more artistic side of the subject: It would be difficult to point to a period in the history of book-illustration when so much bad work was produced as at present. The causes are not far to seek, and are worth pointing out, for once, in the pages of a non-technical review. The beautiful processes for the reproduction of drawings for the press are not understood by the majority of artists, or publishers, or critics.

It is the *misuse* of the processes which is dragging our national reputation in the mire. Our best artists have neither the time nor the inclination to make themselves acquainted with the methods; and it is hardly to be expected that a reviewer who has a pile of illustrated books to pronounce upon should know the reasons for the failures that he sees before him. Thus the public is grievously misled by those who should be its guides as to the value and importance of the new systems of illustration.

The deterioration in the character of book-illustration in England is a serious matter, and public attention may well be drawn to it. The first and most serious difficulty to contend against is the want of technical education in our Government Schools of Art. Students leave the schools by hundreds not properly equipped for the business of life. The business of many will be to contribute, in some form, to the making of pictures and designs to be multiplied in the press; and, in order to learn the technique and obtain employment, some of the most promising pupils have to fall into the ways of the producers of cheap illustrations, Christmas cards, and the like. This is not as it should be, and the trustees of private bequests for Art education (such as we have heard of lately in Manchester) may well turn their attention to 'aiding the State' in technical education.

It is not the fault of the masters in our Schools of Art throughout the country that students are taught in most cases as if they were to become painters, when the only possible career for the

[4] The firm black lines of a sketch, diagram, or plan, drawn in pen or ink, can now be reproduced any size (smaller than the original) in relief, and on a block ready for printing at the type-press, without wood-engraving. These blocks can have a copper surface, and are capable of printing 100,000 copies without appreciable wear or deterioration. The cost varies from *6d.* to *1s. 6d.* the square inch, according to the class of work required.

majority is that of illustration, or design. The masters are, for the most part, well and worthily occupied in giving a good groundwork of knowledge to every student, and leave the rest to private firms. But the art of drawing for the press has become so important that it calls for more systematic teaching than it has ever obtained in this country. The new facsimile processes following so closely on the artist, the wonderful printing machines now in use, cheap paper, rapid distribution, and the demand for a better class of illustrated advertisements—all point to the direction from which much work must come.

In America, as in France, the best artists make themselves acquainted with these things, and are able to advise their pupils on many points relating to illustration in black and white. The result is a higher level all round. In America, the artist and the engraver are on an equal footing, equal in education and aspiration. The result is seen in the illustrations to their magazines, about the excellence of which we hear so many expressions of surprise in England. That the Americans have reduced modern book-illustration to a science in which they greatly excel is well known, but the followers of their school run into extremes. Thus the young artist who takes an interest in 'processes' and modern engraving is confronted with a new danger, that of considering 'technique' above everything—in short, mistaking the means for the end. A well-known art-critic, pleading for more simplicity and character in our illustrations, said lately, 'Book-illustration, as an art, is founded upon wood-engraving, and it is to wood-engraving that we must look if we are to have any revival of the kind of beauty which early printed books possess. In the mass of work now produced, there is very little trace of the principles on which Holbein laboured. Instead of proceeding by the simplest means, our modern artist seems rather by preference to take the most difficult and complex way of expressing himself. A wood-engraving, it is not unjust to say, has become scarcely distinguishable from a steel-engraving, excepting by its inferiority.'

Wood-engraving itself is in a very unsatisfactory state in this country. The light is going out of our illustrations and the public seems content with smudges instead of the carefully engraved drawings of the past.[5] When Sir John Millais and others drew on wood for *Once a Week*, and when John Tenniel, L. Sambourne, and G. Du Maurier first drew for *Punch*, there were limitations imposed by the wood-engraver as to methods of 'shading,' 'cross-hatching,' &c., which, for good or evil, has given a permanent mannerism to their styles. There is much greater freedom for the artist now, and we only want systematic teaching to raise the general level of drawing and engraving to that of other nations.[6]

[5] See *Good Words*, January 1890, pp. 19, 33, &c.

[6] It is an interesting fact to record that, notwithstanding our shortcomings and

In England there has always been a want of *camaraderie* between artist and engraver. This is one adverse influence; another more serious, and militant against good art, is the indiscriminate use of the new processes for reproducing photographs on blocks capable of being printed on the type-press. The system best known in England is called the 'Meisenbach' process. This cheap and easy method of producing illustrations has tempted the publishers of many books to substitute a mechanical process for the work of the hand, and has spread over our illustrations a coarse and gloomy effect which is anything but attractive. The result is loss of individuality and artistic interest in book-illustrations generally, with the occasional compensation of having facts presented to us more truthfully than in a drawing at second hand.

Mr. Joseph Pennell's book on *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*, referred to at the beginning of this article, gives examples, good and bad, of drawings reproduced by mechanical processes. The illustrations will do much to familiarise the student with the work of some of the best draughtsmen, from Mantegna and Albert Dürer in the fifteenth century, down to the latest achievements of American experts.

The examples from Italy, Spain, Germany, and France are so full of interest and instruction that it is important to see how far the book may be taken as a guide in the matter of drawing for the press. A laudation of the modern methods of illustration, as understood in America, was to be expected from a writer who says that he was 'a child when Caldecott's picture-books began to come out.' But it is to be regretted that he should have reproduced rough memoranda in pen and ink by Titian and other masters (of course not meant for reproduction) and compared them unfavourably with the drawings by E. A. Abbey and Alfred Parsons. This is not only unjust but misleading; and surely injurious to the reputation of the living artists referred to. In England—whatever be the shortcomings of our Art teachers as regards technique—the student is at least taught respect for, and an appreciation of, some of the best art that the world has known.

It is most opportune that we should be reminded of the various masters of 'Pen Drawing,' as shown by Mr. Pennell; but, as a guide, we cannot follow him. Of English work in black and white he apparently knows little beyond what has been seen in published engravings and etchings; and his treatment of English artists is altogether ungenerous. The value and instruction of this book is in the opportunity for examining the work of Menzel, Fortuny, Rico, Vierge, and other foreigners. It is seldom that illustration in pen and ink has been presented in more variety in one volume; and yet there is wanting

the substitution of mechanical processes, there is more wood engraving produced in England now than at any previous time.

a clearer exposition of the best way to put lines on paper for photographic reproduction, so that the results should not be, as they are so often here, what are technically called 'rotten.' Few indeed (including Mr. Pennell himself) have mastered the science of drawing for reproduction. Anyone who has seen his original drawings for the *Century Magazine*, and other publications, will understand this. The ideal illustration is not here, nor is it to be found often in the smooth pages of American magazines, whose successes in illustration are generally 'engravers' successes.' It is the means, not the end, that we are admiring continually in *Harper's* and the *Century*.

When painters give more attention in England to these things we shall see oftener 'the handwork of the artist appearing on the page.' The science of reproduction is advanced enough now to have reproduced the Holbein drawings in the New Gallery with almost absolute fidelity. But the illustrative arts of this country are in danger of retrograding, because our best men give little heed to them. The lack of sympathy and understanding between artists, engravers, and the makers of process-blocks, is at the root of the evil. This has been clearly demonstrated lately in the pages of a new illustrated monthly review, where editor and publishers (with all modern appliances at command, and an apparently intelligent purpose to do the right thing, if possible, in the way of illustration) have failed from want of technical knowledge. The result is so well known in artistic circles that I venture to draw a moral from the disaster.

The wholesale and ignorant abuse of 'process-blocks' in the press is an instance of misleading on the part of those who should be our guides. It is a common thing to find illustrations to books called indiscriminately '*cuts*;' a misnomer in the majority of cases. Let me give chapter and verse. A writer in the *Athenæum* said lately of an important book that the illustrations had been produced by 'one of those rubbishing processes,' little heeding that it was the *misuse* of the process which had produced inartistic results; the drawings having been reproduced on a scale quite unsuitable to their style and texture. In the *Saturday Review*, on the 14th of December, there was an article on 'Process Illustrations' in which a writer in that paper denounced the practice (with some of the *Saturday's* ancient fire), ending with the words 'we are not criticising the merits of the artists' designs, but merely the way in which "processes" libel and caricature them.' This, it will be observed, is criticism 'topsy-turvy;' and it is a serious matter, bringing down upon us the derisive comments of foreign artists and critics with whom knowledge of technique is of paramount consideration.

The introduction of 'photogravure' into England, about ten years ago, should be mentioned in connection with book illustrations *hors texte*. The result has been generally to drive line engraving from the country, and to create a taste for photographically engraved

plates, lacking delicacy, refinement, and the artistic charm and quality of old engravings. Mezzotint and a mixed style of engraving survive, and etching, the most individual of all, but these are articles of luxury, inserted in a few books (generally in the wrong places), and do not come strictly in the category of book-illustration.

Further reference to other processes (such as the wonderful colour-printing by Messrs. Boussod, Valadon, and Co.) would take us too far afield. We must confine ourselves to-day to the consideration of book and newspaper illustration in its most useful and popular forms, hoping that, with the spread of art education, the public will some-day rebel against the coarse and inartistic illustrations which every-where flourish and abound. The questions at present are:—1. Whether, as a matter of language and history, we are communicating information to each other much better than the ancients did in cuneiform inscriptions. 2. Whether, as a matter of illustrative art, we are making the best use of modern appliances.

If we do not bestir ourselves, the last decade will have a bad record in the matter of book-illustration in England; and I am obliged to the editor of this Review for admitting an apparently technical article into its pages.

HENRY BLACKBURN.

A CHINESE VIEW OF RAILWAYS IN CHINA.

THE recent announcement of the determination of the Imperial Government of China to construct forthwith an extensive central line of 'iron road' (railway) connecting one of the flourishing ports on the northern bank of the Chang Kiang or Yang-tze River with the capital of the Empire has excited no little anxiety throughout the Celestial Kingdom and roused much hopeful interest in other parts of the world, especially in England, where George Stephenson's invention first came into existence to enhance the convenience and comfort of the people.

The sanction of the construction of the proposed trunk line furnishes one more proof that the long-maintained, and not altogether unreasonable fears of my countrymen are gradually being dispelled by the enlightened action of the Chinese Government, and justifies the long-existent and always increasing hope of foreigners that the Flowery Land would eventually adopt this most speedy and effectual mode of locomotion, so necessary to the union of different races and the spread of valuable ideas.

Since the announcement of the proposed line, I have been met on all sides by the incredulity of the unthinking, who refuse to believe the report, saying that the news is too good to be true. These sceptics are, apparently, unaware how really the policy of the Chinese Government, since the establishment of relations with foreign Powers, has been tending towards the adoption of such improvements as are *unmistakeably* calculated to add to the enrichment of our people and the strengthening of our defences against possible, though not anticipated, dangers.

The Empire of China, with her ever-teeming population, marvellously productive soil, the curiously ingenious, though, even yet, meagrely developed industry of the people, and the boundless resources of her mineral wealth, is at last going to take her proper place among the nations, by the adoption of that onward policy which in every country must be regulated in strict accordance with the exigencies of the time and circumstances of its own people. And once the iron network has been spread over the length and breadth

of the Middle Kingdom, there will be no more halting in the march of progress, and actual retrogression, though foreigners may not realise the fact, has never taken place among my people.

The first railway in China was that which was made between Shanghai and Woosung in 1876. It was first proposed in 1865 by Professor Henry Robinson, C.E., who laid out a railway between these places, with a jetty and extensive bonded warehouses at Woosung. It was not, however, until 1876 that a railway was constructed over a similar route, the engineer being Mr. G. J. Morrison, C.E. When, in 1877, this railway was taken up and the plant removed to the Island of Formosa, my country was reproached for its obstinacy in resisting what foreigners designated progress, and many Europeans to this very day know not the weighty reasons for the seemingly absurd, but in reality patriotic action which the Chinese statesmen of the day took in this particular case—action of which the altered circumstances would now prevent any possibility of recurrence.

In the first place, the very laying down of the Woosung line was a proceeding of a most unfortunate character. Certain foreigners purchased the land required for the enterprise, and at the same time the nature of that enterprise was not entirely understood by the high Chinese authorities, and consequently it met with much opposition so that the establishing of a railway system in China was retarded mainly by the well-meant but misdirected methods of those who were most anxious for its successful issue. It is true that the officials in the city of Shanghai at that time were perfectly aware of the construction of the proposed line, and were always consulted about it. It would have been more prudent, however, if those interested had also gone to the high provincial authorities at Nanking.

But other reasons have also contributed to the postponement, and these may be briefly mentioned. The administration of China is essentially benevolent in principle and beneficent in practice, taking scrupulous cognisance of the actual requirements and real welfare of the humblest members of her vast community.

In England, when railways were first introduced, there was a strong feeling that the internal carrying trade, as it had heretofore existed, would be ruined by the competition of the iron horse, and this feeling was prevalent to even a greater extent with us. The canals and waterways of China have from time immemorial been renowned throughout the world, and millions of hard-working boatmen have earned an arduous livelihood on their broad and far-extending reaches. How would the adoption of railways affect these lowly, but none the less to be considered, members of the community? This was the weighty problem that our rulers had to solve. It is easy for the foreigners, in their newly acquired wisdom, to reply that railways must inevitably bring an access of employment to all classes, and that even the waterside populations would benefit accordingly,

But progressive England did not always reason thus, and the statesmen of my country have ever thought it wiser to ponder well and long before the adoption of any new measure, holding that it is better to delay somewhat the inception of a valuable reform, rather than to enter hastily upon a change which might eventually prove disastrous and necessitate retrogression.

China fully recognises the great value of the iron road, but before she will adopt a measure of so-called reform it must be brought home to her that she will herself derive an active and immediate advantage from such adoption.

For thirty years we knew of the telegraphic system, and fully realised the advantages which foreigners derived from its employment; but such a system—admirable as it is—had until recently no place among our requirements, and so we were content to forego its use, although the cables of foreign countries were, in certain cases, permitted to find a landing-place upon our shores.

After the establishment, in 1877, of legations to western countries, a short experimental line of land wire was erected by the Great Northern Telegraph Company; but it was not until our country became involved in troubles, owing to the covetousness of Western Powers, that need arose for an extension of that line to the important proportions which it has now assumed. The campaign of 1880 in Kuldja demonstrated the necessity of a speedier means of transmitting news from our victorious forces employed at great distances from the Imperial capital than through the ancient and trustworthy medium of carriers, and led to the inception of a telegraphic system which now embraces in its folds the whole of our enormous empire, and in connection with the cables and land wires of foreign companies has rendered inestimable service in the carrying out of important negotiations with foreign countries.

To return to the question of railways, I have yet another reason to set forth why it would have been injudicious to rush headlong into the matter. The Chinese authorities have been especially desirous of clearly demonstrating the practicability of the system being carried out by the Chinese people themselves, independent of foreign guidance, though not altogether without practical assistance from the West.

To acquire such an assurance a practical experiment was obviously necessary, and it was straightway forthcoming. In the first instance a short line, some twenty li (about seven miles) in length, was laid from T'ang Shan to Hsü-Ko-Chuang in connection with the Kaiping Colliery, and this line was subsequently extended another seventy li (about twenty-three miles) from Hsü-Ko-Chuang to Yen-Chuang at Lutai, and thence another 180 li (about sixty miles) *viâ* Taku to Tientsin. Thus we see a connected line of between eighty and ninety miles has been firmly established between T'ang-Shan and Tientsin, the commercial port nearest to Peking.

The essential difference between this line and the abortive railway at Woosung lies in the fact that Chinese officials were associated directly with its conception and Chinese capital largely employed in its construction. The most prominent mandarins connected with this enterprise were Messieurs Wu Ting Fang (known to many foreigners as Ng Choy), Yen Hsin How, and Wu Chih Chang, and it is in a great measure due to them that the Chinese Government is now able to see its way clearly to the far more considerable project on the *tapis* at the present moment.

A Chinese board of directors clearly showed that they were capable of administering successfully a railway system if associated with honest and able foreigners, while the engine sheds and works at Kaiping turned out rolling stock and plant of which no line would have need to be ashamed.

Being satisfied, then, on the two great points—viz. the practical utility of railways to the Chinese commonwealth, and the possibility of their being constructed and administered under the immediate superintendence of Chinese officials, nothing more remained but to elicit the views of the leading statesmen of China as to the most suitable time for a commencement, and as to the best way in which so momentous a project should be carried out. Up to this time the prime movers in the China railways question have been four in number:—His Imperial Highness Prince Chün; H. E. The Viceroy Li Hung Chang; H. E. Chang Chih Tung, late viceroy of the Liang Huang and at present Viceroy of the Liang Hu; and H. E. Liu Ming Chuan, governor of Formosa. Many others have, however, now acquiesced in their enlightened views, but in order to definitely ascertain the prevalent feeling among the Chiang Chün (Tartar commanders-in-chief), Tsung Tu (viceroys) and Hsün Fu (governors), of important provinces as to the necessity or otherwise of railways for China, memorials have recently been invited from no less than thirteen high officials, and in a majority of cases the replies received have been eminently favourable to the scheme. The memorial of H. E. Liu Ming Chuan, the Governor of Formosa, on the question, is of such an interesting and important character that I have thought it well to translate it accurately and literally for the benefit of my readers.

MEMORIAL OF H. E. LIU MING CHUAN, GOVERNOR OF FORMOSA, ON THE RAILWAYS OF CHINA.

Liu Ming Chuan, Governor of Formosa, presents this memorial to the Throne, with the purpose of once more stating his narrow views and meagre opinions on the question of railways in China, and begs for His Imperial Majesty's sacred glance thereon.

Your Majesty's memorialist, on the 16th day of the 2nd moon of the 15th year of Kwang Hsü (7th March, 1889), received from the Council of State an official letter, stating that a gracious decree had been reverentially received on the 15th day of the first moon (14th of February 1889), from Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Dowager Tsze Hsi, in which Her Majesty said:—

'Some time ago the Yamên of naval affairs requested, in a memorial, permission to extend the construction of a railway from Tientsin to T'ungchow, and in reply we issued a decree, approving the proposed extension, and granting the requisite permission.

'Subsequently the censor, Yü Lian Yüan and others, memorialised the Throne at different times, recommending that the construction of the railway line should be suspended. We thereupon referred the matter to the Yamên of naval affairs and the Council of State, commanding them to deliberate conjointly on the question, and to present a further memorial in reply.

'Now the Yamên and the Council, having consulted and deliberated together on the subject, submitted a lucid statement in a series of articles. We have carefully perused this statement and studied it article by article, observing the elaborate nature of the arguments therein contained, and their significant bearing on the question, and have arrived at the conclusion that they have successfully controverted the plausible, though fallacious, views of the censor and his adherents.

'The inauguration of railways in China cannot, however, be too fully considered, and as the Ministers of the Court have never applied their minds to the exigencies of coast defence, their words on the matter are apt to fall wide of the mark. But the various commanders-in-chief, viceroys, and governors have been personally concerned in the active administration of the provinces under their jurisdiction, and have necessarily studied the question of coast-defence in all its bearings, and have acquired settled and sound ideas after long practical observation.

'We, therefore, command them to set forth their respective views on the requirements of the present time, speedily replying to our inquiries and submitting, for our selection, any measures which it may occur to them to suggest.'

After reverentially receiving this decree, the Council of State forwarded to the memorialist copies of all the memorials and short petitions that have been laid before the Throne, and having, in obedience to the Imperial command, perused the joint memorial of the Yamên of naval affairs, and the Council of State, the memorialist finds their arguments are to the point and tally with his own opinions. He feels that there is in reality no further need for discussion, but being commanded to express his own views, the memorialist begs to deal with the three special arguments against railways which have been adduced. They are: (*a*) Affording assistance to enemies. (*b*) Interfering with the interests of the people. (*c*) Adversely affecting existing industries. These three arguments the memorialist will examine, and discuss respectfully for the hearing of the Emperor.

The countries of the world can only be brought into a state of general harmony by the establishment of uniform conditions. The five continents being so extensive in territorial magnitude, great is the difficulty of holding them in union, hence the introduction of railways and telegraphs. The employment of the same motive forces would tend to unite the Middle Kingdom and foreign countries in the same family of nations, making the whole world one united whole.

The Imperial Court has repeatedly issued decrees inviting schemes for the enrichment and strengthening of the country.

If, after mature deliberation, we could find anything to surpass the railway in practical utility, why should we trouble to imitate the western people, and thus incur the odium of the populace? But, meditating on the exigencies of offence and defence, we find that there is nothing to surpass the railway scheme in practical utility.

Ten years ago the memorialist addressed the Throne on the introduction of railways but without avail, owing to exaggerated counter representations. Now, however, a sagacious ruler is on the throne and, supported by the princes and Ministers of the Court, holds decided views, and resolves upon carrying out the railway project. The memorialist claps his hands in joy thereat, feeling that such a step will probably bring about the immediate enrichment and strengthening of his country.

He would never have thought that anyone could entertain a misgiving that railways would facilitate the encroachments of enemies. The manufacture of firearms has improved day by day, and seaports and fortresses are no longer impregnable. Austria, France, Russia, and Germany are linked one with the other like the teeth of dogs, and their iron roads extend lengthwise and crosswise into the capitals of one and the others, and these capitals have no chêng yuan (city walls).

If it could be said that because any of these countries can send troops speedily by railway to the city gate of another, pretexts must arise for quarrels, then the various countries which ever regard each other with suspicion would incessantly be at war, and the stronger powers would swallow up the weaker ones. How is it then that we so often hear of issues being settled on the sea and seldom under the city walls of belligerents?

Some there are who say that it is the dangers of our mountains and streams, the tangled depths of our forests and the obstructions of our ditches, which our enemies hold in awe, but that with railways in existence, the day will come when our enemies will be able to transport their arms and ammunition into our midst by means of our own railways.

If these statements are made on the supposition that our harbour at Taku is capable of defence, are our officers wooden idols to allow any such arrangements to be carried out? If, on the other hand, they argue on the hypothesis that the harbour is captured, then our foes would have no difficulties in marching directly to Peking, even if there be no iron road, seeing that the intervening country of 200 odd li between Tientsin and Tungchow is all perfectly level. As to the mountains, streams, forests, and ditches, the memorialist has traversed the country and saw none that could obstruct a foe; why then should these foes be so timorous as to dread them?

The harbour at Taku is the door of the capital, and on the defence or capture of that harbour must the safety or peril of the capital depend. Consequently these two points should be in communication, and therefore the memorialist is of opinion that it will be an excellent plan if the railway be carried to Peking. In time of war, the safeguard of the capital will be the strong forces of Tientsin and Taku. If the railway were in existence in time of peace the troops of the Shen chi Ying (*i.e.* the Imperial Field Force), and the soldiers of the different regiments stationed at the harbour, could be brought together for drill, and form one body for defence. In case of emergency they would then be auxiliary to each other, and their moral strength would be doubly strong, and so would they be better able to resist the attacks of enemies.

It is therefore a mistake for the opponents of railways to declare that they would prove the auxiliary of our enemies.

It is further suspected that railways would interfere with the interests of the people, but granting that railways are closely related with the conveyance of troops and defence of our country, the removal of a few houses and disturbance of a few graveyards are not of such consequence as to trouble us—no! not even if it is a question of two or three hundred such. We must consider the weighty and important as well as the trifling, and must not suffer idle objections to interrupt great schemes.

Moreover it constantly occurs that tombs are removed from certain places and bodies reinterred; what harm then does it do even to those who believe in Fêng Shui, especially when adequate compensation is made for the expenses of removal. To make warlike preparations in times of peace is not remote from the achievement of victory in war, and human rulers, when resolved on conquest, must disregard the sacrifice of life and treasure which they are obliged to make.

At the present time strong neighbours surround us, who dare to quarrel with us, thinking to avail themselves of our unprepared state; but if we spread iron roads throughout the important localities along our coast line, the troops of one pro-

vince will serve to strengthen other provinces, and when the alarm of war is raised in one province the energetic assistance of other provinces will be directed thereto.

Only when able to defend themselves can nations wage war, and only by warlike preparations while there is yet no war, can war be averted. Foreigners, knowing well when to approach and when to avoid, will not brave the winds and billows of the sea to incur the disaster of defeat themselves. Thus peace may be depended on to perpetuate our divinely established dynasty for myriads of years, and tranquillity throughout our land will secure the lives of millions in safety.

Thus we see that for the protection of the people's interests, nothing can equal the railway.

Moreover, it is an error on the part of the objectors to say that railways will adversely affect the occupations of the people.

After the practical abandonment of transport by the Grand Canal, conveyance was transferred to seagoing vessels, and since the introduction of steam navigation, almost all our merchants and traders have availed themselves of transport by sea. The sparse population of the northern provinces and the deserted appearance of the hostelries and inns of that region, show that the prosperity and contentment of the people have for many years ceased to be as they were in the reigns of Chia Ching and Tao Kuang. If iron roads can be constructed from T'ungchow to Ching Huai then the conveyance of goods will be relieved from the danger of being sunk, and travellers will avoid the miseries of the winds and billows. Before many years the carrying trade will be transferred from the sea to the inland route. Thus can we wrest from foreigners their gains for the benefit of our own people, and when they see there is no longer any profit to be made, they will abandon the attempt and return discouraged to their own countries.

Certain opponents of the railway scheme declare that cart owners and drivers would be deprived of their occupation! Others assert that the railways would take the food from the boat-owners and their crews! These objectors, however, ignore the fact that iron roads are only to be established as a main line of transportation, and that in the numerous streams and waterways branching out therefrom boats will be still able to ply as before, and amongst the crowded villages and townships carts will still continue to carry their loads as heretofore.

Take the Yangtze river as an illustration. Although steamers pass to and fro without cessation, it has never been alleged that the boating population has ceased to have anything to do but wait for death!

Therefore there is nothing to be compared with railways as a means of increasing the support of the people.

Again, it has been objected that iron roads are an innovation, not having existed since the creation of the world, and not having been introduced by our ancestors. Those who say this do not recognise the fact that human affairs must change in accordance with heavenly principles, which no man may control. The men of to-day are not the men of times gone by, nor can the policy of the present dynasty be the policy of ancient dynasties.

It is said that all affairs must be in accordance with established rules, but how can we derive any advantage from the King Tien, that ancient system of taxation, or from the use of archery, although it is highly honoured by our dynasty.

The processes of manufacture are daily approaching nearer to perfection in Europe, and China has commenced to follow slowly in Europe's footsteps. If now she continues to miss her opportunities by hesitation as of old, the day will come when trouble will arise, and finding peace or war equally disastrous, how will she be able to hold her own?

The memorialist saw it stated in a Russian newspaper, the year before last, that the Czar intended to construct another iron road of 6,100 li from Tomsk to the city of Tchita, which is about 600 li from Heilungchiang on the Amoor river. A German merchant subsequently informed the memorialist that, with respect to

this railway, the Czar had given orders that the navvies should complete 10 li of the permanent way daily, so that the whole line would be completed in two years. Although we cannot know exactly when this scheme will be carried out, it is clearly visible that the mouths of the Russians are watering after our eastern provinces.

Now, while China and Russia are still at peace it is absolutely necessary to make preparations: if we wait until the outbreak occurs subsequent regrets will be unavailing. Moreover such preparation cannot be effected without the assistance of iron roads.

It is further objected that foreign countries regard commerce as the national mainstay, and in the development of commercial interests seek to strengthen the national power, whereas China depends upon the support of her people and relies upon a benevolent home policy for the security and strengthening of the nation.

Those who think thus seem to ignore the fact that the merchants are the people, and commercial interests the affairs of the people, so that the development of commerce is the most real way of showing benevolence to the people.

The memorialist would draw the Emperor's attention to another matter. The population of China is daily on the increase, and the number of those who possess land to cultivate is small. The difficulty of earning a livelihood is therefore great, and there is ground for anxiety lest the accomplishment of urgent measures may have to be postponed through lack of means. If then we would increase our strength we must first enrich ourselves, and before we can enrich ourselves we must develop our commercial interests. In Western countries the officials and the mercantile classes are united, and subordinates have no sentiments that cannot be communicated to their superiors. But in China the officials and merchants are separated, and subordinates have many grievances which they cannot lay before their superiors. The memorialist has heard that when on a former occasion a loan was raised through the medium of foreign merchants, most of the money belonged to the Chinese people, who bribed foreigners to act for them in the transaction.

To promote the welfare of the country is to promote the welfare of the people, and the existence of an obstructive barrier between the official and mercantile classes is not calculated to raise China from her numerous weaknesses, or to rescue her from her long-existent poverty.

The memorialist is of opinion that now is the time for China to change the strings and emerge from the old grooves, and strenuously exert herself in the accomplishment of great reforms; and that, in order to encourage and foster commercial interests, as is absolutely necessary, high officials of clear judgment and indubitable integrity should be specially appointed to take charge of commercial affairs. Such matters as the cultivation of tea and silk, coal and iron mining, agriculture and manufacture, should be undertaken by companies and wealthy people, who must supply their own capital and administer their concerns under such rules as are equitable and expedient. Officials should not concern themselves with the financial arrangements of such concerns, nor interfere otherwise than to prevent injustice to the enterprise or improper restrictions at the hands of others.

When the inland administration of railways has been successfully achieved, then the enterprise may be extended to the frontier provinces, and after the active circulation of merchandise throughout the Middle Kingdom has been effected the traffic will be extended to foreign countries.

China excels all other countries in the value of her products of a hundred kinds, and after persevering in our efforts for several tens of years, we shall have secured the abundant happiness of the people, and shall have no equal among the kingdoms of the world. This policy of developing commerce and preparing for war must bring other nations into submission to us. Those who do not extort from the people, cannot but enrich the people: moreover it is not in order to compete among our own people for profit, but rather to rival our enemies, that we should inaugurate

railways, and this matter is of such importance that the memorialist prays for the Emperor's sacred decision thereon.

After the memorialist had been entrusted with the defence of Formosa, the French forces invaded and invested Keelung, and but for the Emperor's awful might, as manifested in the victory at Hu Wei, the whole of Formosa would have been lost. For this reason, as soon as peace was concluded, the memorialist immediately sought permission to construct an iron road in Formosa. He was fully aware that the ruggedness of the mountains, the difficulties of the streams, the necessity for boring tunnels, paving roads, and constructing bridges at enormous cost, would make the enterprise far more laborious and expensive than would be the case on the mainland, but he spared no toil and heeded no complaints, proceeding in undaunted fashion to carry out his task. His reason for undertaking the enterprise was that Formosa, being surrounded on all sides by the sea, was at the mercy of enemies, who could land at any point they chose without any possibility of checking them. With the railway completed, however, all points would be closely connected, as the head and tail of an animal by the bones of its body. Therefore the advantages of such an enterprise for insular defence cannot be overestimated.

Human nature delights in the completion of an undertaking, but is unwilling to participate in its inception. In the suppression of the long-haired rebels the use of native gingals and muzzle-loading cannon was advocated by the Hunan generals, who, persisting in their stereotyped views, condemned the foreign breech-loading guns as of no value.

Reason with them as one might, they would not be convinced until we pitched our camps against the French forces. Then they began to realise what could be effected by Gatling guns and Lee rifles, and to appreciate their formidable effects at distant ranges, being at last convinced that the memorialist's words were not fallacious.

So those who now condemn the iron roads will one day be the loudest to extol their utility.

The memorialist humbly entreats the Emperor to come to a gracious decision and proclaim clearly to the officials and people that railways are an urgent necessity for the preservation of peace within, and the repulsion of invasion from abroad; that they are not for the benefit of one age, but for the benefit of a myriad ages to come; that they are not for the aggrandisement of one or two people, but for the common weal of thousands and tens of thousands.

If public opinion be unanimous the energies of the mercantile classes will be stimulated, and as practical results become evident the unimportant arguments of opponents will melt away of their own accord.

The memorialist, who is entrusted with the administration of a province, realises clearly the difficulties which beset the Empire, and dares not remain silent. He, therefore, reverentially submits his views, humbly begging for the Emperor's sacred glance, and for His Imperial Majesty's instructions thereon.

The memorialist respectfully presents this memorial.

It will be seen from the foregoing, that His Excellency Liu throws the whole weight of his valuable influence into the scale in favour of extending the existing railway system to its utmost possible limits, holding that a scheme of such excellent utility to the nation generally must not be hampered by the obstructive notions of a comparatively small number of the community. The keynote of his memorial is the defence of the Celestial Empire against the encroachment of foreign foes; and this, he maintains, can only be substantially effected with the aid of iron roads.

His Excellency the Viceroy Chang Chih Tung is also favourably

inclined to railway enterprise, but he is mainly influenced by a policy of protection to native industries. His Excellency, in his memorial to the Throne, points with alarm to the great preponderance of imports over exports in China, a state of things which he considers inimical to the real interests of the people. He would, by every possible means, foster and improve native industries, and to this end he recognises the necessity of employing foreign methods and foreign machinery. As this cannot be properly effected with the existing means of transport, His Excellency concurs with his colleagues in recommending the construction of railways. He enters very fully into the question as to which routes shall be adopted, and does not, for the time being, favour the extension of the existing line to T'ungchow; but, on the other hand, he strongly recommends the construction of a line from Tang Shan to Shan Hai Kuan as of great strategical value.

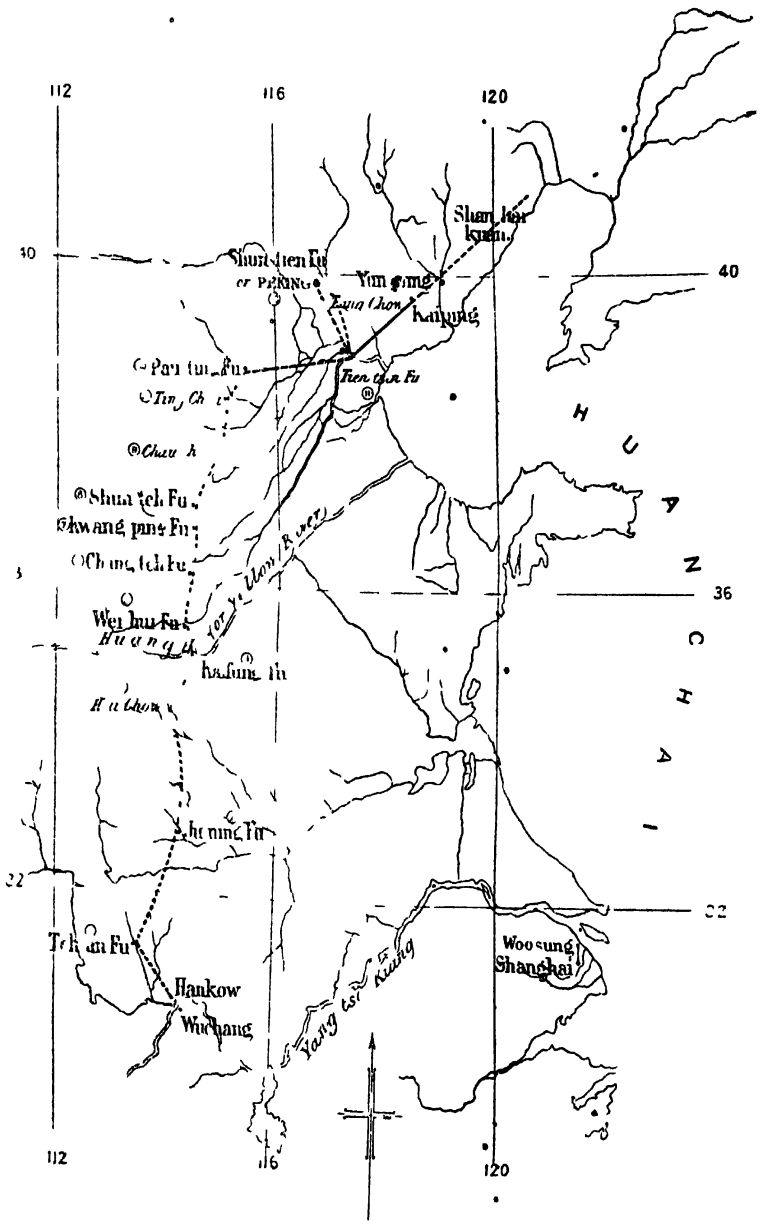
With regard to the great trunk line from Peking to Hankow, His Excellency is of opinion that it should be constructed in four sections as follows:—

From Peking to Chen Ting Fu; from Chen Ting Fu to the Yellow River; thence to Sing Yang Chow; and lastly from Sing Yang Chow to Hankow.

He calculates that every li (one-third of a mile) of iron road will cost between 1,250*l.* and 1,500*l.*, and that each section will entail the expenditure of close on 1,000,000*l.* The line will take eight years in building, and the money requisite for each year's work will consequently be about 500,000*l*, a sum which His Excellency thinks should be raised without difficulty among the Chinese in the following way. The railway company shall be permitted to borrow, temporarily, from merchants such money as may be required to meet urgent needs; and in the meantime they shall invite subscriptions for shares, and the Provincial Treasurers, Salt Commissioners, and Customs' Taotais shall be authorised to issue certificates for such shares under their official seals.

With regard to the material to be employed in the construction of the proposed line, His Excellency is averse to the use of foreign steel, &c., as being contrary to his policy of fostering native industries. He suggests that the iron ore of Ping Ting Chow, Tze Chou Fu, and Lu Gnan Fu should be employed for the manufacture of the required steel, but, as this may not be immediately practicable, foreign iron may be employed for the construction of the first section. His Excellency advocates this course as likely to give a needed impetus to native manufacturers, thereby enriching the people, although he admits that Chinese iron may be inferior in quality to foreign and produced at a greater cost.

It will thus be seen that their Excellencies Liu and Chang, though differing as to the routes which the proposed railways shall


112
116
120
40
36
32
Shun-tien Fu
or PEKING
Yung Ching
Tien tsin Fu
Shwang pang Fu
Wei hui Fu
Hwang ho
Hwai king Fu
Hu Chow
Shanghai
Woosung
Shanghai
Hankow
Wuchang
Yang tse Kiang
HUAN CHAI

follow, are at one on the great question of the absolute necessity for their construction; and it may here be mentioned that the views of His Excellency, Li Hung Chang, the famous and distinguished Viceroy of Chih Li, coincide with those of the Governor of Formosa.

I have endeavoured to show the steps by which our beneficent rulers have arrived at the conclusion that railways have at last become necessary for the general welfare of the Middle Kingdom, and I will now trace briefly the route that will probably be followed by the Peking-Hankow line, touching lightly on the bounteous resources that will be opened up in its progress. It is as yet too early to assert positively that there will be no divergence from that route, but it is the long-established one for the despatch of Government messages, and sooner or later the iron road must link together the great industrial centres that mark its course in one continuous chain.[1]

The principal cities between Hankow and Peking are thirteen in number, viz.: (1) Têh-an Fu, (2) Ju-ning Fu, (3) Hsü Chow, (4) Kaifung Fu, (5) Wei-hui Fu, (6) Chang Têh Fu, (7) Kwang-ping Fu, (8) Shun-têh Fu, (9) Chau-chou, (10) Ting-chou, (11) Tien-tsin Fu, (12) Pau-ting Fu, (13) Shun-tien Fu.

In the limited space at my command, it would be obviously impossible to describe very fully these important places; I must, therefore, confine myself to giving a list compiled exclusively from Chinese sources, of the products contributed by each to the commerce of the country.

Hankow has been selected as a terminus for the projected line, not so much as being itself a great producing or manufacturing centre, but because it is so situated as to form a general distributing point for foreign goods throughout the interior, and it is, at the same time, one of the busiest ports from which Chinese native products may be, as indeed they are now to a great extent, despatched to the four corners of the world. The trade of Hankow for the year 1888 amounted in value to 35,590,882 taels, or over 9,000,000*l.* sterling, and this trade, it must be remembered, was carried on with all the disadvantages of ineffectual and tardy transportation. The principal imports which Hankow received for distribution are cotton and woollen goods and metals, while tea, especially for the Russian market, constitutes the staple export, and when the connection between the Russian frontier and Hankow by rail has been fully established, as it surely will be before long, the whole of the tea-carrying trade will be done by means of the iron road. Hankow has, moreover, an extensive and increasing trade in bean cake, beans and peas for consumption among the Chinese themselves, and this, too, is much hampered by the costliness and inadequacy of existing means of transport.

Têh-an in Hupeh is in no sense a manufacturing centre, but it is

[1] See Map.

one of the chief sources from which the valuable medicines so largely used by my people are derived.

When the railway leaves Hupeh and traverses the province of Honan it will encounter the greatest engineering difficulty of its entire course, viz., the crossing of the turbulent Huang Ho (Yellow River), known so generally as 'China's Sorrow.' There are many people to be met with who believe this obstacle insurmountable, but I have devoted a great part of my time, since I came to England in 1877, to the study of engineering, and I am firmly convinced that, by utilising bridges constructed on Mr. Benjamin Baker's cantilever system or Schneider's Channel bridge, the railway may be carried over the river; moreover the geological formation of this district leads me to think that Sir Edward Watkin's idea of the Channel Tunnel might here be utilised to advantage; so perhaps we may see the iron horse passing under the Yellow River before the South Eastern Railway has running powers over the 'Chemin de Fer du Nord' of France.

From Téh-an the line will proceed to Ju-ning in Honan, which is of far more importance commercially speaking than the last-named place, producing as it does, even with the meagre appliances now at its command, a very superior description of hemp cloth much affected by all classes during the hot weather, on account of its lightness and durability.

Hsu-chou, Kai Feng, and Hwei-hui, all in Honan, produce silk, felt, and porcelain in large quantities, while the first-named also possesses iron fields of great importance, as does Chang-Teh in the same province. Silver too is found in large quantities in Chang-Téh, which is, besides, a brisk trade centre for paper, wine, and cotton.

Leaving Honan the railway will enter Chih-li; and Kwang-ping, Shun-téh, Chau-chou, and Ting-chou produce, in common, silk, oil-cloths, felt, and a common kind of porcelain. Ting-chou is further celebrated for the production of a well-known eye medicine known as Ting-chou yen-yao, the marvellous healing properties of which are famed throughout the world.

Tientsin has no manufactures with the exception of straw braid, but it produces salt in enormous quantities, and it is also from here that the delicious fish, which, both fresh and dried, forms so favourite a food staple in my country, is derived.

Pau-ting Fu is in a great silk district, and also possesses extensive iron fields.

Shun-tien Fu produces excellent coal in great quantities, and it is also famous for its fruit, which is much appreciated in the south of China, but is almost unobtainable, owing to the tardiness and costliness of transport.

Peking is, as most of my readers are aware, quite unconnected with commercial enterprise; but, being the capital of the great Celestial

Empire, it is naturally the most fitting centre from which the railway lines should stretch themselves out in all directions until they have embraced the whole country in their stimulating clasp.

Having now indicated the steps by which China has become favourable to iron roads, and attempted to show the kind of country which will be opened up to modern enterprise by these roads, nothing remains to be considered but the financial aspect of the question; and although to those who are not thoroughly conversant with my country this very question of finance may seem to offer almost insuperable difficulties, this is far from being in reality the case. It is true that there may be great differences of opinion as to the manner in which the requisite funds for so gigantic an undertaking should be raised so as best to consult the interests of the Chinese people, but these differences will assuredly be arranged, and the money will, with equal certainty, be forthcoming when required.

His Excellency Chang Chih Tung, in his beneficent policy of protecting Chinese interests to the exclusion of all others, has, as my readers may remember, suggested certain methods which have received the Imperial sanction, and His Excellency has himself been entrusted with the carrying out of the scheme on these lines; but I am of opinion that His Excellency's views cannot in the present state of China be carried out in their entirety, although they are framed in a way which reflects the highest honour on this distinguished statesman.

It will, I think, be found impossible to utilise material obtained from native sources for some few years to come, and this initial line must be built with material from beyond four seas. When once this trunk line has been laid down, and mining appliances have by its means been brought to the magnificent mineral fields that abound in my country, and about which I hope to write fully later, there will be no lack of native material for the construction of subsequent lines; but we must wait patiently until that time arrives and in the meantime utilise the foreigner's methods and materials for our needs.

With regard to the requisite funds for this enterprise two ways of raising the money suggest themselves, that of His Excellency Chang—viz. to raise at intervals, in a series of small loans, the money required; and, secondly, to contract one large loan to cover the whole cost. I am of opinion that the former method is preferable, though I fear even these small loans cannot be raised exclusively from Chinese sources. If this be the case our beneficent authorities will doubtless devise a plan by which foreigners and natives may coalesce to carry out this grand undertaking in such a manner as not to injuriously affect our own people.

It is, however, far beyond the scope of an article like the present one to indicate, with any approach to authority the details of so stupendous a scheme, nor should I presume to venture any decided

opinion, when the great minds of my own and foreign countries are alike engaged in trying to evolve the best and easiest methods for carrying out railway construction in China; and I will conclude by pointing out the advisability of establishing a separate central body, analogous to our existing Board of Admiralty, whose duty it shall be to consider and decide on all questions relating to railways, and who shall be directly responsible to the Throne for their satisfactory construction and administration. Such a board should be composed of a few—say, five or seven—of our most enlightened statesmen, under the presidency of a high authority, who again should be personally responsible for the honesty and efficiency of his department. In order to secure the advantage of expert knowledge, an engineer of eminence should be engaged to act as advising officer to the board, and the remuneration and honour attached to the office should be of such a character as to ensure its acceptance by a first-rate man whose rectitude must be beyond question. To facilitate the transactions of the board, which must for the time being be largely connected with foreign countries, it might be advisable to employ a foreign secretary for the present in conjunction with a Chinese official who is well acquainted with foreign languages and foreign methods, and who eventually may be expected to supersede his foreign colleague.

All this, however, is a matter of minor importance, and may be left for the present with this brief mention.

We have, in their excellencies Li-Hung Chang, Chang Chih Tung, Liu Ming Chuan, and the Marquis Tsêng, four patriotic and enlightened statesmen who may safely be entrusted with the task of guiding the Celestial Empire through the tortuous paths that invariably beset all much-to-be-desired goals, and to their hands we may readily commit the reins, feeling assured that, now it has been officially decided that railways shall be laid down in the Middle Kingdom, it is but a question of days ere that decision be thoroughly and effectually carried out.

FUNG YEE,
Late Secretary of the Chinese Legation in London.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing was written a telegram from Shanghai has been published in a London morning paper to the effect that his Excellency Chang Chih Tung has signified his desire to vacate his new post, owing to financial difficulties. This news, *if true*, does not in any way affect the conclusions arrived at by me, as there is no reasonable doubt that any trifling difficulties which may have arisen are susceptible of adjustment, and his Excellency's valuable services are far too well known and appreciated in my country to admit of the possibility of their being permanently dispensed with. Moreover, the appointment of a Board constituted on the lines above indicated would materially lighten the burden of responsibility imposed on any individual, a burden which, seeing the magnitude and importance of the proposed undertaking, might well crush any statesman, however energetic and enlightened he might be.—FUNG YEE.

PLAY AND PLAYERS ON THE RIVIERA.

LOGAN, whose fame as a poet chiefly rests upon his beautiful 'Address to the Cuckoo,' longed to fly with it in order to have no winter in his year, and to enjoy a perpetual spring by moving from one favoured spot of the globe to another. Those who possess enough money may now enjoy spring weather every day they live.

In the winter of 1768, Horace Walpole wrote to his friend, Sir Horace Mann, at Florence, that 'the best sun we have is made of Newcastle coal, and I am determined never to reckon upon any other.' Since Walpole's time thousands can afford to go to the south for their sun in winter, instead of buying a substitute for it in England. Hence, when the days shorten in this country and the skies become like the smoked glass through which the sun is looked at while an eclipse is in progress, when the air is heavy with moisture and particles of soot, and life in great English cities is a painful struggle for existence among the ailing rich as well as the able-bodied poor, those who can afford the money, and who are neither Cabinet Ministers nor editors, may depart for some sunny clime where the cuckoo or the swallow can feel at home.

Though India and Africa attract some of the seekers after pleasure or health in the winter months, the majority of my countrymen, who then voluntarily expatriate themselves, proceed to the French or the Italian Riviera, filling the hotels and villas from Hyères to Spezia, and making their mother-tongue resound among the people whose speech is Italian or French. The favourite winter resort for many foreigners is Nice, and though its climate it not the most balmy, the city itself has charms for visitors from America and all parts of Europe. Its population is not much under eighty thousand. As in other large French cities, there is a plentiful supply of amusements there. Even in the olden days, when Nice was a small Italian city, it was more frequented by strangers than any other spot on the Riviera. When Smollett arrived at Nice in November 1763, and took up his abode there during ten months for the sake of his health, the population was 12,000 only, yet it seemed to him that the city was overcrowded. He liked it, however, and he thus expressed his feelings at the middle of January 1764:—

When I stand upon the rampart and look around me, I can scarce help thinking myself enchanted. The small extent of country which I see is all cultivated like

a garden. Indeed, the plain presents nothing but gardens, full of green trees, loaded with oranges, lemons, citrons and bergamots, which make a delightful appearance. If you examine them more nearly, you will find plantations of green pease ready to gather, all sorts of sallading and pot-herbs in perfection, and plots of roses, carnations, ranunculas, anemonies and daffodils blowing in full glory, with such beauty, vigour, and perfume as no flower in England ever exhibited. I must tell you that presents of carnations are sent from hence in the winter to Turin and Paris—nay, sometimes as far as London, by the post.

This seductive picture of Nice, as it was in the winter of 1764, does not represent the Nice which now exists, any more than the picture of the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost* represents that drawn in the old Bibles to which Macaulay refers in a well-known passage.

Since Smollett visited Nice the changes there have been striking and comprehensive. Then the city belonged to the kingdom of Sardinia; now it forms a part of the French Republic. Then the journey to it from London was longer, more fatiguing, and more hazardous than it now is from London to Constantinople. Now the traveller can breakfast in London late on the morning of one day and dine at Nice on the following day. He can journey luxuriously as well as rapidly, yet he may begrudge the charge. In this country and America the same distance can be traversed by rail in equal comfort for a much smaller sum. The extra fare is upwards of five pounds; if a similar train were run in this country or America for a like distance, the extra fare in a sleeping car would not exceed fifteen shillings. As the Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean railway has no competitor, its directors can exact what they please, those who decline to travel by the best train having to undergo excessive and organised discomfort in an ordinary carriage. Still, exorbitant though the charge may be, it is true that the facility of passing between London and Nice is now so great that, if Smollett had been told it would be provided, he might have regarded the speaker either as a candidate for a lunatic asylum, or else as an unhappy person who had escaped from one.

If anyone were to stand now on or near the spot in Nice where Smollett saw such a magical spectacle as that which he described, the sight would be pronounced the reverse of beautiful. Where gardens, filled with rare and beautiful flowers and fruit, met Smollett's eye, the spectator now beholds ranges of streets filled with houses entirely devoid of architectural beauty. The Nice in which Smollett dwelt is seldom frequented by the strangers who pass the winter in the city bearing the same name. The modern city is distinct and different from the ancient one. I may note that the parcel post which now conveys flowers from Nice to Paris and London is not so modern a device as many persons imagine. Now, however, the flowers which are brought by it are not confined to carnations.

Though there are clubs at Nice to which strangers can gain admission, and in which they can play at *baccara* during the greater part of the twenty-four hours; though the best plays and operas are

given in the theatre; though the casino forms a pleasant lounge and affords the opportunity of losing money by playing at the game called 'Little Horses;' though a good band performs in the open air daily when the weather is fine, and though the balls and dinner parties given in the evening are many in number, there is a marked tendency among the strangers in Nice to take the train and pass several hours daily at some other place. Why they do so, and what the place is to which they go, will be stated after I have described some of the other winter resorts along the Riviera.

Cannes is conspicuous among these fashionable winter resorts. It was a small fishing village when Smollett posted along the Riviera in 1763. When De Saussure visited it in 1787, he found that it was composed of two or three streets inhabited almost entirely by sailors and fishermen. Unless the streets which he saw, and which still remain, have grown worse in their sanitary arrangements—a thing which is improbable—it may be inferred that in bygone years Cannes was a very malodorous as well as an unimportant fishing village. A fishing village it might be still, had not Lord Brougham stopped there in 1834. He was then posting to Italy. There had been cases of cholera in France, and the Sardinian authorities would not allow Brougham to cross the frontier, thinking, probably, that he would bring the cholera with him. His compulsory halt at Cannes had the result of inducing him to build a villa there, and spend many months in it each year afterwards.

When Lord Brougham died at Cannes in 1868, and was buried in the cemetery there, the fishing village of his earlier years had grown to be a place of note, with a population not far short of 20,000, a place in which there were beautiful villas by the hundred, and sumptuous hotels by the dozen, a place where many aristocratic and wealthy families of France and England passed the winter.

The death of the Duke of Albany at Cannes, in 1884, made its name familiar to many English persons who may not have had any knowledge of it before. Not members of aristocratic families only, but plain English and French men and women who have the misfortune to be invalids, are now accustomed to seek relief at Cannes year after year, where the climate is said to be health-giving and where ten doctors are ready to benefit them with advice. There are two clubs. In one of them, the *Cercle Nautique*, special provision is made for the members risking their money at *baccara*, while there is plenty of gaiety at Cannes during the season. Many visitors take the morning train which runs as far as the Italian frontier, and they return by the train which arrives at Cannes near midnight. A loadstone draws visitors away from Cannes as well as from Nice.

The distance between Cannes and Nice is about twenty miles: fifteen and a half miles by rail in an eastward direction brings one to Mentone, which is now the frontier town between France and Italy.

Sixteen and a quarter miles beyond Mentone, on the way to Genoa, is San Remo, where the good German Emperor Frederick, who lived long enough for his fame but far too short a time for his country, struggled during the last winter of his life with the malady which carried him off in the heyday of his years. On the same line of rail, and about half-way between San Remo and the Italian frontier, lies Bordighera, a place where palm trees are cultivated, and where invalids who watch the process have to cultivate the virtue of patience. Bordighera is emphatically a quiet place. It is true that the waves breaking upon the shingly beach make a constant din; but the sound may not please some visitors or stay their longing for another form of excitement. Though San Remo is much larger, the life there is not much livelier than at Bordighera. At it, as at Mentone and Bordighera, the visitors are expected to find all the pleasure that is good for them in taking walks, or riding on donkeys. At each of these places, as at Cannes and Nice, the number of visitors leaving by train in the morning, and returning in the evening, causes the inquiring observer to wonder why they do so. If a question on the subject be put on a Thursday, when the number is always the largest, the answer will be that a classical concert at Monte Carlo is the attraction. It is noteworthy that many of the persons who journey to Monte Carlo from Cannes, Nice, Mentone, Bordighera, and San Remo, to enjoy the classical music on Thursdays, for which no charge is made, find on returning that, whereas they had money in their pockets in the morning, the only thing left in the evening is their return tickets.

Whether the place which visitors to the Riviera in winter select as a place of sojourn be any of those named above or another which has either the repute of greater cheapness or the charm of finer scenery, the probability of a single visit or of repeated visits being paid by them to Monte Carlo is far greater than that they will be favoured with fine weather during the whole of their stay.

I am aware that differences of opinion prevail concerning the epithet to apply to Monte Carlo, and I shall attempt neither to devise a new one nor to determine what is absolutely appropriate. Those who know the place the best already, or who learn about it from what I am about to tell, can judge for themselves whether it should be described as the 'Beauty-spot' or the 'Plague-spot' of the Riviera, whether its natural beauties atone for its artificial drawbacks, or whether its abominations are so flagrant as to be an absolute bar to the enjoyment of its beauties.

The Principality of Monaco, in which Monte Carlo is situated, has a history extending over seven centuries, and an area extending over nine square miles. It has always been an ambitious and impecunious Principality. At one time, indeed, its boundaries were much wider than they now are, and the alliance of its rulers used to be

desired and cherished by great kings and emperors. Towards the end of the last century it was incorporated with France, and it did not become independent again till Bonaparte lost his power and France her acquisitions. During the eclipse of Monaco's independence, the palace in which its princes had entertained popes and other rulers, of whom the Emperor Charles the Fifth was the most renowned, was converted, first into a hospital for wounded French soldiers, and next into an asylum for French paupers.

Charles the Second and James the Second of England were on terms of close intimacy with the princes who ruled over Monaco. The Duke of York, brother of George the Third, died in the palace there, and Prince Honoré the Third of Monaco, who had soothed his last hours, was not only thanked for his generous hospitality and rewarded with gifts, but he also became the guest of George the Third, and was the object of much hospitality and attention during the two months that he spent in England.

For six months during the first quarter of the present century Monaco was occupied by an English force in order to preserve it from the rapacity of the first Napoleon. The third Napoleon was a professed friend of the late Prince of Monaco, and succeeded in acquiring from him the towns of Roccabruna, Mentone, and the land surrounding them, which constituted the most fertile part of his territory. Thus the Principality has shrunk to an area not exceeding nine square miles, wherein the rock upon which the old city of Monaco stands is the most conspicuous object, and of which the suburbs, called the Condamine, Monte Carlo, and Les Moulins, are the parts most frequented by strangers.

In the lives of rulers over kingdoms or principalities, as of private persons, the question has often to be answered: 'How am I to live?' A ruler, especially an autocratic one like the Prince of Monaco or the Czar of Russia, needs not to concern himself about house or house-rent, a most important problem in the calculation of ordinary men and women, or even as to how to get enough wherewith to buy raiment and to satisfy his hunger and thirst. A sovereign prince may retire from business through choice or under compulsion: but, at the worst, there is no likelihood of his having to apply for admission into a workhouse. King Theodore the First of Corsica was imprisoned for debt, but his case is wholly exceptional. Yet a ruler who dwells in a palace, and has obedient subjects, may be straitened for money, and that was the case with Prince Florestan of Monaco in 1856. He and his immediate predecessors had taxed their subjects so ruthlessly that many of them revolted, and those who remained faithful could scarcely manage to exist. In the days of Florestan the First, Monaco was as wretched a place as Cannes was when seen by Smollett in 1763, by De Saussure in 1787, and by Brougham in 1834. Roccabruna and Mentone had declared their independence,

and the inhabitants of Mentone were beginning to cultivate what has become its chief industry, that of climate, and one which, under the fostering care of Dr. Henry Bennet, has proved to be far more lucrative than cultivating lemon trees or vines, making rude articles of pottery, or catching sardines.

Florestan the First of Monaco not only required funds wherewith to live in luxury, but also to carry on the government of his principality. The most devoted subject declines to serve his ruler for nothing, and even if the subject be a man of large means he expects to be well paid for his services. Washington refused to accept a salary when acting as commander-in-chief during the American war, and while President of the Republic of the United States of America; but in this respect, as in others, Washington is a unique character in history.

While Prince Florestan was despairing how to answer the question satisfactorily, 'How am I to pay those who serve me?' a proposal was made to him which he readily and thankfully accepted. The gist of it consisted in establishing gaming-tables at Monaco, on the model of those which were then open in Germany and Switzerland. As a return for the permission to keep these tables an immediate payment was made to the Prince, and an annual payment was promised. Three years later the gaming-tables were removed from the city of Monaco and placed in a casino built on what was then a barren promontory, and which is now the site of Monte Carlo.

While the casino was building M. Blanc, who had made for himself a name and much money at Homburg by means of the gaming-tables which he established there, visited Monaco. He foresaw that the tables at Homburg would be closed whenever Prussia obtained control over Hesse-Cassel, and his anticipation was fulfilled when Hesse-Cassel was annexed by Prussia after the victory over Austria in 1866.

As an organiser and a financier M. Blanc made a great reputation and an immense fortune. Lord Brougham paid a visit to Monaco when it had become famous owing to M. Blanc having developed its natural attractions. After saying that he had conversed with that accomplished and astute gentleman, Lord Brougham added: 'I consider him to be one of the foremost and most capable financiers of France, and he has astonished me again and again by the simplicity and at the same time the profundity of his previsions and calculations.'

The casino at Monte Carlo is now conducted in accordance with arrangements made between the late M. Blanc and the late Prince of Monaco, Charles the Third; in return for a concession by the Prince to keep public gaming-tables there, which has still several years to run, the whole cost of governing the principality is defrayed by a body called *La Société des Bains de Mer et Cercle des Étrangers*. An annual payment is made to the Prince himself, and the question of

living happily and carrying on the government on a liberal footing has not had to be entertained by him since the concession was granted. It was agreed that, as soon as the casino was in full working order, the taxation of the Monégasques should end. In February 1869 Prince Charles the Third issued a decree to the effect that his faithful subjects would never again be called upon by him to pay taxes. No other decree by any Prince of Monaco has been more popular.

M. Blanc counted upon sojourners at the fashionable places along the Riviera paying visits to Monte Carlo, and the result has corroborated his forecast. The trains arriving at the station there bring thousands daily from Cannes and Nice, Mentone and San Remo. The excursionists spend a few hours in the casino and many of them depart with empty purses.

In the thirty years which have elapsed since a casino was built at Monte Carlo the principality of Monaco has changed its face. For several years after a concession was granted to M. Blanc, the communication between Nice and Monaco was carried on by steamer or diligence, and it was not till the extension of the railway along the coast in 1868 that many new houses and hotels were built in the Principality to accommodate the increasing number of visitors. The heads of the Monégasques were turned at the prospect of growing rich rapidly. The greed of a few nearly injured the Principality beyond redemption. Exorbitant sums were asked for the land over which the line of railway was to run between Nice and Mentone, and this was done under the belief that the railway company must pay them. Though inaccessible to argument, the exacting Monégasques succumbed to a threat. 'If you do not abate your demands, and accept reasonable terms,' the railway company said, 'we shall tunnel through the Principality and then you will be the losers.' A single fact will show the character of the change: when the railway was extended to Monaco in 1868, the ground upon which the suburb called Condamine is built could have been bought for twenty thousand pounds; its present value is upwards of half a million sterling. The population, which did not exceed twelve hundred, now exceeds twelve thousand. Indeed, at few places has the transformation been greater than at Monaco within the like space of time, the whole being due to the building and success of the casino.

This success is believed in some quarters to have been obtained at a terrible price. The present condition of Monte Carlo is said to be deplorable. Men of high position in the Church of England declaim against its infinite wickedness. According to them it is the 'plague-spot' of the Riviera.

Monte Carlo has gained more from attack than from praise. Call a place or a man outrageously wicked, and the curiosity of many will be aroused to visit the place or to gaze upon the man. An honest and

commonplace citizen of London, such as he whose diary was imagined by Addison and printed by him in *The Spectator*, may pass through life unnoticed and unknown, till he commits murder, when he may become an object of general interest. The spectacle of vice is more attractive than that of virtue in the eyes of persons whose curiosity is ill-regulated and keen. When an American advertised himself and the refreshment bar which he kept by boasting of being the wickedest man in New York, crowds flocked to gaze upon him, and they drank the liquors which he supplied at a profit. Those who enlarge upon the imaginary spectacle of crime at Monte Carlo first state what is unfounded, and next are the cause of many persons going thither in the hope of beholding what will shock them. The place is not a complete reproduction of the Garden of Eden, neither is it a reproduction of the torrid abode of fallen angels.

Some documents and illustrations now before me would be ludicrous if they were not so silly, and would inspire sad thoughts if they were true. They profess to be pictures of life at Monte Carlo, and the kind of life depicted is sickening. In a book written about the place there is an illustration entitled 'Early morning in the gardens of the casino,' where the watchmen are shown going their rounds and picking up corpses at every turning in the paths. In other pictures men are represented cutting their throats, stabbing or hanging themselves, and fighting duels. If the duels are conducted according to the practice of French journalists then little fear needs be entertained of either party losing his life. If there be anything more fictitious than the suicides it is the duels.

Suicides and duels which end in death are not more common at Monte Carlo than at places where games of chance are never played in public. Regarding gaming as a craze, which requires explanation rather than defence, I am no apologist for what others may deem wicked but which I stigmatise as stupid.

An Italian newspaper, *Il Secolo*, distinguishes itself by publishing bitter things against Monte Carlo, just as the *Kölnische Zeitung* does by publishing untrue things about England. According to *Il Secolo* the suicides at Monte Carlo during ten years have numbered 1821. Not long ago a case of suicide which appeared lamentable went the round of the newspapers. The unhappy victim was an English baronet who lived in an unnamed villa on the French and Italian frontier, who possessed a large fortune on arriving there, and who had become a gamester, visiting Monte Carlo time after time till all his money was gone. Then he hanged himself. His housekeeper was so much affected by her master's death that she took poison and died, and the servant girl followed suit. Happily the whole is pure and not very clever fiction. Whenever any of the residents at Monte Carlo dies, and, despite the fineness of the climate there, people die now and then from natural causes, the death of the

man or woman is inserted in the list compiled by those who are on the watch for cases of suicide.

A genuine case of suicide did occur a year ago. It was reported by the Nice correspondent of an enterprising London daily newspaper, and was to the effect that a young man and woman visited Monte Carlo, spent a few days there, and were found dead in the room which they occupied. The story was painful but, as set forth by the correspondent, it was incomplete. The man and woman had resided in Lyons, each was married, and both left Lyons together. The man had abandoned his wife, the woman her husband, the pair having committed adultery, and were desirous to cross the Atlantic, in order, perhaps, to live happily ever after. Not having money enough to pay their passage, they visited Monte Carlo in the hope of winning at the gaming-tables. They not only failed, but lost the little they had, and then they committed suicide together. The moral which I should draw from the whole story is not that which has been drawn from the imperfect version telegraphed for the information of the English public.

Gaming is a blunder. As I am not a theologian it does not lie within my province to determine whether it be also a sin. I have seen it in various aspects and have written about it in newspapers and books. Nowhere is it practised with greater zest than in the United States of America. None of the casinos which used to exist in Germany, nor the casino which now exists at Monte Carlo, can compare with the gaming-house at Saratoga, commonly known as Morrissey's. There the play is on a gigantic scale, and the players can fare as sumptuously as they used to do at Frascati's in the Palais Royal, or as they did at Crockford's in St. James's Street. At Denver, the capital of Colorado, play is carried on with genuine American thoroughness, and arrangements are made at some of the gaming-houses for the votaries of the goddess of Love bringing their captives to the shrine of the goddess of Fortune. In the principal gaming-house several pharaoh tables are surrounded by players from Monday morning till Saturday night. In the capital of California and in the city of San Francisco, pharaoh is played on a scale which would surprise the gamesters at French club-houses. At the mining camp of Leadville, ten thousand feet above the sea-level, I have beheld provision made for any game of chance which could be desired, including a form of roulette more unfair to the gamester than any at Monte Carlo, and at which those who risked their money were favoured with whiskey and cigars without charge. The houses which I visited were, conducted in defiance of the law, nearly every State in the Union forbidding gaming. Those who broke the law were fined at intervals. The excuse assigned for the gaming-house at Saratoga was that many members of the Legislature of the State of New York frequented it. After seeing 'fighting the tiger,' as gaming

is styled in the United States, I have arrived at the conclusion that gaming is more fairly carried on in the Monte Carlo casino than in any American gaming-house. There, as elsewhere, the gamesters will lose their money; but they cannot complain of being cheated, and they are not subjected to any extraneous influence, either in the shape of cigars and whiskey given gratis, or of feminine decoys.

If a motto were to be placed over the entrance to a gaming-house, it might run: 'Bring a full purse, ye who enter here.' On the other side the following might meet the eyes of those who lost everything but hope, 'Never despair.' If gamesters did not leave any money behind them the casino would have to be closed, and the Prince of Monaco might again be non-plussed to defray the expenses of his government. As it is, the players at *roulette* and *trente-et-quarante* are the actual tax-payers in Monaco.

Gaming is a habit of very old date along the Riviera; it might continue if the casino at Monte Carlo were razed to the ground. At San Remo games of chance are forbidden by law now, yet the lottery, which is the most demoralising of all forms of gambling, is permitted there, as in all Italian cities. Upwards of a century ago the game of chance commonly played at San Remo was *biribi*. This game is chiefly kept in remembrance by references to it in the writings of noted men. For example, Paul Louis Courier, in one of his incomparable pamphlets, twits the finance minister of his day with playing *biribi* with the finances. This game was far more unfavourable to the player than the *roulette* which is played at Monte Carlo in these days. A *biribi* table contains seventy compartments, each compartment being distinguished by a figure and a number. Sixty-four balls, with figures painted and numbers marked on them, are placed in a bag. The player puts his stake in one of the seventy compartments, and if the ball drawn out of the bag should correspond to it, then he receives sixty-four times his stake. There are sixty-four chances to one against a player at *biribi* receiving anything; at *roulette* the chance of his doing so on a number is thirty-six to one, and no person has yet made a fortune by playing on numbers at *roulette*. Thus the modern game of *roulette* ruins a player more slowly than the older one of *biribi*.

The game of *roulette*, or, as it is designated in the statute book, 'Roly Poly,' is an ingenious device for inspiring a player with the prospect of gain, and for insuring that the player will contribute to maintain the keepers of the table. There is more excitement in playing at *roulette* than at *trente-et-quarante*, though the certainty of ultimate loss is the same at either. Indeed, the man who systematically speculates on the Stock Exchange, who bets on the Turf, or who games at Monte Carlo, helps to add to a stockbroker's income in the first case, to increase a bookmaker's profits in the second, and to pay dividends to the shareholders in the casino in the third. I

assume that in each of the three cases everything has been done fairly, and in accordance with the rules laid down.

This point of view is not sufficiently borne in mind. When the wickedness of gaming is denounced, too little heed is paid to its unprofitableness, and human beings are more reluctant to do that which will not pay than that which is called sinful. There is a wild delight in sinning which is not felt in losing money.

The principle of *roulette* is that of the game of teetotum, which is a favourite in the nursery. Instead of the teetotum spinning round and falling upon one side, the number uppermost being the winning one, a ball is spun within a cylinder which moves on a pivot, and when the cylinder ceases to revolve in one direction and the ball in another, the ball drops into one of several spaces within the cylinder which are numbered and coloured. These numbers and colours correspond to others on a green cloth on the table beside the cylinder. When a player stakes, he puts his coin upon a number or colour on the table, and if the number and colour into which the ball drops within the cylinder after ceasing to move round it corresponds to the number or colour on which a stake has been placed, then the player is paid; in the opposite event his stake is swept away. There are thirty-six numbers and a cipher which is called *zero*. The chances are thirty-six to one against winning on a number, and when the player does win, he receives thirty-five times his stake. The chances of winning on a simple chance, such as red or black, are nearly even, and the player who wins receives the equivalent of his stake. There are a variety of combinations. Thus the stake may be placed so as to embrace more numbers than one, and the chance of gain being greater in such a case, the payment is proportionally reduced, eleven times one's stake being paid if one out of three given numbers should win, and twice one's stake if one should win out of a series of twelve. In other words, the greater the risk, the greater is the gain in the event of success.

It must not be supposed, when I write that a player is destined to lose, that I mean he must lose every time he stakes. My contention is, that if the player continue to stake he must be the loser in the end. The reason of this is that the 'bank' has an advantage over him in the stakes being limited, and in the action of *zero*. No player at *roulette* may stake less than five francs, or more than 6,000. The commonest device of a reckless player desiring to recover what he has lost is to go on doubling his stake. He argues that if, when doing so, he win once only, he will have got his money back. This looks plausible, yet it is not so easy as it looks. Suppose a player who has staked five francs and lost them, tries to recover them by doubling his stake; he will have to risk 4,120 at the eleventh time of doubling. Should he lose this sum, he is precluded from doubling again, as the maximum stake is 6,000. In this case the 'bank' has a

marked advantage over the player. A still greater advantage is *zero*. The thirty-seventh compartment in the cylinder is marked 0, and when the ball drops into it, then the 'bank' wins all the stakes on numbers, with the exception of any stake placed upon *zero* itself, which is paid at the same rate as that on any number. The *roulette* tables at Baden-Baden had a double *zero*, which gave a further advantage to the 'bank.' I have seen a *roulette* table in America where, in addition to the double *zero*, there was a star-spangled compartment in the cylinder called 'Uncle Sam,' and when the ball dropped into it the 'bank' swept away everything, the stakes upon the *zeros* included.

The education of a player must have been entirely neglected if he should be ignorant of the 'bank' having a superiority over him. Whether a man gamble on the Stock Exchange, bet on the Turf, or game either at Monte Carlo, or in the French clubs and casinos where *baccara* is played, he cannot suppose, if mentally sane and fairly well educated, that he will easily acquire a fortune. He may believe that he will enjoy what he terms good luck: that when he buys stocks or shares for the rise they will at once go up, that when he speculates for the fall they will at once go down; that the horse which he backs will pass the winning-post before the others; that the stakes which he risks at *roulette*, *trente-et-quarante*, and *baccara* will be returned to him with added gains. This folly as regards gaming, with which I am at present concerned, will assume the form of supposing that any player can continuously win, despite the chances being in favour of the 'bank,' by adopting a 'system.'

Of all the delusions to which the human mind is liable none is more absurd than that which causes a man to think that any system of play can prevail over the 'bank' at Monte Carlo. The most skilfully devised system may prolong the player's agony, and that is all. There is a large class which gains a livelihood by concocting systems and selling them, and in this case the buyers are the persons who, in slang phrase, are really sold. All system-makers hold out the inducement that, by following their counsel, the player 'ceases to be a gamester and becomes a speculator,' and they delight in repeating, what they maintain Bonaparte once said, that 'the gaming-banks will be conquered by calculation.' To continue making money by playing upon any system is as ridiculous as to form any combination of machinery and say that it will go on for ever by itself. Perpetual motion is the dream of an ill-regulated and unbalanced mind. An infallible system at play is the equivalent to perpetual motion.

What I have just written applies to *trente-et-quarante* as much as to *roulette*. Lest there should be a desire on the part of any reader to learn wherein the one differs from the other, I shall endeavour to explain the game of *trente-et-quarante*.

Six packs of cards are used. The court cards count ten, the ace one, and the others according to the numbers on their faces. Two

rows are dealt out; the dealing ceases in each case when any number over thirty and under forty has been reached. Thus three court cards and an ace make thirty-one; having dealt them the dealer announces one, meaning one point over thirty. Four court cards make forty, and then the dealer stops and announces that number. The first row of cards dealt governs the result on the side of the table called black, the second on that called red, though the whole table is green, thus symbolising the players rather than the game. The winner receives an amount equivalent to his stake. At this game the chances between the player and the 'bank' would be even, were it not that the maximum stake is limited to twelve thousand francs, and that, when a *refait* occurs, the 'bank' is the gainer. At *trente-et-quarante*, as at *roulette*, many players hope to retrieve a loss by doubling their stakes, the calculation being that, if they win once, they will get all their money back. I showed how difficult this was at *roulette*: the difficulty is not less at *trente-et-quarante*. At the former the minimum stake is five francs, at the latter twenty. The maximum at the former is 6,000, at the latter 12,000. Suppose, then, that a player has staked and lost twenty francs at *trente-et-quarante*, and endeavours to get his money back by doubling his stake; he must risk 10,240 francs at the tenth time, and if he loses then he must stop the process of doubling. It is true that, if he staked twenty francs in the first instance and won ten times in succession, his gain would be 10,240 francs, and many players hope to achieve this result. Yet for one who succeeds thousands fail, the failures adding more money to the 'bank' than the single success has cost it.

A *refait*, which, as I have already said, is the equivalent at *trente-et-quarante* to *zero* at *roulette*, occurs whenever the two rows of cards dealt represent thirty-one. Then the stakes on both sides of the table are impounded, and they remain in the power of the 'bank' till the cards are dealt again, the players having the option of taking half the amount and forfeiting the other half. Whether red or black win, the players on the winning side may withdraw their stakes, while the 'bank' appropriates those on the losing side. By the 'bank' taking the stakes on the one side, without paying anything to the other, it has a clear percentage in its favour. There are a few variations in the game which cannot easily be explained, these consisting in putting a double stake on the chance of the colour of the card first dealt corresponding with the row of cards which wins or loses, but the principle and the chances of the game are not altered in that event. What cannot be disputed is that, if a player continue long enough, he must lose his money at *trente-et-quarante* as at *roulette*.

The certainty of the 'bank' winning at either game will be understood if the following considerations are apprehended.

First, take *roulette* at which there are thirty-six numbers and 0,

which counts as a number, and let the players put on the minimum stake of five francs upon each. Whichever turns up he will lose 185 francs and win 175 francs. If he put five francs on a single number, the chances are thirty-six to one against him winning, and, however he may vary his play, he cannot approach a certainty of being the winner after staking seven times in succession. He may win once or often, just as a man may draw a prize in a lottery once or oftener, without having any likelihood of always drawing prizes.

Second, take *trente-et-quarante*, and let the player put the minimum stakes upon all the chances, which amount altogether to 240 francs. Suppose the first card dealt to be black, and the black side of the table to be the winning one; the player wins eighty francs on black, and loses eighty on red, a result which is not more satisfactory to him than to the bank, yet which is the most favourable one which can happen for him. Let him continue, and suppose a *refait* to occur, which is inevitable at certain intervals; then the player loses half of the amount staked.

It will be asked, Why, then, should players continue a losing game? Because they are superstitious, or foolish, or both. The superstition and folly consist in arguing that because a number or colour turns up once it will do so again, or else that a number or colour which has turned up once will not turn up a second time. All players believe the one or the other, and there is no foundation for either belief.

There is this difference between a *roulette* and a *trente-et-quarante* table: that, if a sufficient number of players stake between the hours each is open that is, from midday until half-past ten at night—the gain from each *roulette* table for each day may be counted upon as not being less than 200*l.*, while the *trente-et-quarante* table may yield nothing on a particular day. But at the end of a few days the latter table will produce an adequate profit. The serious players, as they are called, prefer *trente-et-quarante*. They play for higher stakes than the frequenters of a *roulette* table, and should several of them win on a given day the bank will be the loser. However, as I have just said, after the lapse of several days the balance will not only be restored, but the 'bank' will regain the upper hand. The keepers of the gaming-tables do not wish players to be beggared. They would rather that fifty should stake five francs at *roulette*, lose them, and go away, than that ten should stake fifty francs and win them. Those who lose five francs at a time are more likely to return again and again than those who win fifty. The desire is that the tables should be kept going at a profit, and the surest profit, and the one which is obtained with least repining from those who have contributed to it, is due to the gains from a multitude of small players. The rule and desire of the 'bank,' as of the energetic and aspiring tradesman, may be formulated thus: 'small profits and quick returns.'

If the case be as I have put it, the question will arise: Why,

then, should so many persons commit suicide after having lost their all?' The suicides and the duels which are said to be frequent at or near Monte Carlo chiefly, if not invariably, occur in the columns of the newspapers, which desire to produce a sensation. In the city of London and in other financial centres there are journals which live upon the advertisements of new companies, and if the promoters of a company decline to advertise in these journals the company is pronounced a bubble one. The conductors of journals in France and Italy threaten the proprietors of the casino at Monte Carlo with a large crop of horrors if they are not paid to be neutral; this is known as *chantage*, a word for which there is no exact equivalent in English, though the process is not unknown in England, its meaning being extorting money by threats of exposure. While the proprietors of the casino deprecate those who play losing all their money or their lives, they object to tales being circulated which may deter people from visiting Monte Carlo. Hence they are too ready to make terms with unrighteousness in the form of a venal press.

Admittance into the gaming-rooms is obtained by those only who procure cards, and cards are not granted to natives of the principality, to persons earning their bread in the department of the Maritime Alps, or to minors. Should those gain admission who ought to be excluded under the regulations, they do so by making false declarations. When the player has lost a considerable sum and wishes to return home, he is assisted by the proprietors of the casino, who advance the sum required for his journey on condition that he repay it should he come back. This is called *le viatique*, or *viaticum*. The names of those who are on the books of the casino as being indebted for advances in these circumstances are very many, and the amounts due by them, which are very bad debts, amount to hundreds of thousands of francs. A speculator on the Stock Exchange or on the Turf who is beggared would apply in vain for pecuniary help to the broker or the bookmaker who has transacted business for him. That the proprietors of the casino should be more generous is no justification of gaming; but they deserve credit for enabling the impoverished gamester to go home instead of committing suicide among strangers out of despair.

Writing, as I do, to set forth the facts, and under the conviction that all games of chance, whether played at Monaco or elsewhere, and all forms of speculation are follies or snares, I must avow my belief that the mischiefs and consequent miseries of gaming are intensified when women follow the bad example of men. A man who has given way to the degrading vice of drunkenness may be cured, but a woman who has acquired a liking for intoxicants is irreclaimable. A female gamester is as sad a spectacle as a female drunkard; she is beyond hope or help.

Many of the objections to public gaming-tables would disappear if women were prohibited from entering them. In the United States, where there is quite as much gaming as in all Europe, the gamesters are men only. A woman is never to be seen at a drinking-bar in America, except in the slums of a great city where the worst elements among the worst immigrants lead wretched lives. It is possible to convince a man that no system of play will prevail over the 'bank' at Monte Carlo, and that loss must be the fate of those who persist in staking. A female gamester has too much imagination to accept the hard saying that she cannot win in the long run. Even if she admit one day that no system can lead to fortune, she will begin on another her pursuit after the unattainable, losing her money, and it may be something still more precious, in the chase.

Had M. Blanc lived longer, he might have carried out at Monte Carlo a project which it was his avowed purpose to have accomplished at Homburg, if the gaming-tables had remained open there. This consisted in setting apart a room where gold only was to be staked, and where men only were to be admitted. The proceedings in the gaming-rooms at Monte Carlo are generally decorous, but disturbances occur at intervals, when some woman essays a short cut to wealth by appropriating some other person's stake. If the proprietors of the casino excluded women, they would do more to disarm opposition than by subsidising newspapers to repeat that everything is ordered for the best in the best of all existing gaming-houses. Should such a measure of reform be regarded as too drastic, then let them appoint separate gaming-tables for women and men. It may be said that if gaming be wholly evil, it ought to be forbidden to both sexes. I agree with Dr. Johnson that 'a gamester is an unsociable man, an unprofitable man. Gaming is a mode of transferring property without producing any intermediate good.' While this is true, there may be no greater wickedness in staking a coin at a game than in drinking a glass of wine. The moral and even the physical mischief is wrought when gaming and drinking become habits, and it is because this danger is greater in the cases of women than men that women should be hindered, as far as possible, from entering the broad road leading to either vice.

I have said already that Monte Carlo has been depicted as a very wicked place. Wickedness is greatly a matter of degree. One man's wickedness may be another man's recreation. Pigeon-shooting is practised on a large scale at Monte Carlo, and while I regard gaming as foolish, if not worse, I consider pigeon-shooting as combining the maximum of cruelty with the minimum of pleasure. Personally I think it less to be deplored that pigeons should be plucked in the casino at Monte Carlo, than that dazed pigeons should be shot at when struggling out of a trap on the terrace there. For the purpose of displaying skill as a shot, a mechanical bird is as

effectual as a real one, and, if such a mark were used, the painful sight of half-tame birds dragging out a miserable existence, with shattered wings and broken legs, would not offend the eyes of those who consider shooting pigeons from traps a parody upon sport and an offence to genuine sportsmen.

The other amusements are not open to objection. Those who cannot live without newspapers find in the reading-room attached to the casino a better supply of them at their disposal gratis than is to be found in a Parisian club and in many clubs in London. The concerts which take place twice daily are treats to all lovers of music. Nor are the spiritual wants of visitors neglected. In the Principality there are several Roman Catholic churches, the new cathedral being one of the finest buildings of the kind erected anywhere of late years, and being as notable a specimen of good architecture as the casino is of bad. Those who denounce Monaco and its Government should concentrate their attention upon the ecclesiastical intolerance of the ruler. No church, nor any service other than the Roman Catholic, is permitted there. The English residents not being able to have the services of their Church performed within the Principality, have erected a church immediately outside the frontier, to which they flock on Sundays, and which they liberally support by voluntary contributions. Though an English church is not tolerated, an English banker enjoys the privilege of transacting all banking business within the Principality. Moreover, those who cannot live happily abroad without the comforts which they enjoy in England find them provided in an English hotel at Monte Carlo.

The trail of the serpent may be over Monte Carlo, but those who sojourn there are the least conscious of the unpleasant fact, if fact it be. In their opinion the wickedness which may prevail there during the twenty-four hours is chiefly imported, being brought by the trains which arrive daily before the gaming-tables open and while they are in operation, and being carried back to Nice and other places by the trains which depart after the tables are closed in the evening. The police of Monaco will not permit women and men whose character and pursuits cannot stand a rigid scrutiny to dwell in the Principality. When the streets at Monte Carlo are deserted and the sojourners there are going to bed, the clubs at Nice, Cannes, and many other French cities are filled with members eagerly bent on *baccara*, which is a game of chance like *trente-et-quarante* according to English judges, but which French judges have held to be one of skill. At that game, as at those played in Monte Carlo, men are beggared and the establishment thrives in which it is permitted. Though money be lost rather more slowly at *baccara* than at *roulette* and *trente-et-quarante*, I doubt whether public morality would be materially advanced if the only game played in the Monte Carlo casino were *baccara*. Piety and virtue are not conspicuous during

the season at Aix-les-Bains, Vichy, Trouville, Dieppe, Havre, and other French watering-places where the game of *baccara* is played in the casinos.

Whatever may be the desire of the uncompromising reformer, he will not have an easy task in extirpating gaming along the Riviera. Let him convert the players and there will be no need for denouncing the clubs and casinos or closing them by force. If players could be led to see that they must lose their money provided they continue to stake it, they might cease to patronise any game of chance. I fear this is as hard a task as putting down gaming throughout the world. M. Thiers, when eighty, said that, while it was true all men must die, no one really believed it, each thinking he might prove an exception to the law of Nature. The players who admit that the 'bank' will absorb their money, go on playing in the futile hope that they may avoid this result if in luck, and the man who acts on a belief in luck is foredoomed to misery and ruin.

Many English sojourners on the Riviera during the winter 'pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope,' to quote the words which occur at the beginning of the history of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia. They go thither for health, for pleasure, or for amusement combined with comfort. The man with the strongest lungs may prefer to bask in sunshine to living amid the gloom of a London atmosphere, to learn from personal observation that the sky is often blue in winter, and to feel that dark grey weather is an accident in the economy of human life. It may be that the seeker after perpetual summer there may be disappointed in his quest. Gloomy days and biting winds are not infrequent along the Riviera in autumn, winter, and spring. The region is far from being a terrestrial paradise. Yet, with all its faults, it has many compensations which can be enjoyed in full measure by those only who do not expect too much, and who profit by what is provided for them. The sunniest and most beautiful spots along the Riviera will give the greatest delight to those who never risk their money at a game of chance in a club or a casino. It may not be wicked to play at Monte Carlo; yet beyond all question it is wise to abstain from filling the coffers of the casino there. Those who exercise self-denial in the manner suggested will enjoy their sojourn, will not have their purses emptied, and will feel satisfied with themselves when they depart. They are the visitors to the Riviera who have a title to become candidates for the crown of virtue.

W. Fraser Rae.

THE GLUT OF JUNIOR OFFICERS IN THE ARMY.

THE subject of promotion in the army is one not only of great interest to the officers, about 8,000 in number, whose prospects are so deeply involved, but is indeed a matter of national concern; the efficiency of armed forces depending not only on the courage and discipline of the rank and file, but on the age and competency of the leaders in their various grades. The officers, having entered the profession after considerable study and open competition, naturally watch with anxiety the prospects held out to them of rising to the higher ranks and to distinction.

In considering this difficult and complex subject it is necessary to bear in mind that the army in some essential respects differs from the professions of civil life. In the latter there is no hard and fast rule as to the numbers who enter; nor is there any law which regulates the rapidity of their rise. It depends more or less on personal qualities. With the army it is different. The numbers in each grade are fixed by regulation, and promotion follows certain lines laid down by warrant from time to time. Consequently the officers are in no sense free agents, at liberty to work out their own career, but are tied and bound by rules in which they have no voice, and which, so far as promotion goes, are often altered, and appear to be framed on no very definite principles. Their advancement depends, therefore, not so much on their own exertion and ability, as on the prospects held out to them from time to time by warrant.

There are no doubt certain causes which lead to this result, and which must always tend to fetter promotion. The duties of an army, it is assumed, require a certain proportion of officers in each rank, and this necessity regulates establishments, and to some extent therefore gives definite shape to chances of advancement. Still it must be borne in mind that these proportions may admit of modification; and a system of retirement in the higher grades may be so framed as to brighten the prospects of the juniors, and thus not only benefit individuals, but the public service at the same time. The question, indeed, is not one of mere individual interest, but of national concern. The successful conduct of military expeditions, which are always difficult and dangerous, requires that the leaders shall be men not

only of ability, experience, and high courage, but also be capable of great physical endurance. It is therefore essential that the system of promotion be such as to insure that officers shall attain to the higher grades at a time of life when their energies are in full vigour, and when they are able to bear the great responsibilities placed upon them.

According to existing arrangements, not only in our service, but in all armies, there is always a great excess of officers in the lower grades. To some extent this is inevitable. One result is, that those in the subordinate ranks are kept for years in the performance of comparatively minor duties; whilst, on the other hand, many of them, when at length they rise to positions of trust, may be found to have expended their best energies, and to have become deadened as it were by long years of regimental routine. The conditions, in short, are perplexing; but although no absolute specific may be found, which shall insure efficiency both as to age and experience in all ranks, still there are, I believe, ways by which these results may in great measure be secured, and it is in this hope that I have ventured to deal with the subject.

In addition to vacancies by death, which of themselves are quite insufficient to afford due promotion, there are three methods which, taken in conjunction, will go far to achieve the desired result, namely, (1) retirements by pension; (2) partial readjustment of ranks; and (3) selection.

As regards the first, it is to be observed that service in the British Army is far more varied and severe than in that of the continental powers. As a rule the armed forces of the latter have no foreign service. With us, more than half our troops are always abroad; and consequently a large proportion of officers and men have to serve continuously in distant lands, often in tropical and unhealthy climates, taking part perhaps in campaigns in half-civilised, unknown districts. These conditions give, no doubt, a training and an experience to our forces generally such as is enjoyed by the troops of no other country. But as regards the personal interests of individuals the service is undoubtedly severe, and entails great sacrifices. The results of climate, added to the casualties of war, lead to frequent invaliding and to premature loss of health. Then, again, as officers rise in years, and may inherit property at home, their prolonged absence renders them unable to supervise their affairs. Many of them are married men with families, and foreign service therefore frequently involves separation, double establishments, and difficulties as to education of children, &c. Owing to these causes, many officers, either from loss of health or personal reasons, feel compelled to retire and to relinquish their career at a comparatively early age. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it is evident that officers of the army have great claims on the country, in virtue of the services they perform in guarding and extending the Empire in various parts

of the world. Therefore, when objections are raised to the amount of the pension list, it must be borne in mind that within certain limits it is a perfectly legitimate expenditure, and is indeed only a return for hard and exceptional services rendered to the State. Not only that, but the expense so incurred fulfils another object in the stimulus which it gives to promotion, and thus adds to efficiency. In short, it leads to the survival of the fittest.

Until the year 1870, any definite scheme of retiring pensions, so far as cavalry and infantry were concerned, was non-existent. The purchase system, which until then was in force in those two branches, was supposed to provide a sufficient and self-acting basis; and no doubt it did so, in a somewhat irregular and incomplete fashion.

Officers, as they reached the higher grades, and who had in many cases expended thousands of pounds in the purchase of their various commissions, often felt compelled by personal reasons to retire, in order to recover their capital, although they may have been neither worn out nor inefficient. This system, though admitted to be anomalous, was defended on the score of its economy, and also that on the whole it worked well. As regards its effect on officers whilst serving, it was, broadly put, a plan by which those with money could, without reference to special merit, rise over the heads of those who were poor. Whether this was a defensible arrangement need not now be argued, as it no longer exists; and it may be remarked, that whatever its merits or defects it never existed in the Artillery and Engineers, or in the Commissariat, Medical, Store, and Pay Departments.

After the abolition of purchase it was understood that the rate of future promotion was to be essentially that which previously prevailed;[1] and in 1874 a Royal Commission under Lord Penzance was appointed to inquire and report on the best means of insuring adequate promotion in the army. The report of the Commissioners was made in August 1876. In the first place they stated that the average rate of regimental promotion in the infantry previous to the abolition of purchase was—[2]

	Years	Months
To lieut.-colonel	23	6
„ major	18	11
„ captain	9	0

They stated that the chief and ever-present difficulty of securing promotion in all corps lies in the single circumstance 'that the number of officers in each of the successive ranks is widely unequal, those in the upper ranks being few and in the lower numerous;' that as a consequence compulsory retirement by age was in some cases necessary, and that a system of pensions for all ranks was imperative and would be very costly.

[1] See *Report of Lord Penzance's Commission of* 1876, p. iv.
[2] Appendix C, p. 226, *Lord Penzance's Commission of* 1876.

The report contained some significant remarks as to another solution, namely, a readjustment of ranks, to which attention will be called directly, but the Commissioners did not consider themselves at liberty to deal with it, but to take establishments as they found them; and they therefore proposed a scheme whose chief characteristics were as follows:—

1. A fixed establishment of 275 general officers, with retirement at the age of seventy.

2. A graduated scale of pensions for all ranks according to length of service.

3. Compulsory retirement of officers of the various ranks on pensions at certain stipulated periods of service; captains being compelled to leave on completing twenty years; say, about forty years of age.

In 1877 their chief recommendations were brought into force by issue of a royal warrant.

As the Commissioners presided over by Lord Penzance held themselves limited by their instructions to deal only with establishments as they then stood, their power of grappling with the subject was virtually restricted to a system of pensions; but it is apparent from a wider point of view that their scheme was open to two great objections. 1. That certain officers were made liable to compulsory retirement without reference to their merits, and before they were necessarily inefficient from age. 2. That the cost would be excessive. In short, it dealt harshly with some officers, and also entailed what may be called excessive unproductive expenditure. Indeed, it had hardly begun to take effect before it was evident that revision would be necessary.[3]

The second method by which promotion may be considerably affected is that of a partial readjustment of ranks. It is sometimes assumed that the establishments are so inflexibly fixed by the duties to be performed, that no changes in the proportions of the various ranks are feasible. As already pointed out the excess in the junior ranks is the great obstacle to due promotion; and the result is that large numbers of officers are thus kept back until many of them lose their energies before they rise to high positions. This is a misfortune not only to the individuals but to the public service. It requires no argument to prove that, so far as promotion goes, advantage would arise by an increase of the upper and a diminution of the lower ranks. On the other hand, it may also be admitted that it would not be justifiable to alter the relative proportions merely to facilitate promotion. But may it not be possible in some degree to modify establishments, so as to meet both sides of the case?

[3] It was ascertained that under the warrant of 1877, out of 1,000 officers receiving commissions only 216 could ever rise above the rank of captain (evidence of Mr. D. Robinson, Actuary, *Fourth Report of Committee of House of Commons on Army Estimates*, 1888, p. 195).

The Royal Commissioners under Lord Penzance, in defending their scheme of pensions, reported that a partial readjustment of the regimental ranks would, if feasible, improve the prospects of officers, and be less costly to the State. They repeat that the unequal ranks (that is, the excess of juniors) 'is the justification of the scheme.'[4]

In order to illustrate the subject, I will go back a little and quote instances. In 1871, when the late Lord Cardwell was Minister for War, he had under consideration the position of officers of the Royal Artillery, whose prospects of promotion were at that time precarious. With a view to their benefit, in the first place he appointed twelve additional lieutenant-colonels, giving them important functions as to supervision and inspection of the militia and volunteer artillery, to the great advantage of those services. He also made certain field officers, holding civil appointments, supernumeraries. Then, recognising that the duties connected with the command of a battery are of a more responsible nature than those of a troop of cavalry or a company of infantry, all first captains were made majors. He thus considerably augmented the upper regimental ranks. Turning then to the lower, he decided on reducing the number of subalterns of garrison batteries at home in peace time from three to two, and thus considerably diminished the total of this rank.[5]

By these measures the prospects of those in the junior grades gradually improved, and some few years afterwards their rates of promotion became about equal to the Line average.

Again, Lord Cardwell, in establishing county depôts for the infantry, made numerous appointments of colonels to districts, not only to take charge of the depôts, but to supervise the auxiliary forces, and to bring them more into focus with the regular troops. It was a development of the principle of reorganising ranks for special duties, and thus also affording better prospects of promotion to those at the foot of the ladder.

Again, in 1881, when Mr. Childers was Secretary of State for War, and when the objections to the scheme of Lord Penzance's Commission were becoming manifest, the whole matter received careful reconsideration, and in that year a very important readjustment of ranks was carried out in the cavalry and infantry. I will detail the changes made in infantry battalions. Under the system until then in force, the establishment of an infantry regiment of two battalions was as follows:—

[4] *Report of Lord Penzance's Commission of* 1876, pp. ix, x, xiii.

[5] I am aware that of late years objections have been raised to the paucity of officers with garrison batteries. But this has arisen from the fact that the establishment laid down has not been maintained; and also that junior officers, required for other duties, have constantly been detached from the garrison artillery, which has thus been largely depleted, and has sometimes been seventy or eighty officers short of its complement for regimental duties.

Lieut.-colonels	2
Majors	4
Captains	20
Lieutenants	32
Total	58

By the reorganisation of 1881[6] the numbers became—

Lieut.-colonels	4
Majors	8
Captains	14
Lieutenants	30
Total	56

There was thus a reduction of two officers in each regiment, but a comparison of the figures gives other and striking results. Under the old system the proportion of field officers to the junior ranks was 1 to 8⅔, whilst under the new it stood at 1 to 3½. The prospects of the juniors were, therefore, greatly enhanced by the new arrangement, whilst the additional regimental cost was comparatively small.

I am, of course, aware, and have already stated, that such readjustments, though beneficial for promotion, would not be justifiable solely on that ground; but the Minister for War, in making the change, had also in view the improved regimental efficiency which would result by giving majors more responsible duties. In continental armies the old regimental system has been replaced by one of larger units—that is, of double companies under mounted officers—as being a sounder tactical arrangement and one better suited to modern warfare. Opinions differ, but I believe that a large number of experienced officers share with me the opinion that tactically cavalry should be organised by squadrons, and infantry in double companies.

I do not propose to enlarge on this point, which is somewhat foreign to the immediate purpose of this paper, but only to point out that the two combined objects of promotion and duties were not lost sight of in 1881. Unfortunately the intended formation of larger units has not been carried out, and the scheme therefore remains partially incomplete.[7]

The principle of maintaining a large proportion of officers in the higher ranks is one at all events which is duly recognised in the supply and non-combatant departments. For instance, in the Army Medical Department the proportion of the higher ranks (field officers and upwards) to juniors is about one to two. In the Commissariat there are about three seniors to four juniors, and no

[6] See evidence of Mr. D. Robinson, Actuary, *Fourth Report of House of Commons Committee on Army Estimates*, 1888, p. 195.

[7] Amongst other changes made in 1881 the rules as to compulsory retirement were generally mitigated, and that of captains after twenty years' service was abolished.

subalterns. In the Pay Department those in the higher grades considerably exceed those in the lower.

Whatever opinions may be formed from the instances quoted, it is, I think, evident that the proportion of officers in the various ranks has a strong bearing on promotion, and that in the ever-varying conditions of our Empire the principle of adding to the upper and reducing the junior should always be kept in view so far as duties will permit. It facilitates promotion and tends to reduce the pension list.

In one respect—that is, as regards the establishments of general officers—the changes made in 1881 involved a considerable reduction, and the number on the active list was fixed at 140. The limit of age was made 67 in lieu of 70, and non-employment for five years was also a cause of retirement; but the pay of those serving and the pensions were somewhat increased. Whilst, as already pointed out, the general prospects of officers were improved by Mr. Childers's alterations, it is important to remember that the financial result, as compared to that of Lord Penzance's scheme, was calculated to be a saving of about 245,000*l.*[8] per annum. It was, therefore, efficiency combined with economy.

It may be as well to offer a few remarks as to the establishment of general officers. It appears that about one-half are in constant employment, in command or in staff duties at home or abroad; and it is sometimes argued that the number should be limited to those in actual employ. But in the first place, considering that many of them are serving abroad, in distant and often at unhealthy stations, involving separation from their families and difficulties as to their personal interests, &c., it can hardly be desirable, at their time of life, that they should get no relief. That, however, is by no means the end of the argument. Should a great war occur, and the two corps d'armée which are now assumed to be ready have to take the field, they alone would require about thirty general officers. The militia and volunteers also, if called out in a great crisis, would equally require experienced generals and colonels to command them, so that a considerable margin or reserve of officers of rank and experience is essential. It would hardly be prudent on the outbreak of war to have to promote officers of junior ranks suddenly, and in large numbers, to take charge of operations in the field. I may also mention that at the battle of Inkerman, in November 1854, no less than eight English generals were lying on the field at the end of the battle, three being killed and five[9] wounded.

Speaking of general officers, there are persons little versed in military matters who seem to consider that the generals' list consists

[8] *House of Commons Committee on Army Estimates, Fourth Report*, 1888, p. 195.

[9] Two of these subsequently died of their wounds.

of a numerous body of men enjoying large salaries, but who are for the most part useless encumbrances. It may be as well to point out that these officers, as a rule, have served for about thirty-five years before being selected for that rank; that almost all of them have served for long periods abroad, and have taken part in difficult campaigns. As generals they are expected to be ready at any moment to take the field, and to undertake dangerous enterprises, in which they will infallibly have to display not only courage, but rapid decision, physical endurance, and a power of bearing great anxieties, subject, of course, all the time, to a fire of incessant criticism. In fact, they are men who are held ready to perform far more than ordinary duties, and for this they receive, on promotion to major-general, the magnificent sum of 500*l.* per annum; and although, on appointment to a command, their emoluments are increased, it is well known that in many cases their private means have to supplement their official income.

I should like to ask those who have risen to high positions in the Church, in law, or in medicine, or who have been successful as bankers, brewers, or in other mercantile pursuits, whether they would consider 500*l.* a year, at the age of fifty-five, as a splendid reward for their efforts. As a matter of fact, there is not one officer in the army, however good and successful he may have been, who can be said to have amassed a fortune by service in the army. The profession has other and better rewards and compensations, but if money is to be the gauge, there is none so badly paid.

So far as we have yet gone, I think it is clear that promotion can best be achieved by a combination of pensions and an adjustment of ranks to duties, so as to give young officers a chance of rising in due time. Changes such as those described, which were made by Lord Cardwell and Mr. Childers, are necessarily gradual in their results, and do not arrive at maturity until several years after their promulgation.

In 1885 the average rate of regimental promotion on attaining the various ranks in the infantry was as follows:—

	Years	Months
To lieut.-colonel	25	3
„ major[10]	16	10
„ captain	8	3

These beneficial reforms, however, were not destined to continue. In December 1886 a new warrant came into force, by which the list of colonels was gradually and considerably reduced; the lieutenant-colonels, second in command of battalions, were swept away, and the

[10] The rates of promotion to the ranks of major and captain were at the moment rather more rapid than had been calculated; due partly to large numbers of officers having been appointed to adjutancies of the auxiliary forces, and other causes; but this was abnormal, and would not have been fully maintained.

vacancies arising in the rank of major were in many cases not filled up. Other modifications were made, all in the direction of retarding promotion and of diminishing the proportion of the upper to the junior ranks. The reduction in the reserve of full colonels was unfortunate not only in its effect on promotion. There is, perhaps, no class of officers of whom it is more desirable to retain a surplus. They are men still vigorous in age, of recent and ripe experience in the command of regiments; and in the event of a great war their services will be specially required in many ways. The half-pay of those temporarily unemployed is, as it were, a mere retaining fee. Indeed, it is from them that selections of our future generals must be made.

An army such as that of England, whose services are in almost constant requisition in various parts of the world, and whose casualties are so frequent, requires a reserve of capable leaders quite as much as one of fighting men to replenish its ranks.

It is claimed that the changes made in December 1886 will result in economy. As a matter of course this is the case; but somewhat on the principle that a gentleman with a stable full of horses can reduce his expenditure by cutting off half their forage. Whether the condition of the animals, in a short time, will prove the wisdom of the saving may, however, well be doubted. Economy in public expenditure is a very proper principle, but economy combined with gradual inefficiency is a costly process in the end. It will probably be the unhappy lot of some future minister to have to restore the equilibrium by a large and heroic scheme of pensions.

Whilst the warrant of December 1886 was gradually working out its inevitable results, yet another, dated August 1889, has just been sprung upon the army. By its provisions the worst features of the last one have been confirmed and aggravated. The establishment of general officers has again been reduced, thus still further diminishing the prospects of colonels; whilst the periods of voluntary retirement have been restricted and postponed. The proportion of officers in the lower ranks is rapidly rising, and promotion will thereby be greatly retarded. Between January 1886 and July 1889 the number of officers in the higher ranks of the army had diminished by 373, whilst the captains and subalterns were augmented by 400, and the disproportion is still increasing. Not only that, but the sudden and unexpected changes for the worse in the conditions of service must tend to dishearten zealous officers, who find their chances, either of rising in the army or retiring in some comfort, continually curtailed and infringed.

There is still one principle of promotion which remains to be shortly considered, namely, that of selection. As a matter of principle, and with a view to efficiency, there is no doubt that some plan of the kind, especially for the higher grades, is necessary. As already

pointed out, the officers of the army are so far stereotyped in ranks that what may be termed a natural process of selection, such as more or less prevails in civil life, is impossible; and therefore the duty must fall on the commander-in-chief and his experienced military advisers.

With respect to junior officers, their duties do not as a rule enable them to display marked ability, nor are their characters as yet fully developed; and therefore in their case a system of rejection of those who may prove unfit will suffice. But as officers rise gradually to positions of great responsibility and trust, such as the command of regiments or of forces in the field, the principle must be carefully and systematically enforced. It must, however, be apparent that individual selection, however desirable in the interests of the public service, does not conduce to general promotion, but rather the reverse. In other words, the advancement of a distinguished junior officer over the heads of his former seniors tends in a degree to check the general flow. Those passed over, although they may not have proved themselves men of marked or rare ability, still deserve consideration in virtue of the long and honest performance of their duty; so that the more strictly selection is enforced the more necessary it becomes to combine with it some system of graduated pensions.

I have thus endeavoured, though very inadequately, to deal with this complex subject, and to indicate the principles which should regulate promotion in the army, and by which not only the interests of the public service will be duly kept in view, but also the claims of the officers of the various ranks who serve their Queen and country so faithfully and so well.

JOHN ADYE,
General.

THE NATURALIST ON THE PAMPAS

DURING recent years we have heard much about the great and rapid changes now going on in the plants and animals of all the temperate regions of the globe colonised by Europeans. These changes, if taken merely as evidence of material progress, must be a matter of rejoicing to those who are satisfied, and more than satisfied, with our system of civilisation—that is, with our method of outwitting Nature by the removal of all checks on the undue increase of our own species. To one who finds a charm in things as they exist in the unconquered provinces of Nature's dominions, and who, not being over-anxious to reach the end of his journey, is content to perform it on horseback, or in a waggon drawn by bullocks, it is permissible to lament the altered aspect of the earth's surface, together with the disappearance of numberless noble and beautiful forms, both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. For he cannot find it in his heart to love the forms by which they are replaced; these are cultivated and domesticated, and have only become useful to man at the cost of that grace and spirit which freedom and wildness give. In numbers they are many—twenty-five millions of sheep in this district, fifty millions in that, a hundred millions in a third—but how few are the species left in place of those destroyed! and when the owner of many sheep and much wheat desires variety—for he possesses this instinctive desire, albeit it is in conflict with and overborne by the perverted instinct of destruction—what is there left to him beyond his very own, except the weeds that spring up in his fields under all skies, ringing him round with old-world, monotonous forms, as tenacious of their undesired union with him as the rats and cockroaches that inhabit his house?

We hear most frequently of North America, New Zealand, and Australia in this connection; but nowhere on the globe has civilisation 'written strange defeatures' more markedly than on that great area of level country called by English writers *the Pampas*, but by the Spanish more appropriately *La Pampa*—from the Quichua word signifying open space or country—since it forms for the most part one continuous plain, extending on its eastern border from the river Paraná, in latitude 32°, to the Patagonian formation on the river

Colorado, and comprising about two hundred thousand square miles of humid, grassy country.

This district has been colonised by Europeans since the middle of the sixteenth century; but down to within a very few years ago immigration was on too limited a scale to make any very great change; and, speaking only of the pampean country, the conquered territory was a long, thinly-settled strip, purely pastoral, and the Indians, with their primitive mode of warfare, were able to keep back the invaders from the greater portion of their ancestral hunting-grounds. Not twenty years ago a ride of two hundred miles, starting from the capital city, Buenos Ayres, was enough to place one well beyond the furthest south-western frontier outpost. In 1879 the Argentine Government determined to rid the country of the aborigines, or, at all events, to break their hostile and predatory spirit once for all; with the result that the entire area of the grassy pampas, together with a great portion of the sterile pampas and Patagonia, has been made available to the emigrant. There is no longer anything to deter the starvelings of the Old World from possessing themselves of this new land of promise, flowing, like Australia, with milk and tallow, if not with honey; any emasculated migrant from a Genoese or Neapolitan slum is now competent to 'fight the wilderness' out there, with his eight-shilling fowling-piece and the implements of his trade. The barbarians no longer exist to frighten his soul with dreadful war cries; they have moved away to another more remote and shadowy region, called in their own language *Alhuemapu*, and not known to geographers. For the results so long and ardently wished for have swiftly followed on General Rosas' military expedition; and the changes witnessed during the last decade on the pampas exceed in magnitude those which had been previously effected by three centuries of occupation.

In view of this wave of change now rapidly sweeping away the old order, with whatever beauty and grace it possessed, it seems not inopportune at the present moment to give a rapid sketch, from the field-naturalist's point of view, of the great plain, as it existed before the agencies introduced by European colonists had done their work, and as it still exists in its remoter parts.

The humid, grassy, pampean country extends, roughly speaking, half-way from the Atlantic Ocean and the Plata and Paraná rivers to the Andes, and passes gradually into the 'Monte Formation,' or *sterile pampa*—a sandy, more or less barren district, producing a dry, harsh, ligneous vegetation, principally thorny bushes and low trees, of which the *chañar* (*Gurliaca decorticans*) is the most common; hence the name of 'Chañar-steppe' used by some writers: and this formation extends southwards down into Patagonia. Philosophers have not yet been able to explain why the pampas, with a humid climate, and a soil exceedingly rich, have produced nothing but grass, while

the dry, sterile territories on their north, west, and south borders have an arborescent vegetation. Darwin's conjecture that the extreme violence of the *pampero*, or south-west wind, prevented trees from growing, is proved to have been ill-founded by the introduction of the *Eucalyptus globulus*; for this noble tree attains to an extraordinary height on the pampas, and exhibits there a luxuriance of foliage never seen in Australia.

To this level area—my 'parish of Selborne,' or, at all events, a goodly portion of it—with the sea on one hand, and on the other the practically infinite expanse of grassy desert—another sea, not 'in vast fluctuations fixed.' but in comparative calm—I should like to conduct the reader in imagination: a country all the easier to be imagined on account of the absence of mountains, woods, lakes, and rivers. There is, indeed, little to be imagined - not even a sense of vastness; and Darwin, touching on this point, in the *Journal of a Naturalist*, aptly says :—

> At sea, a person's eye being six feet above the surface of the water, his horizon is two miles and four-fifths distant. In like manner, the more level the plain, the more nearly does the horizon approach within these narrow limits; and this, in my opinion, entirely destroys the grandeur which one would have imagined that a vast plain would have possessed.

I remember my first experience of a hill, after having been always shut within 'these narrow limits.' it was one of the range of sierras near Cape Corrientes, and not above eight hundred feet high; yet, when I had gained the summit, I was amazed at the vastness of the earth, as it appeared to me from that modest elevation. Persons born and bred on the pampas, when they first visit a mountainous district, frequently experience a sensation as of 'ball in the throat,' which seems to prevent free respiration.

In most places the rich, dry soil is occupied by a coarse grass, three or four feet high, growing in large tussocks, and all the year round of a deep green; a few slender herbs and trefoils, with long, twining stems, maintain a frail existence among the tussocks; but the strong grass crowds out most plants, and scarcely a flower relieves its uniform everlasting verdure. There are patches, and sometimes large areas, where it does not grow, and these are carpeted by small creeping herbs of a livelier green, and are gay in spring with flowers, chiefly of the composite and papilionaceous Orders; and verbenas, scarlet, purple, rose and white. On moist or marshy grounds there are also several lilies, yellow, white, and red, and two or three flags, and various other small flowers; but altogether the flora of the pampas is the poorest in species of any fertile district on the globe. On moist clayey ground flourishes the stately pampa-grass (*Gynerium argenteum*), the spears of which often attain a height of eight or nine feet. I have ridden through many leagues of this grass with the feathery spikes as high as my head, and often higher. It would be

impossible for me to give anything like an adequate idea of the exquisite loveliness, at certain times and seasons, of this queen of grasses, the chief glory of the solitary pampa. Everyone is familiar with it in cultivation; but the garden-plant has a sadly decaying, draggled look at all times, and, to my mind, is often positively ugly with its dense withering mass of coarse leaves, drooping on the ground, and bundle of spikes, always of the same dead white or dirty cream-colour. Now colour—the various ethereal tints that give a blush to its cloud-like purity—is one of the chief beauties of this grass on its native soil; and travellers who have galloped across the pampas at a season of the year when the spikes are dead, and white as paper or parchment, have certainly missed its greatest charm. The plant is social, and in some places where scarcely any other kind exists it covers large areas with a sea of fleecy-white plumes; and in late summer and in autumn the tints are seen, varying from the most delicate rose, tender and illusive as the blush on the white under-plumage of some of the gulls, to purple and violaceous. At no time does it look so perfect as in the evening, before and after sunset, when the softened light imparts a mistiness to the crowding plumes, and the traveller cannot help fancying that the tints, which then seem richest, are caught from the level rays of the sun, or reflected from the coloured vapours of the afterglow.

The last occasion on which I saw the pampa-grass in its full beauty was at the close of a bright day in March, ending in one of those perfect sunsets seen only in the wilderness, where no lines of house or hedge mar the enchanting disorder of nature, and the earth and sky tints are in harmony. I had been travelling all day with one companion, and for two hours we had ridden through the matchless grass, which spread away for miles on every side, the myriads of white spears, touched with varied colour, blending in the distance and appearing almost like the surface of a cloud. Hearing a swishing sound behind us we turned sharply round, and saw, not forty yards away in our rear, a party of five mounted Indians, coming swiftly towards us: but at the very moment we saw them their animals came to a dead halt, and at the same instant the five riders leaped up, and stood erect on their horses' backs. Satisfied that they had no intention of attacking us, and were only out looking for strayed horses, we continued watching them for some time, as they stood gazing away over the plain in different directions, motionless and silent, like bronze men on strange horse-shaped pedestals of dark stone; so dark in their copper skins and long black hair, against the far-off ethereal sky, flushed with amber light; and at their feet, and all around, the cloud of white and faintly-blushing plumes. That farewell scene was printed very vividly on my memory, but cannot be shown to another, nor could it be even if a Ruskin's pen or a Turner's pencil were mine; for the flight of the sea-mew is not

more impossible to us than the power to picture forth the image of Nature in our souls, when she reveals herself in one of those 'special moments' which have 'special grace,' and where her wild beauty has never been spoiled by man.

At other hours and seasons the general aspect of the plain is monotonous, and in spite of the unobstructed view, and the unfailing verdure and sunshine, somewhat melancholy, although never sombre: and doubtless the depressed and melancholy feeling that the pampa inspires in those who are unfamiliar with it is due in a great measure to the paucity of life, and to the profound silence. The wind, as may well be imagined on that extensive level area, is seldom at rest, and there, as in the forest, it is a 'bard of many breathings,' and the strings it breathes upon give out an endless variety of sorrowful sounds, from the sharp fitful sibilations of the dry wiry grasses on the barren places, to the long mysterious moans that swell and die in the tall polished rushes of the marsh. It is also curious to note that with a few exceptions the resident birds are very silent, comparatively, even those belonging to groups which elsewhere are highly loquacious. The reason of this is not far to seek. In woods and thickets, where birds most abound, they are continually losing sight of each other, and are only prevented from scattering by calling often; while the muffling effect on sound of the close foliage, to which may be added a spirit of emulation where many voices are heard, incites most species, especially those that are social, to exert their voices to the utmost pitch in singing, calling, and screaming. On the open pampas, birds, which are not compelled to live concealed on the surface, can see each other at long distances, and perpetual calling is not needful: moreover, in that still atmosphere sound travels far. As a rule their voices are strangely subdued; nature's silence has infected them, and they have become silent by habit. This is not the case with aquatic species, which are nearly all migrants from noisier regions, and mass themselves in lagoons and marshes, where they are all loquacious together. It is also noteworthy that the subdued bird-voices, some of which are exceedingly sweet and expressive, and the notes of many of the insects and batrachians, have a great resemblance, and seem to be in accord with the æolian tones of the wind in reeds and grasses: a stranger to the pampas, even a naturalist accustomed to a different fauna, will often find it hard to distinguish between bird, frog and insect voices.

The mammal-fauna is poor in species, and with the single exception of the well-known vizcacha (*Lagostomus trichodactylus*), there is not one of which it can truly be said that it is in any special way the product of the pampas, or, in other words, that its instincts are better suited to the conditions of the pampas than to those of other districts. As a fact, this large rodent inhabits a vast extent of country, north, west, and south of the true pampas, but nowhere is

he so thoroughly on his native heath as on the great grassy plain. There, to some extent, he even makes his own conditions, like the beaver. He lives in a small community of twenty or thirty members, and in a village of deep, chambered burrows, all with their pit-like entrances closely grouped together; and as the village endures for ever, or for an indefinite time, the earth being constantly brought up forms a mound thirty or forty feet in diameter; and this protects the habitation from floods on low or level ground. Again, he is not swift of foot, and all rapacious beasts are his enemies. He also loves to feed on tender succulent herbs and grasses, to seek for which he would have to go far afield among the giant grass, where his watchful foes are lying in wait to seize him. He saves himself from this danger by making a clearing all round his abode, on which a smooth turf is formed. Here the animals feed and have their evening pastimes in comparative security: for when an enemy approaches, he is easily seen; the note of alarm is sounded, and the whole company scuttles away to their refuge. In districts having a different soil and vegetation, as in Patagonia, the vizcacha's curious, unique instincts are of no special advantage, which makes it seem probable that they have been formed on the pampas.

How marvellous a thing it seems that the two species of mammalians—the beaver and the vizcacha—that most nearly simulate men's intelligent actions in their social organising instincts, and their habitations, which are made to endure, should belong to an order so low down as the Rodents! And in the case of the latter species, it adds to the marvel when we find that the vizcacha, according to Waterhouse, is the lowest of the order in its marsupial affinities.

The vizcacha is the most common rodent on the pampas, and the Rodent order is represented by the largest number of species. The finest is the so-called Patagonian hare—*Dolichotis*—a beautiful animal twice as large as a hare, with ears shorter and more rounded, and legs relatively much longer. The fur is grey and chestnut brown. It is diurnal in its habits, lives in kennels, and is usually met with in pairs, or small flocks. It is better suited to a sterile country like Patagonia than to the grassy humid plain. Nevertheless it was formerly found throughout the whole of the pampas; but in a country where the wisdom of a Sir William Harcourt was never needed to restrain its increase, this king of the Rodentia is now nearly extinct.

A common rodent is the *Coypú* (*Myopotamus*) a brown animal with bright red incisors; a rat in shape, and as large as an otter. It is aquatic, and lives in holes in the banks, and where there are no banks it makes a platform nest among the rushes. Of an evening they are all out swimming and playing in the water, conversing together in their strange tones, which sound like the moans and cries of wounded and suffering men; and among them the mother-

coypú is seen with her progeny, numbering eight or nine, with as many on her back as she can accommodate, while the others swim after her, crying for a ride.

With reference to this animal, which, as we have seen, is prolific, a strange thing once happened in Buenos Ayres. The Coypú was much more abundant fifty years ago than now, and its skin, which has a fine fur under the long coarse hair, was largely exported to Europe. About that time the Dictator Rosas issued a decree which made the killing of a coypú a criminal offence. The result was that the animals increased and multiplied exceedingly, and abandoning their aquatic habits, they became terrestrial and migratory, and swarmed everywhere in search of food. Suddenly a mysterious malady fell on them, from which they quickly perished, and became almost extinct.

What a blessed thing it would be for poor rabbit-worried Australia if a similar plague should visit that country, and fall on the right animal! On the other hand, what a calamity if the infection, widespread, incurable, and swift as the wind in its course, should attack the too-numerous sheep! And who knows what mysterious unheard-of retributions that revengeful deity Nature may not be meditating in her secret heart for the loss of her wild four-footed children slain by settlers, and the spoiling of her ancient beautiful order!

A small pampa rodent worthy of notice is the *Cavia australis*, called *cuí* in the vernacular from its voice; a timid, social, mouse-coloured little creature, with a low gurgling language, like running babbling waters; in habits resembling its pied relation the guinea-pig. It loves to run on clean ground, and on the pampas makes little rat-roads all about its hiding-place, which little roads tell a story to the fox, and such like; therefore the little cavy's habits, and the habits of all cavies, I fancy, are not so well suited to this humid grassy region as to other districts, with sterile ground to run and play upon, and thickets in which to hide.

A more interesting animal is the *Ctenomys magellanica*, a little less than the rat in size, with a shorter tail, pale grey fur, and red incisors. It is called *tuco-tuco* from its voice, and *oculto* from its habits; for it is a dweller underground, and requires a loose, sandy soil in which, like the mole, it may *swim* beneath the surface. Consequently the pampa, with its heavy, moist mould, is not the tuco's proper place; nevertheless, wherever there is a stretch of sandy soil, or a range of dunes, there it is found living; not seen, but heard; for all day long and all night sounds its voice, resonant and loud, like a succession of blows from a hammer; as if a company of gnomes were toiling far down underfoot, beating on their anvils, first with strong measured strokes, then with lighter and faster, and with a swing and rhythm as if the little men were beating in time to some rude chant unheard above the surface. How came these isolated colonies of a species so subterranean in

habits, and requiring a sandy soil to move in, so far from their proper district, that sterile country from which they are separated by wide unsuitable areas? They cannot perform long overland journeys like the rat. Perhaps the dunes have travelled, carrying their little cattle with them.

Chiefs among the carnivores are the two cat-monarchs of South America: the jaguar and puma. Whatever may be their relative positions elsewhere on the pampas, the puma is mightiest, being much more abundant and better able to thrive than its spotted rival. Versatile in its preying habits, its presence on the pampa is not surprising; but probably only an extreme abundance of large mammalian prey, which has not existed in recent times, could have tempted an animal of the river- and forest-loving habits of the jaguar to colonise this cold, treeless, and comparatively waterless desert. There are two other important cats. The grass-cat, not unlike the wild cat of Europe in its robust form and dark colour, but a larger, more powerful animal, inexpressibly savage in disposition. The second, *Felis Geoffroyi*, is a larger and more beautiful animal, coloured like a leopard; it is called wood-cat, and, as the name would seem to indicate, is an intruder from wooded districts north of the pampas.

There are two canine animals in the pampa. One is Azara's beautiful grey fox-like dog, purely a fox in habits, and common everywhere. The other is far more interesting and extremely rare; it is called *aguará*, its nearest ally being the *aguará-guazú*, the *Canis jubatus* or maned wolf of naturalists, and found north of the pampean district. The *aguará* is smaller and has no mane; it is like the dingo in size, but slimmer and with a sharper nose, and has a much brighter red colour. At night when camping out I have heard its dismal screams, but the screamer was sought in vain; and from the gauchos of the frontier I could only learn that it is a harmless, shy, solitary animal, and ever flies to remoter wilds from its destroyer man. They offered me a skin; what more could I want? Simple souls! it was no more to me than the skin of a dead dog, with long bright red hair. Those who love dead animals may have them in any number by digging with a spade in that vast sepulchre of the pampas, where perished the hosts of antiquity. I love the living that are above the earth. How small a remnant these are in South America we know, and now they are yearly becoming more precious as they dwindle away.

The pestiferous skunk is universal; and there are two quaint-looking weasels, intensely black in colour, and grey on the back and flat crown. One, the *Galictis barbara*, is a large bold animal that hunts in companies; and when these long-bodied creatures sit up erect, glaring with beady eyes, grinning and chattering at the passer-by, they look like little friars in black robes and grey cowls. But the expression on their round faces is malignant and blood-

thirsty beyond anything in nature, and it would perhaps be more decent to liken them to devils rather than to humans.

On the pampas there is, strictly speaking, only one ruminant, the *Cervus campestris*, which is common. The most curious thing about this animal is that the male emits a rank, musky odour, so powerful that when the wind blows from it the effluvium comes in nauseating gusts to the nostrils from a distance exceeding two miles. It is really astonishing that only one small native ruminant should now be found on this immense grassy area, so admirably suited to herbivorous quadrupeds, and a portion of which at the present moment affords sufficient pasture to eighty millions of sheep, cattle, and horses. In La Plata the author of *The Mammoth and the Flood* will find few to quarrel with his doctrine.

Of Edentates there are four. The giant armadillo does not range so far, and the delicate little pink fairy armadillo, the truncated *Chlamydophorus*, is a dweller in the sand-dunes of Mendoza, and has never colonised the grassy pampas. The *Tatusia hybrida*, called 'little mule' from the length of its ears, and the *Dasypus tricinctus*, which, when disturbed, rolls itself into a ball, the wedge-shaped head and wedge-shaped tail admirably fitting into the deep-cut shell side by side, and the *quirquincho* (*Dasypus minutus*), all inhabit the pampa. They are diurnal, and feed exclusively on insects, chiefly ants. Wherever the country becomes settled, these three disappear, owning to the dulness of their senses, especially that of sight, and to their diurnal habits, which were of advantage to them and enabled them to survive when rapacious animals, which are mostly nocturnal, were their only enemies. The fourth, and most important, is the hairy armadillo, with habits which are in strange contrast to those of its perishing congeners, and which seem to mock many hard-and-fast rules concerning animal life. It is omnivorous, and will thrive on anything from grass to flesh, found dead and in all stages of decay, or captured by means of its own strategy. Furthermore, its habits change to suit its conditions: thus, where nocturnal raptores are its enemies, it is diurnal; but where man appears as a chief persecutor, it becomes nocturnal. It is much hunted for its flesh, dogs being trained for the purpose; yet it actually becomes more abundant as population increases in any district, and, if versatility in habits or adaptiveness can be taken as a measure of intelligence, this poor armadillo, a survival of the past, and so old on the earth as to have existed contemporaneously with the giant glyptodon, is the superior of the large-brained cats and canines.

To finish with the mammalia, there are two interesting opossums, both of the genus *Didelphys*, but in habits as wide apart as cat from otter. One of these marsupials appears so much at home on the plains that I almost regret having said that the vizcacha alone gives

us the idea of being in its habits the *product* of the pampas. This animal—*Didelphys auritus*—has a long slender wedge-shaped head and body, admirably adapted for pushing through the thick grass and rushes; for it is both terrestrial and aquatic, and therefore well suited to inhabit low, level plains liable to be flooded. On dry land its habits are similar to those of a weasel; in lagoons, where it dives and swims with great ease, it constructs a globular nest suspended from the rushes. The fur is soft and of a rich yellow, reddish above, and on the sides and under surface varying in some parts to orange, and in others exhibiting beautiful copper and terra-cotta tints. These lovely tints and the metallic lustre soon fade from the fur, otherwise this animal would be much sought after in the interests of those who love to decorate themselves with the spoils of beautiful dead animals—beasts or birds. The other opossum is the black and white *Didelphys Azaræ*; and it is indeed strange to find this animal on the pampas, although its presence there is not so mysterious as that of the tuco-tuco. It shuffles along slowly and awkwardly on the ground, but is a great traveller nevertheless. Tschudi met it mountaineering on the Andes at an enormous altitude, and, true to its lawless nature, it confronted me in Patagonia, where the books say no marsupial dwells. In every way it is adapted to an arboreal life, yet it is everywhere found on the level country, far removed from the conditions which one would imagine to be necessary to its existence. For how many thousands of years has this marsupial been a dweller on the plain, all its best faculties unexercised, its beautiful grasping hands pressed to the ground, and its prehensile tail dragged like an idle rope behind it! Yet, if one is brought to a tree, it will take to it as readily as a duck to water, or an armadillo to earth, climbing up the trunk and about the branches with a monkey-like agility. How reluctant Nature seems in some cases to undo her own work! How long she will allow a specialized organ, with the correlated instinct, to rest without use, yet ready to flash forth on the instant, bright and keen-edged, as in the ancient days of strife ages past, before peace came to dwell on earth!

The avi-fauna of the pampa is relatively much richer than the mammal-fauna, owing to the large number of aquatic species, most of which are migratory with their 'breeding' or 'subsistence-areas' on the pampas. In more senses than one they constitute a 'floating population,' and their habits have in no way been modified by the conditions of the country. The order, including storks, ibises, herons, spoonbills, and flamingoes, counts about eighteen species; and the most noteworthy birds in it are two great ibises, nearly as large as turkeys, with mighty resonant voices. The duck order is very rich, numbering at least twenty species, including two beautiful upland geese, winter visitors from Magellanic lands, and two swans, the lovely black-necked, and the pure white with rosy bill. Of rails, or ralline

birds, there are ten or twelve, ranging from a small spotted creature no bigger than a thrush to some large majestic forms. One is the *courlan*, called 'crazy widow' from its mourning plumage and long melancholy screams, which on still evenings may be heard a league away. Another is the graceful variegated *ipicaha*, fond of social gatherings, where the birds perform a dance and make the desolate marshes resound with their insane human-like voices. A smaller kind, *Porphyriops*, has a night-cry like a burst of shrill hysterical laughter, and has thereby won for itself the name of 'witch;' while another, *Rallus*, is called 'little donkey' from its braying cries. Strange eerie voices have all these birds. Of the remaining aquatic species, the most important is the spur-winged Crested Screamer, a noble bird as large as a swan. Yet its favourite pastime is to soar upwards until it loses itself to sight in the blue ether, whence it pours forth its resounding choral notes, which reach the distant earth clarified, and with a rhythmic swell and fall as of chiming bells. It also sings by night, 'counting the hours,' the gauchos say, and where they have congregated together in tens of thousands the mighty roar of their combined voices produces an astonishingly grand effect.

The largest aquatic order is that of the *Limicolæ*—snipes, plover, and their allies—which has about twenty-five species. The vociferous spur-winged lapwing and the beautiful black and white stilt, and a true snipe and a painted snipe, are, strictly speaking, the only residents; and it is astonishing to find that, of the five-and-twenty species, at least thirteen are visitors from North America, several of them having their breeding-places high up in the Arctic regions. This is one of those facts concerning the annual migration of birds which almost stagger belief; for among them are species with widely different habits, upland, marsh and sea-shore birds, and in their great biannual journey they pass through a variety of climates, and visit many countries where the conditions seem suited to their requirements. Nevertheless, in September, and even as early as August, they begin to arrive on the pampas, the golden plover often still wearing his black nuptial dress; singly and in pairs, in small flocks, and in clouds they come—curlew, godwit, plover, tatler, tringa—piping the wild notes to which the Greenlander listened in June, now to the gaucho herdsman on the green plains of La Plata, then to the wild Indian in his remote village, and soon, further south, to the houseless guanaco-hunter in the grey wilderness of Patagonia.

Here is a puzzle for ornithologists. In summer on the pampas we have a godwit (*Limosa hudsonica*); in March it goes north to breed; later in the season flocks of the same species arrive from the south to winter on the pampas. And besides this godwit, there are several other North American species, which have colonies in the Southern hemisphere, and a reversed migration and breeding season.

Why do these southern birds winter so far south? Do they really breed in Patagonia? If so, their migration is an extremely limited one compared with that of the northern birds—seven or eight hundred miles, on the outside, in one case, against almost as many thousands of miles in the other. Considering that some species which migrate as far south as Patagonia breed in the Arctic regions as far north as latitude 82°, and probably higher still, it would be strange indeed if none of the birds which winter in Patagonia and on the pampas were summer visitors to that great austral continent, which has an area twice as large as that of Europe and a climate milder than the arctic one. The migrants would have about six hundred miles of sea to cross from Tierra del Fuego; but we know that the golden plover and other species, which sometimes touch at the Bermudas when travelling, fly much further than that without resting. The fact that a common Argentine titlark, a non-migrant and a weak flier, has been met with at the South Shetland Islands, close to the antarctic continent, shows that the journey may be easily accomplished by birds with strong flight; and that even the winter climate of that unknown land is not too severe to allow an accidental colonist, like this small delicate bird, to survive. The godwit already mentioned has been observed in flocks at the Falkland Islands in May, that is, three months after the same species had taken its autumnal departure from the neighbouring mainland. Can it be believed that these late visitors to the Falklands were breeders in Patagonia, and had migrated *east* to winter in so bleak a region? It is far more probable that they came from the south. Officers of sailing ships beating round Cape Horn might be able to settle this question definitely by looking out, and listening at night, for flights of birds, travelling north from about the first week in January to the end of February; and in September and October travelling south. Probably not fewer than a dozen species of the plover order are breeders on the great austral continent; also other aquatic birds—ducks and geese; and many Passerine birds, chiefly of the Tyrant family.

Should the projected Australian expedition to the South Polar regions ever be carried to a successful issue, there will probably be important results for ornithology, in spite of the astounding theory which has found a recent advocate in Canon Tristram, that all life originated at the North Pole, whence it spread over the globe, but never succeeded in crossing the deep sea surrounding the antarctic continent, which has consequently remained till now desolate—'a giant ash (and ice) of death.' Nor is it unlikely that animals of a higher class than birds exist there; and the discovery of new mammals, differing in type from those we know, would certainly be glad tidings to most students of nature.

Land birds on the pampas are few in species and in numbers; and this may be accounted for by the absence of trees and other

elevations on which birds prefer to roost and nest; and by the scarcity of food. Insects are few in dry situations; and the large perennial grasses, which occupy most of the ground, yield a miserable yearly harvest of a few minute seeds; so that this district is a poor one both for soft and hard billed birds. Hawks of several genera, in moderate numbers, are there, but generally keep to the marshes. Eagles and vultures are somewhat unworthily represented by carrion-hawks (*Polyborinæ*); the lordly *carancho*, almost eagle-like in size, black and crested, with a very large, pale blue, hooked beak—his battle-axe: and his humble follower and jackal, the brown and harrier-like *chimango*. These nest on the ground, are versatile in their habits, carrion-eaters, and also killers on their own account, and, like wild dogs, sometimes hunt in bands, which gives them an advantage. They are the unfailing attendants of all flesh-hunters, human or feline; and also furiously pursue and persecute all eagles and true vultures that venture on that great sea of grass, to wander thereafter, for ever lost and harried, 'the Hagars and Ishmaels of their kind.'

The owls are few and all of wide-ranging species. The most common is the burrowing-owl, found in both Americas. Not a retiring owl this, but all day long, in cold and in heat, it stands exposed at the mouth of its kennel, or on the vizcacha's mound, staring at the passer-by with an expression of grave surprise and reprehension in its round yellow eyes; male and female invariably together, standing stiff and erect, almost touching—of all birds that pair for life the most Darby and Joan like.

Of the remaining land-birds, numbering about forty species, a few that are most attractive on account of their beauty, engaging habits, or large size, may be mentioned here. On the southern portion of the pampas the military starling (*Sturnella*) is found, and looks like the European starling, with the added beauty of a scarlet breast: among resident pampas birds the only one with a touch of brilliant colouring. It has a pleasing careless song, uttered on the wing, and in winter congregates in great flocks, and travels slowly over the plains. When thus travelling the birds observe a kind of order, and the flock feeding along the ground shows a very extended front—a representation in bird-life of 'the thin red line'—and advances by the hindmost birds constantly flying over the others and alighting in the front ranks.

Among the tyrant-birds are several species of the beautiful wing-banded genus, snow-white in colour, with black on the wings and tail; these are extremely graceful birds, and strong fliers, and in desert places, where man seldom intrudes, they gather to follow the traveller, calling to each other with low whistling notes, and in the distance look like white flowers as they perch on the topmost stems of the tall bending grasses.

The most characteristic pampean birds are the *tinamous*—called

partridges in the vernacular—the rufous tinamou, large as a fowl, and the spotted tinamou, which is about the size of the English partridge. Their habits are identical: both lay eggs of a beautiful wine-purple colour, and in both species the young acquire the adult plumage and power of flight when very small, and fly better than the adults. They have small heads, slender curved beaks, unfeathered legs and feet, and are tailless; and the plumage is deep yellowish, marked with black and brown above. They live concealed, skulking like rails through the tall grass, fly reluctantly, and when driven up, their flight is exceedingly noisy and violent, the bird soon exhausting itself. They are solitary, but many live in proximity, frequently calling to each other with soft plaintive voices. The evening call-notes of the larger bird are flute-like in character, and singularly sweet and expressive.

The last figure to be introduced into this sketch—which is *not* a catalogue—is that of the *Rhea*.

Glyptodon, *Toxodon*, *Mylodon*, *Megatherium* have passed away, leaving no descendants, and only pigmy representatives; but among the feathered inhabitants of the pampa the grand archaic ostrich of America survives from a time when there were also giants among the avians. Vain as such efforts usually are, one cannot help trying to imagine something of the past history of this majestic bird, before man came to lead the long chase now about to end so mournfully. Its fleetness, great staying powers, and beautiful strategy when hunted, make it seem probable that it was not without pursuers, other than the felines, among its ancient enemies, long-winded and tenacious of their quarry; and these were perhaps of a type still represented by the wolf, or hound-like *aguará* and *aguara-guazú*. It might be supposed that when almost all the larger forms, both mammal and bird, were overtaken by destruction, and when the existing rhea was on the verge of extinction, these long-legged swift canines changed their habits and lost their bold spirit, degenerating at last into hunters of small birds and mammals, on which they are said to live.

The rhea possesses a unique habit, which is a puzzle to us, although it probably once had some significance—namely, that of running, when hunted, with one wing raised vertically, like a great sail—a veritable 'ship of the wilderness.' In every way it is adapted to the conditions of the pampas in a far greater degree than other pampean birds, only excepting the rufous and spotted tinamous. Its commanding stature gives it a wide horizon; and its dim, pale, bluish-grey colour assimilates to that of the haze, and renders it invisible at even a moderate distance. Its large form fades out of sight mysteriously, and the hunter strains his eyes in vain to distinguish it on the blue expanse. Its figure and carriage have a quaint majestic grace, somewhat unavian in character, and peculiar

struggle before us. If we lose the next general action the war will not be over. There is Soignies behind Waterloo, and I question whether anything but a hearty sympathy with the general aims and objects of the Conservative party will be sufficient to sustain the spirit of the troops under the arduous conflict which it is idle to deny may still await them. Unionism alone will not do it.

One word more. We have heard a good deal of the sacrifices that have been made both by Conservatives and Liberals for the sake of the one great object which unites them. I think we have heard too much. If Home Rule be all which they say it is, neither side should demand any price for doing what is only their duty. I think it would be easy to show that the sacrifices made by the Conservatives have been far more important and more vital than any which have been made by the Liberals. But there should be no bargaining in the matter. If either party has given gold for brass, it cannot be helped now. Nothing should have been asked at all. But at all events this much may be said: that whatever concessions have been made by the Conservatives, whether great or small, necessary or unnecessary, they should make it so much the easier for Liberals to call themselves Conservatives, and reduce the chief difficulty in the way of a complete fusion to the smallest possible dimensions.

If we could only keep Unionism and domestic questions entirely distinct; if it could be an understood thing that, while the Unionist alliance lasted, no legislation affecting political principles should be undertaken or supported by the Government; and that when it was dissolved, each party should stand where it did before, the relations between the two would, of course, be simple enough. If we are told, as we sometimes are, that the present Government is in power for the sake of Unionism, and not for the sake of Conservatism, as little is it in power for the sake of Liberalism. If it must not bring in Conservative measures, as little may it bring in Radical measures; the conclusion being what we have suggested, that, strictly speaking, it should bring in neither. But, as that is impossible, it has to make the best compromise it can. Hence the difficulty of discussing Conservative prospects with perfect clearness and directness. An alliance which was formed for one object, and one object only, becomes inevitably mixed up with others with which it has no logical connection. But the main conclusions which I wish to submit to public opinion admit of being stated pretty plainly, and they are these:—that we ought not to rely on the popular antipathy to Home Rule for a majority at the next election; that the party which must ultimately stand in the breach must be a Conservative party, with words inscribed upon its banner which shall command the confidence of all its members; that many independent Liberals may in time be brought over to this party, so as to give it a permanent majority; and that a 'national party,' in the only sense in which it is

art, who will set me down as a Philistine for saying so. And, above all others, we should protect and hold sacred those types, Nature's masterpieces, which are first singled out for destruction on account of their size, or splendour, or rarity, and that false detestable glory which is accorded to their most successful slayers. In ancient times the spirit of life shone brightest in these; and when others that shared the earth with them were taken by death they were left, being more worthy of perpetuation. Like immortal flowers they have drifted down to us on the ocean of time, and their strangeness and beauty bring to our imaginations a dream and a picture of that unknown world, immeasurably far removed, where man was not: and when they perish, something of gladness goes out from nature, and the sunshine loses something of its brightness. Nor does their loss affect us and our times only. The species now being exterminated, not only in South America but everywhere else on the globe, are, so far as we know, untouched by decadence. They are links in a chain, and branches on the tree of life, with their roots in a past inconceivably remote; and but for our action they would continue to flourish, reaching outward to an equally distant future, blossoming into higher and more beautiful forms, and gladdening innumerable generations of our descendants. But we think nothing of all this: we must give full scope to our passion for taking life, though by so doing we 'ruin the great work of time;' not in the sense in which the poet used those words, but in one truer, and wider, and infinitely sadder. Only when this sporting rage has spent itself, when there are no longer any animals of the larger kinds remaining, the loss we are now inflicting on this our heritage, in which we have a life-interest only, will be rightly appreciated. It is hardly to be supposed or hoped that posterity will feel satisfied with our monographs of extinct species, and the few crumbling bones and faded feathers which may possibly survive half a dozen centuries in some happily-placed museum. On the contrary, such dreary mementoes will only serve to add poignancy to their grief; and if they remember us at all, it will only be to hate our memory and our age—this enlightened, scientific, humanitarian age, which should have for a motto 'Let us slay all noble and beautiful things, for to-morrow we die.'

W. H. Hudson.

THE LAND AND ITS OWNERS IN PAST TIMES.

[Ad Populum.]

Some weeks ago I undertook to deliver a lecture in the theatre of the Midland and Birmingham Institute on 'The Land and its Owners in Past Times.' It would have been ridiculous to read an academic treatise on such a subject to an audience of a thousand people, at any rate upon a week-day, and accordingly I took my chance and trusted to find in the inspiriting presence of such an assembly the words that might fairly express my meaning. Practised orators acquire the accomplishment of saying in an hour what they wish to say on any theme they set themselves to discourse upon; but for myself I have never acquired this knack or art, and when I had exhausted my time, I brought my oration to a close with the conviction that I had bungled sadly. Since then a brisk correspondence has been going on in the newspapers about the very subject which I was venturous enough to deal with, and it has been represented to me that there are some—perhaps not a few—who would be glad of such a popular view of the subject under discussion as I endeavoured to lay before my Birmingham audience.

It might or might not be easier to deal with a question of this kind by attempting a scholastic and severe handling of the whole matter; but, other considerations apart, my experience has taught me that the generality of fairly educated people learn most of those who assume that their readers or hearers know least.

A specialist is not always the best instructor even on his own subject; he is apt to forget that he was himself at one time a beginner, and apt to take it for granted that everybody knows this or that. In the following pages I assume no special knowledge on the part of whosoever may attend to me. Here are some facts that everybody does *not* know, which everybody would be the better for knowing, which some will be glad to know, and which some who pose as teachers of new things do not seem to know, and yet ought to know better than any one else. As to the discussion that has been going on between the giants who soar into the higher regions of speculation, and do battle for and against such academic subtleties as rough-and-ready politi-

cians cannot away with, that is no concern of mine. When a man presumes to address the many rather than the few, he must avoid transcendentalism if he expects to be listened to. It is dangerous swimming in a fathomless ocean when the monsters of the deep are showing themselves on the surface.

Let my readers, then, imagine themselves in the great Hall of the Midland Institute on any evening they please. To them enters the popular lecturer, who may be supposed to speak as follows:—

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As I stand up upon this platform my feet are planted upon the carpet which is spread upon the boards; these rest upon joists and beams; they upon something else; but at the foundation of all, at the bottom of all, there remains the *land* on which the whole building reposes.

I presume I may take the liberty of asking to whom does this land belong? And I am not likely to be wrong in assuming that the carpet and the furniture and the building and the land all belong to one and the same owner or owners—to wit, the Society or Corporation of the Midland and Birmingham Institute. So far so good.

But there are two more questions which I must take leave to ask before I can get on, and they are (1) How did the Society become possessed of the land? and (2) What was the nature of the possession acquired?

I. This question is soon answered, and yet the answer is not without its suggestiveness. The land, I suppose, was bought by the Society from some previous owner. That means that the land is now a saleable commodity—and a commodity sometimes owned by a single person, sometimes by a society or a corporation; that is, sometimes held in severalty and sometimes in common. We may go on to add that the land may be cut up into very minute portions and sold by the yard, or it may be sold, as you may express it, by wholesale; and when sold the enjoyment of this commodity or the use of it may belong to a single landlord or to a community of owners.

And yet it is a fact, which is a great deal more certain than many so-called facts can be said to be, that there was a time, not so very long ago, when the land of this country was not to be bought or sold for money as it is now, and when it was not divisible at a man's pleasure, *i.e.* in no sense to be *sold retail*.

II. But what is the nature of the possession acquired by the present owners of this piece of land? If I take my handkerchief out of my pocket show you something which certainly belongs to me; I bought it and paid for it. If I please I may—*as I can*—toss it into the fire and reduce it to ashes in a few moments; in fact, destroy it, practically get rid of it, annihilate it. So with the gold chain at my buttonhole; I might, if I could, serve it in the same

way, but practically I *cannot* utterly destroy it, for gold is a very indestructible substance, and though I may hammer it into gold-leaf or beat it into dust, the gold practically remains unchanged, only the form of the gold alters. But with regard to the land I neither may nor can destroy it, nor can I deal with it as if it were a private chattel. I *cannot* destroy it, I *may* not quite serve it as if it were wholly and exclusively mine.

This, however, is but the beginning of our difficulties. Observe, I can measure and weigh this rag of linen or this golden chain; it is so wide, so long, so thick, it weighs so much. But can I get the dimensions of this land as easily? Can I get them at all? We say that a man buys so many acres or so many square yards of land. That is the length and the breadth of it. How about the depth of it? May I, if I choose and if I can, may I build an Eiffel Tower upon it, say 2,000 feet high this time, and this time not of iron but of brick or stone? Clearly not! Because if I did so I should inevitably interfere with my neighbours' rights of enjoyment of *their* land. I may not shut out the light of heaven from them nor interfere with their claim to the free current of the air that is our life; for my neighbours who own their land claim all that is *above* it as far as the stars in an infinite column *upwards*; and for a like reason I may not go digging away to the centre of the world so as to prejudice their rights *below* the surface—for when we say we own this or that patch of land, we mean that our ownership reaches to the zenith above and down to the centre below. And yet so inextricably are our rights entangled that we are all more or less limited in our ownership; and with the land which belongs to him no man can say in all strictness that he can deal as if it were absolutely and personally his own. So that the old distinction between real property and personal property is based upon fact and truth. For what men make, what they produce by personal toil or skill, that is personal property, *i.e.* it owes its very existence to human effort and human intelligence. But what, according to the old cosmogonies, man did not make, but which, rather, man was *made* of—the good old mother earth—that is *not* personal, but antecedent to human personality; for man could not exist without the land, though the land could do very well without man.

So far, you observe, we have got to this: that when we talk of being owners of a certain tract of land, we mean that we are owners of a certain superficial area with appurtenances thereto belonging, such appurtenances extending to the heavens above and to the depths below, but that our title to those appurtenances is limited. There is a point at which we are sure to be stopped if we so invade the column of air above us that other owners of land are wronged by our vaulting ambition; and there is another point at which we shall be sure to be stopped if, by dipping down to the depths below us,

we injure the subterranean appurtenances of our neighbours on this side or on that.

But this is not all. You say that the land on which this building stands belongs to this Society or Corporation. Suppose that one fine morning one of those horrible men of science, who are never tired of discovering something, were to announce that under this floor at a certain depth there ran a seam of the richest coal, which if it were worked for a year or two would produce untold wealth, and suffice to build a dozen such halls as this, and still leave a vast surplus to pay off all your debts and relieve you of all fear of paying rates for another century at least. I presume the temptation would be irresistible to let this Hall take its chance. You would have a shaft sunk in a few weeks or months, and down you would go burrowing into the bowels of the earth in search of the hidden treasure. That is to say, you would do this *if you might*. You will do this if you *may*. But may you? 'This land belongs to the Corporation,' say you; 'therefore yes!' But we have seen that for all your claim of right you may *not* go as high as the Tower of Babel if you are mad enough to conceive the whim of climbing up to the moon. Your neighbours will cry out. 'The winds of heaven and the moving air are not yours to obstruct and play your tricks with; the blessed sunlight is not yours that you may leave us in darkness and rob us of our ancient lights. The upward appurtenances of your plot of land are common property. If you stretch your rights too far, they cease to be your rights and become our wrongs.'

That is intelligible enough as far as your *upward* appurtenances are concerned. But when we come to claim, what I venture to call, our *downward* appurtenances, these things are not so simple and plain. We have assumed that this Society bought this land. Who did they buy it of? When did they buy it? Under what conditions? With what reservations?

Leaving other questions on one side, let me ask, Did the former possessor of this landed estate—in selling this portion of his property—did he reserve the mineral rights? If he did, then all the coal of Newcastle may be packed close and deep under this floor, and yet the Corporation of Birmingham may not touch it. It belongs to some previous owner of the land, and a lordly treasure-house it may be; but it is all his, it is not yours, however much you might like to have it. I said 'some previous owner.' And here comes in another of those anomalies which make every step in the study of this subject bristle with difficulties. For if it were only coal that was to be found, the coal would belong to the first owner of the soil who reserved the mineral rights, and he might be a man who purchased the landed estate one day and sold it the next. But if it should turn out that this Hall were built upon a gold mine, the gold would belong to the crown.

Do you see what we have come to? This parcel of land on which we are at this moment standing seems to belong to no *one* person or corporation absolutely. No one owns it to such an extent as to be able to deal with it as if it were a personal chattel. The owner is stopped if he goes too high, and he is stopped if he goes too low. In other words, we may say that this land is after all *held in joint proprietorship*. The neighbours have rights in it; the overlord who reserved his minerals has rights in it; the crown has a claim upon it, if there are precious metals below the surface; and it may be, for all I know, that there are other persons who, so to speak, may claim to have a finger in the pie, and who, in a sense which I will not at this point stop to explain, may have something to say in the way of claiming a proprietary interest in it. And yet I can hardly be wrong in assuming that this Hall is built upon freehold land, as it is called, and that the fee, as it is called, belongs to this Society.

I shall have to get away from Birmingham soon, but I cannot quite leave it yet, for it is necessary that I should carry you back to a time 800 years ago. It is just about 800 years ago that a survey was made of Birmingham and its neighbourhood, among other places, and the record of this survey still exists, and may be read by any one who has learnt the trick of deciphering it. The record does not tell us *very* much, not, of course, as much as we should like to know, but it does tell us something. We find that at Birmingham about the year 1089 there was a certain William, son of Ansculf, who owned a landed estate at Birmingham. He had, I suppose, inherited it from his father; for Ansculf himself had been a great man in his day, and had done good service in the wars. He seems to have been a considerable personage, whose ancestors had lived in a great castle at a place called Pinkeny or Pinchingi, near Amiens; and when William the Conqueror was gathering his host about him to win the crown of England, and with it the land of England, Ansculf, seeing that William was the right man to follow and serve, threw in his lot with the great leader, and brought his retainers along with him; and I suppose he had his share in the fighting, and he got his share of the spoil. Then he died, not however until he had been very well paid for his services. His son William followed in his father's steps, and when the Warwickshire folk set themselves against the Conqueror, and gave him some little trouble, the son of Ansculf, I take it, stood by his leader; and then, I think, he too got his reward. But there was an Englishman named Ulwin, who was a small gentleman in his way, living at this time in Warwickshire, who it appears was not gifted with foresight and worldly wisdom—he was of the school of Mrs. Partington, and apt to entertain conscientious objections to the Atlantic Ocean—and when the great tide of conquest moved his way, he set himself to stem it. Ulwin had what we now call *an estate* of no great importance *at Birmingham*, with a house upon it, such as it was.

He had half a dozen or so of people, who were more or less dependent upon him, living on the estate, and a wood, or patch of forest, part and parcel of the said estate, or let us call it his *lordship*. William the Conqueror made short work of the wretched Warwickshire folk who stood in his way; he found out who they were, what their names were, what their lands were and all about them that he cared to know, and he put his hand upon that land and all that appertained to it, and making very little difficulty about the transfer, he gave it piecemeal to his supporters, the men who had stood by him in the struggle. 'Who is this Ulwin?' quoth the Conqueror. 'An insolent little upstart rebel it seems, giving himself airs by reason of his trumpery lordship and his half a dozen ragamuffin tenants, and his few dirty acres, and his woods where the swine munch the mast. Such a man is to be cleared out of the way. As for his land, be it enacted that from henceforth his land, or his lordship if he likes, is no longer the possession of this Ulwin, but that it belongs to the son of Ansculf and his seed for ever!' Thereupon the son of Ansculf became Lord Birmingham. In a sense it belonged to him. In what sense it did so we shall see by-and-by.

But you will say, 'Surely, this was a very high-handed proceeding. The king *could* not do this, he had no *right* to take away the poor man's land and give it away in this outrageous fashion!'

Observe how here we find ourselves slipping into another question—a question of abstract right. With that question let me say at once that I have no concern whatever at this moment. If you object that the king *could* not do as he did, I can only point to the stubborn fact that he *did* it. If you insist further that he had no right—no *moral right*—to do it, I have only to say that you are at perfect liberty to think as you please upon that question, and that I rejoice with all my heart that you, at any rate, are not disposed to confound might with right; but, for myself, I am not lecturing on ethics, or discoursing upon the eternal obligations of the Ten Commandments. This only I know, that when that poor little gentleman, Mr. Ulwin, was dispossessed of his own, and his lordship was handed over to the son of Ansculf, people had a much weaker faith in abstract right than they have now, and a very much stronger belief in the rights which conquest conferred upon the conqueror; and when a doughty king like the great William won a territory by his strong arm and irresistible power, and none were able to stand before him and say him nay, then this conqueror had no manner of hesitation in taking what he thought fit to claim, and giving it to whom he would. Yes! even the land.

But the son of Ansculf was a very big man, and this Birmingham estate was certainly not the place he would have chosen to live in. Why didn't he sell it and get rid of it? Sell it! Well I will not go the length of saying that 800 years ago land was not a market-

able commodity, because that would convey a wrong impression; but this I will say, that it would no more have entered into the head of the son of Ansculf in the year 1089 to hand over his little Birmingham estate to Tom, Dick, or Harry for money down, than it would have occurred to him to sell his backbone for a bank post-bill. 'Well! But who did he leave all his land to?' Do you mean by will? If you do, again you are going astray, for the answer to this question brings us face to face with another fact which will, I am sure, be a surprise to many of you.

In those days in England men could not make a will and leave their land to whom they pleased.

If the son of Ansculf had died without heirs, his land would have gone back to the king who gave it. As it was, he had an only daughter, and all his estates went to her. But in those days buying and selling of land was a thing almost unknown, and leaving a landed estate by will was not known at all. And there was good reason for this; for by the conquest of England, or consequent upon it, 800 years ago, the king became the supreme landlord; all the land of the nation, the old folkland, became his; and all private land was held of him mediately or immediately. When, therefore, we hear of a gold-mine under this Hall being the property of the crown, we come upon a survival of the old theory—the land may belong to you or to me in a certain sense, but there are limits even now to our ownership. There are some things in the land which do not belong to us, some things which we may not claim as our own, even though they be found on our land. We may not dig up the gold that lies buried under our kitchens!

I said just now that after the conquest the king became the supreme landlord, and that all the land in England was held mediately or immediately of him. Well that is true and it is not true. It *is* true if we mean that the *bestowal* of all the land and all its appurtenances belonged to the king. It is *not* true if we mean that in every case the king could bestow it upon any one he pleased. For ages anterior to the conquest there had been a portion of the land of this country which had been reserved for the maintenance of a certain class in the nation, and in addition to this reserve of land there had been, speaking within limits, a reserve of a share of the appurtenances of all the other land under cultivation. The reserve lands were known as church lands, and the reserved appurtenances were known as tithes. When the Conqueror took to himself the right of dealing with the land as a whole, he acknowledged that in the bestowal of the church land and in the bestowal of the tithe even his power was limited. The church lands and the tithe, he acknowledged, could only be bestowed upon a tenant for life who was a clergyman, or upon a religious corporation, which was treated as if it were in some way or other exercising the functions which the clergy could discharge.

There is an entry in the great Survey of Hants which gives us a good illustration of what I mean. The commissioners are giving the king information concerning a place which they call Stanham, and this is what they say:—

'Richer the clergyman holds the Church of this Manor, and with it two other churches near Henton, which belong to the Mother Church; and close to this church there lies a Hide of land (about 120 acres) [also held by Richer], and in addition he owns all the tithes of this township—*even the tithes of the King's land.* He *did* hold this of the Bishop, he *does* hold it now of the King.'

That is to say, that this reverend gentleman—Richer by name—had been presented to this living of his in the first instance by the bishop as *patron of the living.* Then came the Conquest; and the Conqueror, using his high-handed proceeding, took to himself *not* absolute possession of the land reserved—still less did he call back the appurtenance called the tithe, even though it was levied upon his own royal domain—but he took to himself the right of saying to whom the life-interest of such land and appurtenances should be granted in the case of an avoidance. And yet he tacitly acquiesced in his power of disposing of the benefice being a limited power. He could only confer the life-interest upon a clergyman. The enjoyment of such land and tithe was limited, inasmuch as the estate formed a part of the reserve of church lands.

Now you may perhaps have observed that so far I have not gone behind the date of the Conquest by the great William. I have taken this as my *terminus a quo* for many reasons, but chiefly for this most important reason—that no man holds land in this country upon a title anterior to the Conquest. The settlement of the land by William the Conqueror may be said to be practically the beginning of things; and if we go behind that we are plunged at once into the region of cloudland, of hypothesis and theory: we leave the sure standing-ground of facts.

But having in a manner carried you *back* to this point—the point beyond which we will not travel in our tracing the origin of things which concern the history of the property in land in England—let us see what we find. It is this, that 800 years ago we have all the land in England claimed as his own by the sovereign, and acknowledged to be his by the whole body of the landowners. Yes; the whole body of the landowners—indeed, we may say the whole nation—submitted to hold all their land of the king: all the land was, as it were, forfeited to him. Some of it—indeed, a great deal of it—he gave back to the landlords who had previously owned it; but these consented to hold their lands as *tenants* of the great Conqueror. Some of it was handed over to his brethren in arms—they too being his tenants. Some of it was reserved for the maintenance of a privileged class (the clergy), to whom it was given for

their several lives, and at their death it reverted to the king in some cases, to the landlords (who were the tenants of the king) in other cases; but this land could only be held for life by clergymen. Thus, then, all the land—speaking within certain limits—was held subject to the condition of performing certain services. In the case of the laity, the service was in the main the service of helping the king in war; in the case of the clergy, it was the service of keeping up the worship of God and performing the offices of religion.

And because this reserve of land and appurtenances had been submitted to for many centuries, and had been acquiesced in by successive generations—the non-clerical owners of the land having no thought of revolting against the old *status quo ante*—the Conqueror in this instance made no change; and thus the settlement of the land question by William may be said to have been arrived at on the theory that the real supreme landlord of all the land in the country was the king, who at his pleasure made grants of certain lordships or fiefs or manors to whom he would—these grantees becoming tenants of the king, such tenants having the right to make what they could of their lands on condition, first, that they acknowledged his sovereignty by rendering him certain tributes or 'rents' for which they were liable, *or*, secondly, on condition that, being clergymen, they performed certain functions which only the clergy were qualified to discharge, and whereby the whole nation was assumed to receive a real benefit.

I have not yet done with the son of Ansculf. That vigorous and insatiable young gentleman was not going to be put off with such a poor reward as the lordship of Birmingham—a squalid little desolate hamlet with half a dozen huts, where the population huddled as best they could, and a score or two of lean hogs picked up a very precarious livelihood in the woods. There was a very much more considerable lordship hard by, which would bring him in a far larger revenue. In the survey this lordship is called Eston. *Now* it is called Aston, and is a suburb of Birmingham, and, I believe, contains more than 150,000 inhabitants; but in 800 years the look of some places changes a great deal, and so it has been with Aston, otherwise Eston.

This Eston lordship had formerly been one of the possessions of Edwin, Earl of the Mercians. It comprehended a large tract of arable land on which some forty families were settled, who, among them, kept eighteen or twenty ploughs going. There was a parson to look after them, and presumably a church for him to officiate in. There was a mill for grinding the corn—a sure source of income to the lord. There were some miles of forest, and there was a certain portion of the estate which the lord had kept in his own hands, and which is technically known as land *in demesne*, with, presumably, a house upon it called the 'capital mansion.' For some reason or

other, this demesne land seems to have run out of cultivation, for at the time of the survey there was not a plough to be found upon it, though in better days it had taken six ploughs to keep it under tillage. Now it unluckily happens that when the men who drew up the survey of Warwickshire sent in their returns, they contented themselves with giving a much briefer and less minute account of the several lordships than the surveyors of Norfolk and Suffolk had felt themselves bound to forward to headquarters. The consequence is that we are compelled to fill in the void places by the help of conjecture and analogy; but we have certain data to go upon, and we are in a position roughly to form a probable estimate of what the Eston lordship was like. At a guess I should say that the whole lordship extended over at least 5,000 acres. I suspect the manor-house had been burnt down, and the whole place pillaged during the late rebellion. As to the 1,000 acres of arable land, it was cultivated as *open fields*. There were pretty sure to be some common pasture lands on which the cattle might be turned when the corn was growing. Also, over and above the woodland or forest, there was pretty sure to be another breadth of mere waste land, scrub or heath not worth the tillage—such land as in Norfolk was called *bruary*, where nothing but briars and thorns would grow. So that we have here what I must venture to call five different kinds of land, and why I call them so will appear in the sequel: (1) The demesne land or home farm of the lord; (2) the open fields cultivated by the tenants of the manor for their own profit, but yielding an annual rent to the lord; (3) the common pasture; (4) the forest or woodland, and (5) the waste or bruary, which supplied a certain amount of fuel in the shape of turf, bracken, and brushwood for all the tenants, and cover for rabbits and other game.

It must be understood that this area bestowed upon the son of Ansculf was not a mere aggregate of estates each held in severalty, but was *one* and indivisible. When the Conqueror took upon himself to confiscate all the land of the country, that land was divided into a large number of small territories, each of which may be described as a miniature kingdom, with something like a constitution of its own. It will suffice to call these petty kingdoms *manors*, for that is the name which they were generally known by, and I call them petty 'kingdoms' because in those days people could only conceive of government as exercised by a chieftain or king or 'lord,' even though this chieftain or lord might be very far from being an absolute sovereign, and though the governed class had rights which acted as powerful checks upon the dominating influence of the chief ruler. Thus in the case of this manor or lordship of Eston the demesne lands with the capital mansion upon it represented the *residency* of the lord with its *home farm*, and it was the only portion of the estate that was surrounded by a fence or inclosure. Whatever

hedges or palings were to be found elsewhere within the limits of the manor they existed on sufferance or had been put up by licence of the lord. If any one had dared to put up a fence without consent of the lord and without consent of the other tenants of the manor, it would have been pulled down very speedily and with very little ceremony, for the tenants too had a voice in the matter, and they too had an interest in resisting anything in the shape of invasion of their rights. And, as I have said, all had rights, and those rights were reciprocal; for as the owner of the demesne lands was the lord of the manor, so every cultivator of the soil within the limits of that manor was, in theory, the lord's man.

But when we come to speak of the open fields of the manor we come upon a condition of affairs which it is sometimes difficult for people in our time to understand. The open fields constituted a certain area of arable land within the manor which was cultivated by a body of tenants who held their several allotments by a very peculiar tenure. To begin with, these allotments or strips were scattered about in the most unmethodical way possible. It really looks as if the Conqueror when he gave away lordships to his supporters and, as we are told, took care to let none of his great lords have more than two or three of such lordships contiguous—it looks, I say, as if he had taken a hint from the wonderfully minute subdivision of lands in the manors themselves, and, seeing how such subdivision must tend to prevent the tenants of the manor from ever becoming individually formidable to the lord, bethought him that it would be wisdom to adopt in his kingdom the same policy which answered so well in the manor, the policy of *Divide et impera*. Be that however as it may, it is certain that the open fields of the manor were cut up into a very large number of strips or patches, which were held by the tenants of the manor under a very peculiar tenure. The tenants had the right of dealing with their lands as if they were their own for a portion of the year only; but if they did not clear off their crops by a certain day, the lord in some cases, the whole body of the tenants in others, might turn their sheep or cattle into the common fields and devour whatever was left of the tenant's harvest.

On the other hand, these tenants to all intents and purposes possessed such rights over their several strips of arable land, and in many cases over enclosed meadows and gardens and houses too, that they could not be dispossessed of their holdings at the will of the lord. They were tenants indeed, but they were tenants with a very real and definite *tenant right*.

But rights imply duties. What were the duties of these tenants? Well, one of the most important of those duties was the duty of paying something in the shape of rent to the lord. In those days money was scarce—very scarce—therefore the dues rendered to the lord in exchange for the use of the lord's land were paid to a great

extent in what I may as well call *kind*. The money rent was for the most part a small fraction of the payment exacted, but the other rent was at times extremely onerous.

Thus I could give you chapter and verse for one case, which is no better and no worse than hundreds of others that might easily be adduced, where one John, a tenant of the manor of Banham in Norfolk, held twenty-five acres of the lord. For this he paid 9*d*. a year in money rent, but this was the least of his burdens. He had to do six days' ploughing and nine days' reaping in harvest-time for the lord. He had to do two days' work at haymaking-time, and half a day's work at carrying the lord's hay. He had to do four days' carting and nine days' of job-work in the lord's demesne whensoever it suited the lord to set him on, and he had every year to bring to the lord's house two hens at Christmas, twenty eggs at Easter, and four quarters of oats on St. Andrew's Day, *i.e.* the 30th of November. If you add up all these dues—to say nothing of a great deal else that I must not dwell on—you will find that the dues paid by the tenants in those early times were by no means light or inconsiderable. Nay, in many instances it is almost inexplicable how they were paid at all; the burdens in many instances which have come under my notice must have been almost crushing. And yet it must be remembered that there were certain alleviations of these burdens. In the first place the tenants had fixity of tenure of their land. It may be said pretty safely that in those days there was hardly anything in the shape of land laws, and the whole complex machinery of leases for a term of years was hardly known. Instead of any statute law, every manor was governed in the main by certain customs which had been handed down by tradition, and these customs it was the interest of every member of the community to keep inviolate. If any dispute arose it was settled, not by an appeal to any outside tribunal, but by bringing the cause before an assembly of the tenants—the *homagers* as they were called of the manor—and though at these assemblies or courts of the manor the lord or his steward presided, he was by no means supreme, indeed cases arose at times when the lord of the manor was actually censured for infringing upon the rights of the homage. Then, too, every tenant of the manor had rights over the waste, over any common pasture that there might be, and over the woodland in the manor.

There is a very widespread delusion among the majority of people to the effect that where a common pasture existed within the limits of an ancient manor, any one who liked, and who was an *inhabitant* of the manor, might turn out upon the common as many sheep and heads of cattle as he liked—a drove of camels or a herd of ponies. So far from that being the case, it may be said that there was no right which the tenants of a manor were more jealous of than the rights of common pasture. Not only could no one but a tenant of the manor turn even a donkey or a goose upon the common, but it was a matter of strict ordinance how many cows or sheep might be

allowed to come from each holding. So, too, it was with regard to the waste or bruary. Then, too, there were very valuable rights which the tenants enjoyed, I mean the right of cutting turf for fuel, and of gathering bracken for kindling or thatching; but no one man or any dozen of men could be allowed so to use his rights as to deprive other men of theirs, and the rights of turbary were jealously watched by every member of the community, each having an interest in guarding all from the usurpation of any one. Lastly, in the case of the forest or woodland, the timber growing there belonged to the lord; but the tenants had in many cases the right of lopping and topping certain trees, and in my part of the world you may see many an old oak tree that must be at least as old as the Conquest, and which for *ages* was subject to this treatment, the tenant never daring to cut the tree down, and the lord not caring to do so, but resigning it to the bills and hooks of the tenants of the manor, who hacked off the young branches when they came in handy for fuel or other purposes, and doing this in despite of the lord or by his connivance. Besides this right of lopping and topping, and certain other rights over the underwood and the fallen branches, there was a very valuable right of *pannage* in the woods, *i.e.* the right of turning their cattle or swine into the woods to feed upon the mast or the acorns, or to browse upon the herbage; but all these rights were strictly limited. They were limited in time, for they began on one day and they ended on another day year by year, and they were limited in space, for the area over which they extended was, as I have said, clearly and sharply defined.

Such was this manor of Eston, which became the possession of William, son of Ansculf, eight centuries ago. Such was his manor or lordship, or as we should call it now his *landed estate*, which, if he rose from the dead now to take a look at, he would assuredly not recognise as even remotely resembling what he once called his own. But having got this lordship, with a great many others besides, what was he to do with it? He could not *live* there, for, as we have seen, the manor-house was probably a blackened ruin. He could not sell it. Could he give it away? No, he could not even do that. For you must understand that when the Conqueror bestowed a tract of land upon a new lord, he did not only give the land to the lord, but he did more—he gave the lord to the land. The lord was answerable to the king for the land, and for the men who lived upon the land, and lived by the land. If he could make anything out of his lordship so much the better for him; but, whether or no, he was answerable for the land and its cultivators in more ways than one, and occasions might easily arise when the grant of this or that manor (if it stood alone) might prove to be the gift of a very horrible white elephant to the grantee. What, then, was the son of Ansculf to do with his manor of Eston? There were two courses open to him: he might

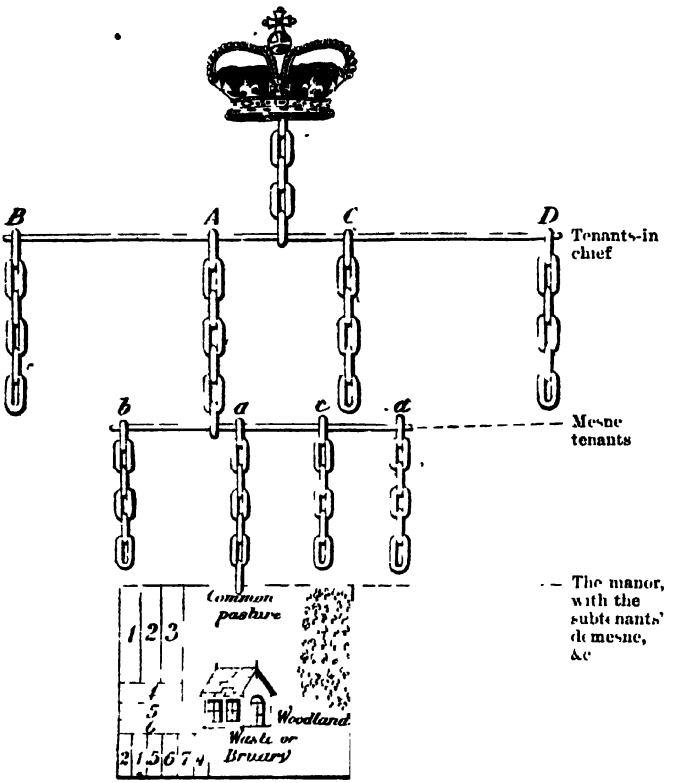
keep it in his own hands and manage it by a bailiff, or he might *let it out* to somebody else—by giving that somebody else a *perpetual lease* of the manor—receiving money down or an equivalent for the grant of this lease and receiving a peppercorn rent, as we term it, in acknowledgment of his overlordship. And he might further reserve to himself this or that privilege or contingent advantage which his whim or his foresight might suggest as desirable to retain.

The son of Ansculf did *not* keep the manor in his own hands. He made it over to an Englishman to make what he could of it, and that Englishman's name was Godmund, whose descendants, for anything I know to the contrary, may be landowners in Aston or Birmingham to this very day. So Godmund forthwith became the lord of the manor, and 'stood in the shoes' of the son of Ansculf, as we phrase it, though he was not the owner of the estate nor *directly* even a tenant of the king: he became what was technically known as a *mesne tenant*. When the king demanded his due on account of this manor of Eston he came upon the son of Ansculf for it, and left the son of Ansculf to settle with the mesne tenant as best he could. And when the son of Ansculf demanded his due of Godmund, Godmund had to settle for his own liabilities to the tenant-in-chief, and it must be admitted that as time went on Godmund and his successors contrived to shift such liabilities as they could upon their *sub-tenants*, that is the homagers or smaller landholders of the manor.

Thus, then, as regards this manor—and the same is true *mutatis mutandis* of all the land in England—the truth seems to be that it was a tract of land which had, and yet it had not, *got away from the original grantor*, to wit the sovereign. The king could not keep all the land in his own hands and farm it by an army of bailiffs. Landowners in ancient and modern times who have tried that experiment have discovered that there is only one class in the community that finds *that* a profitable speculation, and that is the class of which one representative has become immeasurably notorious, inasmuch as he will be known to all time as the unjust steward. So the king let out his land to certain tenants-in-chief, whom we will call A, B, C, D.

But the tenants-in-chief were in the same position as the king; they too had more land than they could manage profitably, and they too had not unlimited confidence in the steward or bailiff class. So they did as the king did; they too sublet their manors to the mesne tenants, whom we will call a, b, c, d. These mesne tenants thus became the real lords of the manors, but between them and the land there were the sub-tenants, who were the tillers of the soil, holding their land of a, b, or c, subject to certain rents, services, or burdens, but possessed of tenant right of which they could not be deprived. We will call them 1, 2, or 3. They were virtually part owners of the soil.

The accompanying apology for a diagram will, perhaps, make the state of the case clear at a glance:—



Very noticeable is this point in William the Conqueror's settlement of the land question, that it made no provision for any *subdivision* of the land. The Conqueror dealt with the land by wholesale, and it is hardly too much to say that, according to his settlement, selling land by retail was impossible. The manor was the unit. The manor with its group of sub-tenants constituted a *hive*, with its drones and its workers and its *queen-bee*. The tenants belonged to the land as much as and more than the land belonged to them. No one of them could alienate his land or any portion of it at his pleasure; he might cultivate it or he might run away and leave it; but if he wanted to hand it over to any one else it was at the lord's option to say him Yes! or No!

But what happened if 1, or 2, or 3, or any other of the tenants of the manor, simply died and left no heirs—as they did die by the

thousand in that dreadful year 1349? Then the land which had been held by these tenants came back to the lord of the manor—*escheated* to him as it was called. He got the land, but he was the poorer by the loss of the rents and services. He might, again, take the land into his own hands and farm it, but he could not absorb it into the demesne lands, for to do that would have been stoutly resisted by the tenants, for very good reasons which I will not stop to particularise; and inasmuch as the land of the tenants was, as we have seen, 'scattered all over the place,' to retain it would have been madness. Therefore it was almost inevitable that the lord should let it out again, sometimes on the same terms as before, sometimes upon better terms. But as often as the lord saw that here a strip or there a strip lay conveniently near his demesne, or his woods, or his pastures, we may be pretty sure that such strips of land would be little by little tacked on to the lord's private property, and though this would not be done on a large scale, or by a *coup de main*, the process of annexation would be always going on; for the lord was, of course, a much bigger man than any of his tenants, and the tendency was always for him to become richer and more powerful, and for the sub-tenants to become weaker and poorer.

That is to say, on the land, as everywhere else, the tendency was and always will be for the big man to gobble up the small man—the weakest must go to the wall—and though you may set yourselves as much as you please against this tendency, you will never be able to resist this great law of the universe. Bring any molecule you please within the orbit of a body of greater volume and density, and the attraction of the greater will infallibly tend to absorb the less into its mass. From the point of view which a small man is apt to take of things in general, I confess I am sometimes tempted to rebel against this kind of thing. I do not like the thought of being gobbled up by some great one, but I have arrived at the melancholy conviction that I cannot help it; and, moreover, I do not see how I could alter it for the better. The logic of words is often only a matter of contending fallacies, the logic of facts is irresistible. And so it could not be otherwise than that A, B, and C should tend to dominate more and more over 1, 2, and 3; for the sons of the soil—the tillers of the soil—had very little to fall back upon when things went wrong with them. Some went away to the wars; some went to seek their fortunes as pedlars or artisans; some took to crime and vice; some laid down and died, no one knew how, or when, or why; and some were hanged, and then again their land did *not* escheat to the king, but came back into the hands of the lord of the manor. The one class would be steadily, however slowly, going up, the other class would be going down.

But would not the same law hold good of the *tenants-in-chief* relatively to the mesne tenants or lords of the manors? No, not to

anything like the same extent as in the former case. To begin with, the number of the mesne tenants was not a hundredth part of the number of the sub-tenants or peasant class. The lord of the manor was incomparably better clad and housed and 'nourished' than his tenants; he might grow fat while they starved; famine and nakedness were not in his line; they were often enough very near to *them*; disease stalked among them with a ghastly familiarity, and death came knocking at *their* doors, sometimes rather as friend than foe. For one lord of the manor who died without heirs up and down the length and breadth of England there would be a thousand of the sub-tenants who dropped out and none regarded. But if an a or b or c *did* die leaving no heirs to succeed to his lordship, what happened? Exactly what happened in the case of the death of 1, 2, or 3. The *whole estate* went back in its entirety to A, B, or C, the whole manor and all the tenants upon it, the whole *hive* and all the bees in it. That is to say, a, or b, or c, as the case might be, cease to exist, and the manor became linked to A, or B, or C without any intermediary, the rents or services remained absolutely as they were before, and so did the rights of the tenants, they stood exactly as they had stood, and things returned to the same condition that they were in before there were any mesne tenants, as the middlemen between A, B, and C and 1, 2, and 3.

This, then, is briefly a statement of the case with regard to the tenure of land in England as it was settled 800 years ago. Of course great changes have come about in the lapse of centuries, but, as is usual with us in England, these changes have operated very gradually, and rarely have they been made with violence. Nay, so unwilling are we to break with the past and to tear up the old foundations, that the settlement made by the Conqueror, after all the great and many salutary changes that have come about, survives actually to our own time. Yes, the crown is still the one supreme landlord from whom all the rest in theory hold their lands. Still the land of the man who dies intestate and without heirs escheats to the lord of the manor, unless that land has been enfranchised, or to the sovereign if it no longer is part and parcel of a manor. Still the heirs of the mesne tenants or of the tenants-in-chief exact their mineral rights. Still the crown claims its royalty on gold or *flotsam* and *jetsam* on the shore. Even heriots are not quite things of the past, still less are those fines for entrance upon land held by copy of court roll. These things are survivals, but very real and active survivals; they are reminders that 'though much is taken, much remains' of what we are too apt to think has utterly passed away—reminders which come to many men as ghosts to trouble joy. Meanwhile nothing is more certain than that the ownership of the land is incomparably more free and unshackled than it was. You

may alienate your land to whom you please. You may bequeath it by will according to your whim and caprice. You may buy it by the acre or the square foot. You may sell it wholesale or retail, and even for exportation, if you could only manage to take it away. It might almost be thought that now there was no difference between 'personalty' and 'realty' except that the land is indestructible. All this change in the character of the ownership of the land of this country, in the power of dealing with it and the rights which assure its possession, cannot be regarded in any other light than as the result of progress and development in a condition of affairs which in the nature of things could not but change. The old order *must* change.

But if we come to trace the direction of that change we shall see that, whereas the proprietary rights of the landowner were originally limited and barred by very stringent checks, so that he was never allowed to deceive himself into the belief that his land was absolutely his own, to deal with as a chattel in the production of which he might have had a hand—now, on the contrary, we find men surprised and angry when they are told that even now they may not quite call the land their own. That is to say, proprietary rights in the land have been steadily growing in favour of the landowners for 800 years, and, in the opinion of some thinkers, they are not unlikely to continue to grow in the same direction.

On the other hand, there are economists of the root-and-branch order—economists who are in far too great a hurry to set things right to have any time to study history, which is always a long and laborious process, abhorrent to men who belong to the slapdash classes—and these tell us that we have gone on a great deal too fast in the wrong direction, and that the time is coming when we shall have to *nationalise the land*. For myself political theorising is not in my line, and Utopian dreams have no charm for my mind. But what seems to me plain enough as I look facts in the face, and what may not unlikely have dawned upon others who have followed me in the foregoing retrospect, is this: that the land of this country *is*—yes, it *is* nationalised—and that the basis of the settlement by the Conqueror eight centuries ago was actually this that some are advocating so loudly without knowing what they mean—to wit, the nationalisation of the land. In an age when men hardly could conceive of a nation except as represented in the person of the sovereign, all the functions of government seemed to them to be centred in him, and all national life and greatness seemed to depend upon him. If the land was indeed to be regarded as the land of the nation, then in whom could that land be vested except in the nation's representative? The sovereign must needs become the supreme landlord. As long as, and in proportion as, that sovereign was an irresponsible ruler, and practically absolute, as long as his personal will dominated irresistibly over the nation that he ruled, again and again did he deal arbitrarily,

tyrannically, despotically, and outrageously with the land of persons or corporations. I need only refer you to such a stupendous act of pillage as the plunder of the lands of the religious houses, or the innumerable examples of confiscation of the landed property of high and low.

When, on the other hand, as has happened at least once in our history, the sovereign has not only been reduced to a cipher, but the nation has determined to do without him, then similar acts of confiscation and resumption of land by the supreme landlord have been carried out; the nation in this case taking just as little heed to consult the sovereign as in the former case the sovereign took to consult the nation.

When, as in our own times, absolutism had become as much a thing of the past as chain-armour, and the nation had learnt steadily to work out its purposes and to carry out its resolves in, and with, and by the dignified and intelligent co-operation of the sovereign—the sovereign who had given up all dreams of playing the autocrat, and gloried rather in being the constitutional head of a great people—then if it has seemed good to the nation to assert its claim to be considered still the supreme landlord, there has been no timidity or hesitation in putting forward that claim, and no tyrannical and cruel disregard of national obligations expressed or implied in ancient covenants. But where it was abundantly plain that it was for the interest of the many to sacrifice the proprietary rights of the few, the nation, the sovereign of course concurring, has over and over again taken possession of large tracts of land which the private owners were not allowed to withhold, and dealing immeasurably more justly, immeasurably more generously than king or commonwealth had done in former times, the nation has respected the vested rights of the personal proprietors by awarding reasonable compensation for the enforced determination of a long-standing contract. This has been going on among us during every session of Parliament for generations, and this will continue to go on to the end. After all, it seems that the instincts of a great nation are wiser than the dreams of philosophers, and working politicians are more to be trusted than mere thinkers when great problems have not only to be thought out, but to be worked out in the national life.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

CRETE AND THE SPHAKIOTS.

It is natural that Turkey should be as loth to part with a province as a man to sacrifice a leg or an arm. But it is with the Sultan's realm as with the person smitten in his extremities by a grave disease. By amputation the man's life may be prolonged. By the surrender of this or that turbulent outlying part of the Turkish Empire, the residue may for a while be secured against the danger that previously it shared in common with the territory that is lopped off.

The Sultan has himself and his predecessors very largely to thank for the difficulties with which he is confronted in the quelling of an insurrection in Crete or elsewhere in his empire. There is no fetter like a system of good roads. It is well for the Christians of Crete (though in one sense it is also a misfortune for them) that public works form no appreciable item of cost in the expenditure of the revenue of the Porte. If a tithe of the sums which the different expeditions from the Bosphorus and the special efforts to subjugate Crete have cost during the last half-century had been spent in road-making immediately after the great insurrection of 1820–5 (which reduced the island's population from 250,000 in 1821 to but 150,000 in 1834), the various Sultans would have been saved an immense amount of anxiety. Certainly Crete is a rugged land. But Sicily and Sardinia offered engineering problems nearly as hard to solve as any in Crete; and in both these islands the roads are now admirable. The blockhouses with which the Porte contented itself after the insurrection of 1866, when for the first time under Moslem rule the province of Sphakia was genuinely invested, are by no means the potent symbol of terrorism they were designed to be. What though this or that village of hardy Sphakiots three or four thousand feet above the sea level is overlooked by one of these forts, built on a rock but a gunshot above their houses? Well the Sphakiots know that the Moslem redcoats in the fort are quite as much at their mercy as are they at the mercy of the garrison of the fort. Perhaps the distance from the blockhouse to Canea is only fifteen miles by crow-flight, the white domes and minarets and the stout walls of the capital being well within sight of the soldiery. But when the ascent from the

plain has to be made through a series of defiles and by mule tracks of the most arduous kind, there is no assurance of support from head-quarters in times of need. The isolated warriors are menaced with siege and massacre while the pasha in command of the island forces is deliberating about the distribution of the army at his disposal.

The day has now gone by when the Porte might have hoped to bring Crete into a state of passive submission to its actions, and to keep it in such a condition as long as the Turkish Empire maintains any semblance of solidity. Negligence and tyranny have done their work. It is too late to attempt to win the Cretans by honeyed words, of which they know the full significance. The courtesies of a weak ruler do not commend themselves to the judgment of subjects who believe themselves to be strong, who believe that they will receive external aid as soon as they have *proved themselves* to be strong, who hate their master with truly remarkable intensity, and with whom it has become a tradition to shed their blood in struggling for the freedom of their country. The cry in Crete is still what it was an indefinite number of years ago.

On, on to war!
On, on to war!
O Cretan lads so bold!
With sword in hand, like heroes,
Shout 'Freedom,' as of old.

The Sphakiots of 1889 are the great-grandsons of the men of 1770, who died fighting to prevent the Turks establishing themselves in their mountains. The sons of these early heroes continued the work of their sires. They were not satisfied merely to guard their own homes from Moslem invasion, and to keep the tax-gatherer at a distance. They were also at all times ready and eager to join their brethren of the lowlands in an insurrection which seemed to afford the slightest hope of eventual freedom for the whole island. If the insurrection (as was always the case) turned out ill for the patriots, they offered their mountain nooks as secure places of shelter to those under proscription for rebellion. And in the meantime they were ever at attention, in readiness for the renewal of the outbreak when there seemed better chances of success. And as of the year 1770, so of 1820, 1830, 1858, 1866, and 1878. The Sphakiot learned at his mother's breast to detest the Moslem, and his nursery rhymes were but so many incitements to show himself a brave slayer of Turks as soon as he could carry a gun. His enthusiasm of hatred was kindled by his country's ballads. There is, indeed, something Homeric about many of these poems, and they are so robustly characteristic of the people whose interests they reflect, that perhaps we cannot do better than give a rough version of one of the more famous of them.[1] The subject of this is the first invasion of Sphakia by the Turks in 1770,

[1] Ex. Elpis Melena's *Kreta-Ilione*, a collection of Cretan ballads, proverbs, folk-lore, &c.

and the narrator is an old man who was an eye-witness of the events of the invasion :—

It happened on a Friday, about the beginning of May, that, sword in hand, the Turkish troops climbed up towards Sphakia—accursed be the hour! and destroyed all the villages, great and small, round about them.

Now, brave Kallikrati,[2] where are your pallikars; where your brave bands, Askyfo,[2] and the rest of you? Where are you, brave heroes all, adorned as you are with honour and glory? Come: hasten hither like valorous lions, and stop the passage against the foe! Down below by Franco Castello the bugle sounds loud and clear: and up by Anapoli they are building citadels.

The Christian troops go shouting to the fray as 'twere to a dance, to show the angry foe the might of their courage and the strength of their hand.

When now the Turks approach the market-place, they send a quick messenger to Sphakia's sons: 'Yield speedily all of you, and be rayats[3] henceforth, else will we take you all, and then may God have mercy on you! Make haste to surrender, kneel at the Sultan's feet, so that the stream of his grace may pour upon you: he will vouchsafe you rich gifts and privileges, and favour you above all other places round about. Neither tribute nor taxes will he ever ask of you, and so it shall be now and evermore, for you and for your children.'

'We know the Sultan's gifts—"Horror" and "Woe" are their names. Already has he bestowed them upon many a Cretan village. Much we prefer to die together an honourable death rather than become infamous by kneeling at your feet in cowardice and shame. Inhuman "Bourma,"[4] you seek but to devour the poor Christians. This is our belief, and therefore we will remain free, nor ever be rayats.'

The Pasha hears with rage and fury the bold answer of the heroes, and thus replies: 'Then will I enslave you all.'

'So be it—quickly take yourself off, O messenger, for never will we—hear us swear it!—never will we surrender, or be rayats: we have sworn it. We have chosen death as a happier lot.'

'Wait a moment, you men of Sphakia who dare to defy our arms. We will not budge hence, though the struggle last the summer. Do you think to find protection in your rocks? I have foot soldiers with me who will take possession of them also! You have hid your wives and children in crevices and caves: yet we will find them, and snatch them forth!'

'Do so, cruel tyrant, and our wives and daughters shall thus better your own weak stock!'

The last word this. Straight the fight began, and horrible was the slaughter by the walls and everywhere. The dazzling lightning flashes from the cannons' mouths, and the shot crash like deafening thunder-claps. The messengers of death fall upon Sphakiot breasts like snow flakes in a storm;[5] the blood runs in channels upon the ground like waterbrooks. In the wild strife of battle, many a brave pallikar is stretched lifeless and stark upon the bloody earth. Many an angelic hero lies on the red battlefield, soaked in blood, and with face distorted by the horror of his death. By the side of the dead kneels the grief-stricken mother; fast from her blinded eyes the sad tears flow, and from her lips, pale like the dead's, she utters hollow moans. The brave hero has soon won the prize, and prompt is his funeral dirge. Many a lamentation and many a wail ascend to the skies; and on that great day of death the very flowers and trees were withered.

Then swelled with furious rage the hearts of the brave Sphakiots, and terribly they swore vengeance upon the foe for their beloved dead.

Well may the enemy tremble before the courage thus freshly inflamed. The

[2] Important districts of Sphakia.
[3] Tribute-paying subjects of the Porte.
[4] Generic term for the wearer of a fez.
[5] A simile, in Crete, for the highlanders alone.

new subjects—ha! ha!—how they hunt their masters! With cries like wild beasts, they chase the disordered bands of the Turks all the way to Retimo.

In Retimo 'tis asked: 'What have you done with your weapons?' 'The Sphakiots have taken them as a booty,' they reply.

And again 'tis asked: 'What has become of all your heroes?' 'The terrible Sphakiots,' they reply, 'have consumed them in the mountains.'

Yet a third time they're questioned: 'Where are your leaders?' 'All destroyed by the Sphakiots.'

It is not easy to trace the lineage of these men of Sphakia, who were and are still such a terror to the Moslem. Their own claim to extreme purity of blood and proud descent must be admitted with some reserve. Perhaps they are fair representatives of those pristine Cretans who were the offspring of the marriages arranged methodically by the Cretan magistrates; the most beautiful girls being allotted to none but the bravest and most stalwart of the island youth. But there is an objection to the serious entertainment of this pleasant fancy. Even in the remote times when Crete was famous for its hundred cities, it is probable that the Sphakiots resisted the seductions of their early civilisation and polity. The ruins which have been identified with a number of these cities (small capitals of small states) are not within the bounds of Sphakia. It is at least possible that in those days the Sphakiots stood towards these various pocket territories much as the freebooting Highlanders of Scotland for long stood towards their brethren of the Lowlands. The citizens of Hyrtakina, Sibrita, Gnossos, Aptera, &c., in spite of their precocity in many matters—in their arts, religious ordinances, and laws were, like enough, assailed again and again by the gigantic mountaineers, and ravaged with as little mercy as, in later days, the Moslems in their turn were to exercise in the island.

We stand on ground somewhat firmer when we advance to the era of Rome's dominion in Crete. Metellus Creticus was no doubt content to leave the highlanders to themselves. There was no tribute worth sending to the imperial city to be got from these inhabitants of bleak mountains devoid of minerals. Cheeses and snow were almost the sole products of their upland villages, then as now. Nor was it worth while to march the legionaries into the mountains merely to burn the huts of the mountaineers, who were shepherds when the mood of peace was upon them, and cattle-lifters and blackmailers at intervals only. Besides, it was then as it is to-day. The plateaux among the White Mountains, in which nestle the Sphakiot villages, were sentinelled by ravines, to which the Caudine Forks was but child's play. The Sphakiots of one village communicate with their compatriots of other villages by mountain tracks, some of which are too perilous for goats. They are called 'ladders,' they are many hundred feet almost perpendicular, and a false step means certain death. What was Rome to do in such a land as this? A single Sphakiot at the top of the ladder could cut off a legion. The Turkish soldiers fear these vestibules to Sphakia as they fear few things.

It is not, therefore, unreasonable to credit the tradition that says the Sphakiots were never subdued by Rome. Another tradition, however, makes them claim to be descended from the very Romans who conquered Crete. But this is a pedigree of which they could hardly secure the monopoly. Be that as it may, the Venetians, during their occupation of Crete, from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth, regarded the Sphakiots rather as allies than serfs. The miserable lowlanders were made to toil for them like so many brute beasts, but the Sphakiots were left to themselves. The Venetian publicists in Crete made the latter the subject of dissertations for the entertainment of the mother city: they enlarged upon their courage, their size, their frugal habits, their dexterity with the bow, the awe-inspiring mountains which were their home—and so forth. And we may safely assume that the good citizen counsellors of the state, with a keen estimate of the cost of expeditionary forces, and the small profit that could accrue from a subdued and tribute-paying Sphakia, gave their opinion emphatically that the mountaineers should be conciliated, not assaulted. Buondelmonti reported of them that 'because of the aridity of their mountains they do not cultivate the ground, but live by the sale of cypress timber, and on the milk of their herds of goats. They are of great stature, incredibly active in their mountains, and bold in war. They attain the age of a hundred without any infirmities; instead of wine they drink, almost always, milk.' To Venice such a people must have seemed almost as fabulous as to us are the Brobdingnagians. A country the inhabitants of which lived chiefly upon milk could not be regarded with much avidity as a market for her merchants. The Sphakiots were despised for their barbaric simplicity of habits, though respected for their courage and strength.

But the time came when this courage and strength were to acquire a high value in the esteem of the Venetians. In 1645 the Turks besieged Canea. Venice did her utmost to keep possession of Crete. She bribed the Sphakiots to rush down upon the Moslems in the plains. The Sphakiots had no objection to this form of exercise. But they failed to do as much as they ought to have done. They lacked cohesion. The leader of one clan of mountaineers quarrelled with the leaders of other clans. It was in Crete just as it was in Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago. And the upshot was that Venice's hopes in Sphakia were disappointed. The Sphakiots spoiled the Turks in detachments, and then retired to their rocks to enjoy their booty. It was by no means the sort of warfare to turn the scale against the Sultan, whose resources seemed illimitable. And so, when the siege of the city of Candia was at an end, Venice's hold upon Crete was severed. True, she still kept up communication with Sphakia, and while any chance remained of a reaction she urged the Sphakiots to revolt in her favour. It was then as it is now. The Venetians hoped to induce Sphakia to pull

the chestnuts from the fire for her: the Athenians of 1889, safe under the shadow of their Acropolis, are never tired of coaxing and wheedling this brave people into rebellion. But the Sphakiots were not bereft of intelligence. They sent word that they would descend from their eyries if Venice would first embark a substantial expedition against the Moslems. This, however, Venice was less eager to do; and so she had to resign herself to the loss of Crete.

In spite of Talleyrand's dictum that 'the most complete knowledge of the past is of no use as a guide to us in the present,' it is well to know this much about the Sphakiots, that we may, in a measure, understand the nature of the task that Turkey has imposed upon her whenever the rumour of a Cretan insurrection is followed by the insurrection itself. Man to man the Moslems are no match for the Sphakiots. A corpulent Sphakiot is a rarity. Life in the mountains does not conduce to a full state of body, but it keeps the lungs and sinews in a condition of health and elasticity far superior to that of the Turkish soldier, who is drilled daily on the flat barrack grounds of Candia and Canea, and to whom an ascent into the mountains is a feat of itself, quite apart from the added perils of the Sphakiots' guns. The latter are not to be slighted. For the Cretans are shrewd marksmen; keener of aim from the shelter of a rock than the Moslems standing in file and being cursed by their officers for falling victims to their agile and invisible foes.

The Sphakiots have the further advantage over the Moslems that the cold of the mountains is native to them. If the campaign be opened early in the year, or continued late, it is as disheartening to the Turkish soldiers as if they were suddenly transported from the summer temperature of Constantinople to the winter temperature of Iceland. They dislike the snow as they dislike the steady aim of the Sphakiots, and the dreadful snares which Nature herself has contrived for them among the White Mountains. More than this, the commissariat of the Turkish army being notoriously defective, it is no wonder that small thought is given to the clothing of men who one day have to endure movement in 150° of heat, and the next are compelled to bivouac 6,000 feet above the sea level, ill-provided with protection against the chills of the night. The Moslem soldiers are, as a rule, stout hearty fellows: but they are not of iron; and so the mortality among them in an expedition like this is always greater from acute diseases than from the Sphakiots' bullets, though these never fail to give a good account of themselves. Flannel shirts and tents might turn the scale against the insurgents, but they are allowed no fair chance of so doing.

A Cretan war is so thankless an undertaking that one cannot be surprised that the Sultan has difficulty in persuading his governor-general in the island for the time being to bear the responsibility of it. Europe is ready to execrate him (from force of habit rather than con-

viction), and demand that his master disgrace him, if he prosecute such a war with the energy and strong measures which are alone likely to profit him against antagonists like the Sphakiots. He is on the horns of a dilemma; for, on the other hand also, if he be prone to temporise, and tries to win the insurgents by the arts of cajolery instead of bloodshed, the Sultan is sure to be angry with him for what appears to be his incompetence or vacillation. The Greek and Russian consuls in Crete storm at him for the slaughter of their co-religionaries (it matters not whether in fair fight or in foul), and annoy him with hints about writing to their respective Governments that gunboats may be sent to Suda for the relief of the refugees and such of the conspirators as have the good luck to escape the doom to which their rebellion has sentenced them. He does not know which way to turn. And perchance if, in an agony of indecision, he seeks counsel of the British representative at Khalepa, relying upon the traditional support of Turkey by Great Britain, he will be merely reminded that an insurrection like the present is but a local affair (let the other consuls menace as they may), and that the strong arm is the best agent for the pacification of the country. This at a time, too, when the Sultan in Constantinople is in a rage with the English because this newspaper or that has taken him brutally to task for his apparent inhumanity towards the insurgents! 'What,' his Moslem Majesty marvels to himself, 'do these Giaours think I ought to do? Forbid my soldiers to kill a single one of the Sphakiot rebels who come against my troops with their battle word of "Liberty or death" and with the heads of such men as Leonidas and Miltiades on their banners? A pretty business that would be! Let Europe mind its own affairs. I am not in my dotage, nor yet in a state of pupilage that I should put my concerns in trust of the Christian powers of the Continent.'

In fact, however, Turkey herself is responsible for this action and reaction of Crete upon Europe. Her cruelty in the suppression of the earlier risings compelled multitudes of Cretans to expatriate themselves. Greece received them by thousands, and even tens of thousands. On Grecian soil they lived for years, married, gave birth to children, and many of them died. These exiles and their children subsequently returned to their home island with ideas enlarged, and their hopes for their country's freedom vivified by intercourse with Athenians, whose patriotic or unselfish interest in the disruption of Crete from Turkey had also become augmented. The bond between the Cretan and the Greek is not therefore one of mere sentiment. It is domestic and personal. Every nugatory insurrection does but strengthen it. Even those Cretans who were hitherto disposed to regard the mainland peninsula rather as a place of sanctuary than as a State with which they ought to be incorporated are now getting accustomed to regard her as the mother country; her readiness to

shelter them under her wing being an earnest of her maternal affection for them. It is well also to remember that the royal family of Greece is now closely allied to the sovereigns of the three European Powers which, conjointly, may at any time compel Turkey to do their bidding in so small a matter as the surrender of Crete. Her alliance with France also is of a different but not less important kind. It is of the heart. She knows well that when the full hour has arrived the French Republic will not repeat those words of the Empress Eugénie which, addressed to Delyannis, struck such a mortal chill to the souls of the Cretans of 1869: 'Cependant, monsieur, la paix de l'Europe ne sera pas troublée pour la Crête.'

The Sultan has already learnt that the pen is sometimes more potent, even in the East, than the sword. The insurgents in Crete are not likely to lose what benefit the wielding of these two weapons in conjunction can afford them. Their little printing presses in the mountains speak sounding words. Their utterances may not always be remarkable for the intelligence which inspires them; but they are always ardent and to the point. The one hundred and eighty signatories to the Proclamation of the Plenipotentiaries of the General Assembly of the Christians of Crete—'done at the village of Ferrhae, Province of Hippokorona, Crete, the year of our Lord 1878, 8–20 of July,' took upon themselves the credit for much sad nonsense; but their very unreason in this particular document testified to their earnestness. They were in no humour for reflection. 'In the name and in conformity with the wishes of the Christians of Crete,' they write, 'struggling for liberty and national union with the mother country, Greece, the following proclamation was issued:

> We, the undersigned, duly authorised Plenipotentiaries of the Cretan people, being telegraphically apprised of the unjust verdict of the Berlin Congress concerning our cause, consider it our duty at once to lodge our protest and make an appeal—not to History, which has as many versions as there are nations and historians; not to the Universal Conscience, which varies according to individual conception of right and wrong; nor to Public Opinion, which, Proteus-like, changes according to the interests of publicists; but to That Power Whose actions are manifest to all, even to Darwinists and Fire-worshippers (Parsees), who, although denying the producing cause, cannot deny the visible effects. We, therefore, appeal to That Power, Whose most evident and quasi-miraculous action we have all of us seen immediately after the unjust verdict of the Paris Congress of 1869 about Crete, &c.

It is a long rigmarole, in the course of which Lord Beaconsfield (or rather, 'the Oriental-Venetian intellect of the novelist Disraeli') and the other members of the Berlin Congress are denounced in no very civil terms.

> No wonder that such is the offspring of the deliberations (of the Congress) when the most vital questions of the nations and peoples are entrusted to philologists, poets, archæologists, antiquarians, lawyers and novelists—in short, to men not scientifically qualified: and when upon men not trained to natural and

physical sciences is imposed the task of settling the most precious interests, both material and moral, of the human species.

These Cretan writers are more judicious when they attempt to show that upon grounds of logic and political expediency it were well for Turkey if she were relieved of Crete. They affirm that the utmost profit she receives from the island is but 200,000*l.* per annum. This is, of course, a ridiculous revenue for a province about 3,300 square miles in extent to yield. The anxieties that it also yields in abundant periodical crops must prodigiously outweigh so trifling a sum. For (to quote from the Cretan petition of 1866, to Russia, England, and France severally, the words of which are still substantially applicable),

in order to keep the country in subjection, Turkey is obliged to retain an army and a fleet, and to spend enormous sums of money, without the result of much service to her; whereas Crete, if united to Greece, would confer great advantages on the whole Greek race, and would be able to embark on a system of civilisation. If the creation of an Hellenic kingdom has for its object the regeneration of this people, Crete, which is a purely Hellenic country, would become one of its foundation-stones.

If the Sultan can be induced to forget the hurt done to his feelings and dignity by the Cretan Christians, and by those Europeans who charge him with gross tyranny in the island (a peculiarly irritating charge, since it is only because of his sensitiveness to European opinion that he forbears from crushing the insurgents after the emphatic sanguinary methods of his forefathers), he might do worse for himself and his empire than try to negotiate a sale of Crete to Greece. At twenty years' purchase, the island might bring him in 4,000,000*l.*; a convenient little sum, which would surely prove a very useful exchange for the cares of which the land has hitherto been mainly prolific. Greece may be earnestly recommended to make the offer to his Majesty with all due delicacy. The opportunity could hardly be more auspicious. 'We can be happy only upon condition that we are united to Greece,' say the Cretan Christians. It would be interesting to give circumstances the chance to show if these words have truth in them. Ours is no doubt a world in which majorities must dominate minorities. Else, we should like to say something on behalf of the Moslem minority in Crete, whose future is dark enough, whichever way events may go.

CHARLES EDWARDES.

PARTY PROSPECTS.

As a dissolution of Parliament approaches, politicians of all shades naturally begin to grow busy; and considering the exceptional footing on which parties stand opposed to each other in the present House of Commons, it is not surprising that the comparative probability of their remaining as they are or undergoing some modification or reconstruction should become a prominent topic of discourse. Closely connected with this subject is the significance of the bye-elections, which according to one extreme view amounts to nothing at all, and according to another points to little less than the disappearance of the Unionist majority and the destruction of the whole basis on which the Unionist alliance rests. On these two questions public interest has long been concentrated; and, though it will shortly be diverted into other channels by the meeting of Parliament, the diversion will be only brief, and these two paramount uncertainties must still remain behind, like fortresses in the rear of an advancing army, the source of constant and ever-growing anxiety. It may be well, therefore, to take advantage of the last opportunity afforded us before we are again absorbed in the discussion of particular measures to consider how we stand in regard to these two antecedent considerations, and to take stock of the political position before embarking on the business of another Parliamentary year.

Of the two questions before us, our answer to the first depends mainly on our answer to the second. For if the issue of the next general election should be what Mr. Gladstone anticipates, the Unionist party would necessarily have to be packed in a much smaller compass, with the probable result that the line of separation by which it is at present traversed would be totally effaced. On the other hand, should the Ministerial majority remain substantially unbroken, then the present disposition of parties might still continue, and no necessity arise for any immediate readjustment. But we have a third alternative to face, which is that the Unionist majority, without being swept away, may be so far reduced in numbers as to bring about a very balanced state of parties, in which case the possibility or expediency of keeping up the Unionist party in two divisions connected only by a single link would have to be seriously considered. And the question then arises whether it may not be wiser to consider it beforehand, and to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of appeal-

ing to the people with one voice and under one flag in time to act on the decision so arrived at ere the shock of battle is upon us. It seems to me that a cautious and prudent statesman would answer this question in the affirmative, and that Lord Hartington would be acting up to his family motto quite as faithfully by seriously inclining his ear to it as by holding it at arm's length.

It seems to be thought the best policy by the representatives of the Unionist party in general, whether in the press or on the platform, to make light of the loss of seats at what are called 'bye-elections;' to attribute them to local or temporary influences, which will fade into insignificance before the great question of the day, when that is once more presented to the people on a dissolution of Parliament; and to assert confidently that, as 'the English nation' has declared once, so it may be trusted to declare again, in favour of the Unionist policy. This was the opinion expressed by Lord Salisbury in his great speech at Nottingham on the 26th of November last, and the same hopeful view has been repeatedly urged upon the public by the most influential organ of the Unionist press in London. It has been said that the verdict of the constituencies at bye-elections has often been reversed on an appeal to the people at large, and that therefore the same thing may be expected to happen again; and the Conservative victories which immediately preceded the downfall of Lord Beaconsfield's Government have been quoted in support of this assertion. But the argument goes no farther than this, that bye-elections afford no invariable and infallible test by which we can foretell what is to follow at a general election. Instances of loyalty may occur when the prevailing feeling is one of disaffection, and instances of disaffection when the prevailing feeling is one of loyalty. But they prove nothing. There are two periods of about equal duration—that is, from 1860 to 1865, and from 1869 to 1874—during which the bye-elections went steadily against the Government of the day, with the result that in the one case they were confirmed, and in the other reversed, by the final judgment of the country. Lord Palmerston's majority, never very large, had all but disappeared in 1865. But the appeal to the people repaired all his losses and gave him a majority of sixty. During Mr. Gladstone's first administration, seat after seat was lost by ministerial candidates till the immense Liberal majority was reduced by nearly one-half. Had the course of events ten years before pointed to any law or to any general rule in such matters, he ought to have held his own, and more too, in 1874. But we all know what occurred. In this case the bye-elections had only been faithful indications of a general change in public sentiment, and the handwriting on the wall which foretold that Mr. Gladstone's kingdom was taken away from him.

Now to which of these two precedents are we to attach the greater weight? I think certainly to the later of the two; and for this reason.

Towards the end of the Parliament of 1859 the Conservative party were reckoning confidently on a return to power. Everything was pointing in that direction, when Lord Derby, unfortunately for his followers, made one of his imprudent speeches, which lost to the Conservatives the whole Roman Catholic vote. But for this we are justified in assuming that the bye-elections would not have been contradicted as they were. But, waiving this point, we can do no more than set the one piece of evidence against the other. The general election of 1880 was a puzzle then, and is a puzzle now. That the electors should have bottled up their discontent to the last moment, and then have let it off with an explosion which astonished half the world, though I offered some explanation of it at the time, in these pages, must always remain one of the curiosities of politics. But it does not help us much on the present occasion. A series of minor victories may be followed by a great reverse, or a series of minor reverses by a great victory. But we cannot *reason* from the one to the other; or say that the last is likely to occur because the first did. And we must remember, finally, that Lord Beaconsfield's bye gains during his tenure of power were not net gains. He had no succession of winnings like Lord Palmerston's or Mr. Gladstone's losses. He did not even hold his own.

The Government seemed, till lately, to rely on the Irish question for the renewal of their present majority, and to consider that the public mind was so firmly made up on this one subject, that the fluctuations of opinion in a dozen constituencies were deserving of no serious consideration. The speeches recently delivered by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. Goschen at the Colston anniversary show indeed that these two statesmen no longer believe Unionism to be the key of the situation. Lord Salisbury, however, does not seem to be of this opinion; and his authority is necessarily so great that, even with two of his colleagues on my side, I feel guilty of great presumption in venturing to differ from him. But if the loss of Unionist seats is not attributable to any growing inclination towards Home Rule, to what is it to be ascribed? What are the 'secondary motives' and 'the smaller questions' which have determined the result? Are they not those very motives to which the Radicals are now appealing, and those very questions which they are now agitating, with a view to convince the working classes that they alone can solve them in a manner satisfactory to 'the people'? Lord Salisbury assures us that all these questions will recede into the background when 'the great critical matter' is once more submitted to them. Time alone can show. Nobody really believes that the country is coming over to Home Rule. But I am afraid that an important section of it is beginning to be tired of the subject, and is reverting to those earlier aspirations and associations which lay deep in the hearts of the peasantry in 1885, and were only

overshadowed for a very little while by a question to which they were comparatively indifferent. If this has been a mere interlude, they will, now that it has passed away, turn back to the ideas which possessed them before it came upon the scene, and pick up the thread where they dropped it in 1886.

This, of course, is not true of the town population. Education has done for them, in a comparatively short time, what it will take generations to do for the agricultural labourer. The town boy when he leaves school has various opportunities of keeping up, or of adding to, the knowledge he has gained there. He has lectures, reading-rooms, debating clubs, and constant conversation and communication with other minds. The village lad goes straight from the school-room to the plough, and forgets in two years what it took him five or six to learn. It is impossible to expect a man so reared to rise much above the material interests of the moment. Nobody has a more genuine esteem for the English peasantry than I have when they are left to their own unadulterated instincts. But 'it goes without saying' that they are easily led astray by manifestoes which promise to better their condition, and that questions of this nature occupy the first place in their esteem. If one man says to a hungry labourer, 'Come with me and save the British constitution,' and another, 'Come with me, and I will give you a cut out of your neighbour's leg of mutton,' which is he more likely to follow? The North Bucks election was lost to the Unionists through the allotment question; and anyone who will promise to do what the local sanitary authority has there threatened to do is certain of support among the peasantry.

It is wonderful to me to hear public men and public writers taking up this view of the question, and yet failing to go one step farther. They repeat what I have just said, with every appearance of satisfaction, seeming to think that the defeat of a Unionist, if not owing to sympathy with Home Rule, is hardly to be counted as a loss. But, granting that every one of the twelve seats carried by the Separatists during the last three years has been won on independent grounds lying outside of the Irish question, how does that mend matters? What does it signify by what means Mr. Gladstone recovers his majority, when we know what use he will make of it? Or are we required to believe that all these votes which have been given to the Gladstonian candidates because of their supposed sympathy with the social condition of the working classes will all be taken away again at a general election for the sake of 'the integrity of the Empire'?

I confess I can believe nothing of the kind. It is far more likely that many more votes will be given to them on the same grounds. I do not believe that the newly awakened desires of the peasantry, the agrarian socialism instilled into them by Radical politicians,

can be counteracted at the present moment by their antipathy to Home Rule. It was rather outraged credulity than any intelligent appreciation of imperial interests which turned their votes in 1886. The returns of 1885 showed their real bias. When they found that nothing came of all the fine promises of which their self-constituted champions had been so lavish, they naturally turned their backs upon them. But all that is forgotten now, and they will be as ready to be duped two years hence as they were four years ago. The time may come—almost certainly will come—when they will be found in a different frame of mind; when they will have learned something from experience, and when they will revert to that genial conservatism which is the natural temperament of the rural population. But that time is not yet; and during the interval we must be prepared to encounter a very strong current of Radicalism in the rural constituencies—not so strong but what it may be stemmed if the right means are used, but sure to prevail against a divided and heterogeneous party, weakened, if not paralysed, by internal jealousies and the memory of former feuds. The Radical party are fully alive to the situation, and are ready with a fresh programme. Having fought one battle and lost it on the Irish question, they hope to fight another and win it on the old field where they gained their last great victory. They are now in full retreat to that position; and the party fight is once more coming back to its normal character of a struggle between the two opposing forces of society, the conservative and the destructive.

We are all of us too apt to forget that the Radicalism of to-day is not the Radicalism of thirty years ago. Then it was a sect: now it is a party. Radicalism has stepped into the shoes of Liberalism, and has all the organisation, traditions, and associations of the old Liberal party at its disposal. It is now a regular and well-equipped political army, acting as an efficient Opposition, and led by experienced statesmen, who have held high office under the Crown and for many years possessed the confidence of the public. Never till within the last few years have Radical principles had the support of such a party as this. They had previously been professed only by individuals and cliques. Now they are the creed of one of our two regularly organised parliamentary connections which expects to take its turn in the administration of public affairs. The class to which they can most powerfully appeal now possess votes which before they were without. Those who profess these principles know where their true strength lies, and practise a system of house-to-house proselytism, unscrupulous and indefatigable, which its adversaries find it impossible to emulate. How, then, is this powerful combination to be encountered—a partially disaffected peasantry, an organised Radical party, and a strong Irish contingent, if not so numerous in the next Parliament as it is in this, still numerous enough to be dangerous? It

cannot be immediately met by bringing in measures to satisfy the peasantry, because whatever the one side may offer, the other will offer something more, and, when they cannot do that, declare that the gift is worthless. To attempt to outbid the Radicals is perfectly useless. The trick will be found out in time, as it has been in the towns; but I repeat that it will *take* time. And the present emergency admits of no delay. We have still a considerable proportion of the peasantry on the Conservative side, a still larger proportion of artisans, and an immense majority of the upper and middle classes. Yet, under certain conditions, even this combination has been powerless to avert defeat; and if we ask the reason, there are plenty of experts to assure us that it has seldom had a fair chance; that it is only here and there that the Unionist party puts forth its full strength; and that old party feelings and traditions are still very often too powerful for the sense of public duty which dictates united action in pursuit of a common object. The unanimity which prevails in Parliament between the leaders of the two sections is not reflected in the country. The old-fashioned provincial voter, whether Liberal or Conservative, votes against his old colours with extreme reluctance. Where a Conservative is called on to support a Liberal Unionist he sees in him only a Liberal; and where a Liberal is called on to support a Conservative Unionist, he sees in him only a Conservative. This is not on account of any particular principles that either may happen to profess, or any measures or policy he may recommend, but simply on account of the name he bears; and we believe that, if the truth were known, more votes have been lost to the Unionist party by this cause than by almost any other that could be mentioned. It is evident that we can only avert future defeat by endeavouring to mollify or remove the friction and irritation thus engendered. And it is equally certain that we cannot give a point away; that we must catch up and make the most of every element of conservatism that exists in Great Britain, so that no particle of force shall be wasted; and at the same time it may be necessary to consider whether, for the sake of hearty and cordial co-operation, it may not be worth while to sacrifice something in the shape of numbers, which without such co-operation only breed a false security.

That the intervention and active operation of these hereditary animosities, when the public safety so urgently demands the suspension of them, is deeply to be regretted all must admit, except those who give the rein to them. They may be marks of great narrowness, and examples only of the tenacity of ancient prejudices no longer in accordance with modern political conditions. They may be entitled to neither sympathy nor indulgence. But there they are. We cannot get rid of them; and that being the case, the next best thing is to turn them to good account, and make them, if possible, fight for us, instead of being hostile or inactive.

Such being the situation of affairs, and such the difficulties and dangers which are before us, what are the new tactics which are to enable us to cope with them? 'A national party,' say some. Let us briefly consider this suggestion. In the first place it is doubtful if the very people whom we wish to reach would understand what it means, or be willing to merge their distinct Conservative creed in any so vague and comprehensive a classification. In the second place, even if they were, it would only prove to my mind that the age of party was over, and that what was wanted was not a new party, but a new constitution. A very few words are all that is necessary on the first point. If by a national party is meant one which shall represent only what are called imperial interests, leaving everyone to think as he likes about such little trifles as the Church, the House of Lords, the nationalisation of the land, Education, the Poor Law, &c., I say that no provincial politician would look at such a party for a moment. It would not give him what he wants. But if the national party is only to be a new Conservative party under another name, I think we had much better stick to our old nomenclature, as the additional Liberals who might be attracted by changing it would no more than compensate for the lukewarmness engendered among Conservatives by being forced to sacrifice the flag. It may be said that in this case Sir Robert Peel would have done much better to adhere to the word Tory. But there is this immense difference between the two situations. In 1831 the Tory party was a mere shell. It was already a discredited party before the Reform Bill. The quarrel with Mr. Canning had drained away some of its best blood, and alienated a great mass of independent public opinion. In the first reformed Parliament the old Tories were hardly a hundred strong. Toryism, in fact, as it was understood by the vast majority of Sir Robert Peel's contemporaries, had in 1833 ceased to exist. A new party and a new name were *wanted*. But at the present moment the Conservatives are nearly half the House of Commons. Public opinion is leaning towards them more strongly every day. They are a vigorous and growing party, replete with life and energy, and charged with the defence of institutions to which the nation, on the whole, is still attached; a new name therefore is *not* wanted. It is impossible to argue from the Tories of 1834 to the Conservatives of 1890.

I say again, therefore, that I doubt whether the mere adoption of the word 'national' in lieu of the word 'conservative' would have the desired effect. But if, as I believe, the advocates of a national party use the word national in the wider signification of the two, then I confess I do not understand how the machinery is to work. To the working of our present system two parties are necessary, and here there would be only one. To the efficiency of that system a powerful Opposition is necessary, and here there would be none at all. A combi-

nation of patriots seeing the true interests of the nation so clearly, and able to expound them so forcibly as to bring over the whole people to their side, with the exception of a few irreconcileables left to foam harmlessly round the base of the rock on which the edifice was reared, is a captivating idea, it must be granted, like Bolingbroke's Patriot King. But we overlook the awkward fact that such a combination would not fit into our parliamentary constitution. If it represented the nation it would not be a party; if it represented a party it would not be national. In the one case it would leave us very much as we are now, in the other it would swamp the whole system. Heaven knows I am not in love with that system. The abuse of it during the last twenty years has been enough to disgust its most ardent admirers. But it was not Mr. Disraeli alone who saw what would happen if the party system were abolished. The calm, sober, and thoroughly parliamentary mind of Sir Robert Peel had arrived at the same conclusion. Parliamentary government, he said, was dependent upon party government; that is, if the latter should collapse, the control over the ministers of the Crown must reside somewhere else than in the House of Commons. For what I know we may be travelling towards some such consummation. But are the advocates of a national party prepared for it? Are they proceeding with their eyes open; or are they only taking a phrase upon trust without looking below the surface?

Sir Michael Hicks Beach hopes that before the next general election the two sections of the Unionists will form one united party. This, however, may be accomplished in more ways than one. In 1833, when Sir Robert Peel met the first reformed Parliament, the country was threatened with evils analogous, if not equal, to those which loom before us now. How did that eminent statesman propose to deal with the emergency? He did very much what Lord Salisbury is now doing. He shook himself free from all suspicion of reaction, and taught his followers to do the same. He offered to the country a programme of useful and necessary measures, liberal, but not radical, and he offered them at the same time peace abroad, with a sound finance system at home. The offer was not immediately accepted. But as the true meaning of the Conservative policy sank into the public mind, as the ability and good sense of the Conservative leaders became more and more conspicuous, independent men, brought up as Liberals, began one by one to lean towards the Conservative party, till at length the balance was completely changed, and a preponderating weight of opinion declared itself on Sir Robert's side. But the new Conservative party of 1835 was a united and homogeneous party. The cautious men of business, the city men, the lawyers, the waverers among the aristocracy, whom Peel gradually attracted to his banner and welded into a compact mass with the country gentlemen, all called themselves Conserva-

tives. Sir Robert Peel created a new public opinion in the country. He convinced sober and reflecting men, to whatever party they belonged—Whigs, Liberals, or no party at all—that a Conservative Government and Conservative principles were for the real interest of the nation. They joined him without looking back, and the whole compact body, with one name and one faith, swept their opponents from the field.

Now, with all respect for the motives which have prompted a different line of action, I would ask if the time has not arrived when the same thing should be done now, not by means of a national party, but of a reinforced and enlarged Conservative party, not ashamed of its name, and knowing that, as it represents one political theory of long standing in the world, so it must be prepared to meet another strong enough to dispute every inch of ground with it—'a foeman worthy of its steel,' and not to be defeated without strenuous exertions and perfect discipline. Instead of a partnership with Liberals on the give-and-take principle, with an understanding that the Government measures are to be half-Liberal and half-Conservative, would it not be better to endeavour to convince them that, a Conservative Government being the only security we can have against acknowledged dangers, they should at once call themselves Conservatives, and fight under that banner, without any stipulations or conditions? A conservative policy, if wrong, can always be amended; a destructive policy never. The progress of reform during the last fifty years has been so rapid and continuous that, even if more is wanted, we can afford to wait. If it is necessary to the stability of a Unionist Government that all men who wish well to it should call themselves Conservatives, why should such well-wishers hesitate? The Conservative party has passed through its period of probation, to the thorough satisfaction of Lord Hartington and all who act with him. If keeping up the distinction between the two sections, with different names, colours, and traditions, is becoming a source of weakness, what does patriotism plainly dictate? Lord Hartington has given excellent reasons for thinking that the maintenance of this line of demarcation is a source of strength; and if all his party in the country had been like himself, so it would have been. But unluckily they are not, and there is some excuse for them after all. The English people have so long been accustomed to act through the machinery of party that they have become thoroughly wedded to the system, and scarcely feel at home outside of it. Lord Hartington thought that by his remaining at the head of a distinct following, resistance to Home Rule could be made to look more like the act of the nation, and less like the act of a party, than if he and his went to swell the ranks of the Conservatives. When the Unionist alliance was first formed, there was everything to be said for this view. But as time has gone on experience seems to tell against

it. What Unionism gains in extension by Lord Hartington's system it loses in intension. What it gains in comprehension it loses in solidity. Does not the Liberal Unionist leader remember a famous passage in the speech of Sir George Cornewall Lewis on the vote of want of confidence in Lord Derby's Government moved by the Marquis of Hartington in 1859? Sir G. Cornewall Lewis then said—

> I fully admit that the motion was a party move. But I must be permitted to remark that all great questions in this House have been decided by party moves. A parliamentary system can only be conducted by the combined operation of parties. . . . If we look back to former times, we shall see that all great questions—the Reform Bill of 1832, Catholic Emancipation, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, all those great changes by which our social condition has been improved—were dealt with in the way of party moves; and whatever amelioration is to be expected in our present state must, according to the constitution of the House of Commons, proceed from the same source.

These words are well worthy of Lord Hartington's attention. Party is an established and recognised instrument with which the people of this country have long been familiar, and of which they understand the use. It is not a system to be admired in the abstract, but the country is not ripe for the abolition of it. The great majority of the electors prefer to work upon the old lines; and it seems to me that Lord Hartington and his friends should now seriously consider whether they cannot accommodate themselves to an organisation which it is clearly too soon to supersede, yet at the same time highly dangerous to neglect. There are many Liberal Unionists to whom it would be no sacrifice of principle whatever to call themselves Conservatives; and in this respect, be it remembered, the two parties are not on equal terms. Many men who were Liberals as against exclusive principles are Conservatives as against revolutionary principles. Now that all danger from the first has passed away, and the second alone remain to be combated, such men in calling themselves Conservatives would be only calling themselves what they really are. We were Liberals, they might say, when it was necessary to be Liberals; we are Conservatives when it is necessary to be Conservatives. We have abolished what it was desirable to abolish, we will preserve what it is desirable to preserve. In the one case one name, in the other another, is appropriate to the position we occupy. Now, it is obvious that the very same reasons which make it easy and natural for a Liberal to call himself a Conservative make it impossible for a Conservative to call himself a Liberal. That is not the change of name that is required. It would not represent the transition which is actually taking place; it would be a misnomer and an anachronism. The reaction is in the opposite direction. Between sixty and seventy years ago, the situation was reversed, and Tories who thought that their old creed had done its work had no hesitation in calling themselves Liberals. They called themselves what they really were. But when Toryism was in full

vigour it did not change its name to suit its new allies. The enlarged party opposed by Mr. Pitt to the Revolutionary movement was still the Tory party. The enlarged party opposed by Sir Robert Peel to the new Radicalism was still the Conservative party. The party with whom the Peelites united themselves after 1852 was still the Liberal party. No new title is wanted now any more than it was then. To require the Conservatives to renounce a name which expresses so exactly the part they are called upon to play seems absurd.

The Conservative party, reinforced by the infusion of new blood, would appeal to the constituencies on stronger ground than was occupied by the Conservatives in 1841. At that date the Radical party, though their theories had already alarmed the middle classes and provoked a Conservative reaction, was not immediately formidable; while in many quarters a belief existed that these theories were meant only for show, and would never be reduced to practice. The public now know better. They know what the Radicals mean, and what they are resolved to do. Conservatives can now appeal to experience; and with this great point in their favour they should be able to secure a substantial, a permanent, and a homogeneous majority. Their measures have already secured the confidence of impartial and independent men; and I cannot see that such a triumph as crowned the efforts of Sir Robert Peel is beyond their reach, if they work for it with equal wisdom.

Such I take to be the kind of fusion, and the kind of national party, which Lord Salisbury had in his mind when he spoke upon the subject at Nottingham. He said very wisely that it could not be called into being at the will of any party leader, or even by the direct appeal of any political organisation. It must grow spontaneously, like the wild flowers: the seed must be carried hither and thither by the winds, till society at large is impregnated with it. This, of course, does not mean that nobody is to take the initiative. When all are ready somebody must move first, and if the pear is not ripe at this moment it will not be long before it is.

We shall find it in the long run extremely difficult to detach the Irish question from the other great questions of the day, and to make it exclusively national while all the rest are more or less connected with parties. I believe if the Union is to be preserved, it must be as part of the whole constitutional fabric, and that it must be saved in company with those other institutions and principles which it is the Conservative mission to maintain. All the evidence that comes up to us from the scenes of the Unionist defeats seems to point to this conclusion. Each side thinks more of its name, its colours, and its old subjects of contention than it does of the union with Ireland; and, unless its support of the last can be made to harmonise with the first, its efforts will be lukewarm and uncertain.

Party nomenclature aside, the maintenance of the Act of Union is a distinctly Conservative policy, and falls naturally into the hands of Conservatives. I cannot help thinking that it must stand or fall with the whole Conservative system, and that it is perilous to reject at such a moment an established political agency to which, according to Sir G. C. Lewis, we owe all the best results that the House of Commons has accomplished.

The constituencies, as Mr. Goschen says, in full agreement with Lord Salisbury, must be allowed to fight the battle in their own way. Any attempt to alter the formation under a heavy fire is likely to result in discomfiture. What has recently occurred in the central division of Birmingham illustrates the general feeling clearly enough. If we attempt to run counter to it we shall do more harm than good. What is wanted is a powerful Conservative party in which those who have always belonged to it, and hold all its doctrines, shall fight side by side with those who believe it to be the best party for present emergencies, and who in that belief are willing to join its ranks, bear its name, and acquiesce, for the time being at all events, in its principles of government. Such was the party, and such the public opinion, which rallied round the Government of Mr. Pitt, and supported it steadily through the Great War. Such was the party which stemmed the tide of Radicalism after the first Reform Bill, and kept the foe at bay for thirty years. And my own conviction is that it only requires a little more courage and firmness on the part of the Conservatives to ensure the same result now. There are probably thousands of independent Liberals quite ready for such a step. Thousands of men who have long slumbered peacefully under the banner of old-fashioned Liberalism must have woke up to the fact that their old creed has now become nothing but a name, and that the ground which it formerly occupied has been seized by a new party bent on the attainment of objects not merely inconsistent with, but diametrically opposed to, the principles represented by Lord Hartington. This party is a real party—a young party—and a strong party, and if it is to be successfully opposed, where is the resistance to come from? For the time being, at all events, the *via media* is submerged. The office of arbitrator claimed by Lord Hartington for the Whigs is in abeyance. The Conservative party offer the only organisation, the only strength, the only tradition capable of resisting the progress of opinions fatal, as such men believe, to the integrity of the empire, the maintenance of public credit, the freedom of industry and capital, and that security for property of all kinds on which the power, the character, the wealth, and the commerce of this great country are entirely dependent. I am not going to argue these points—I say that is what thousands of the old school of Liberals are really thinking. They see plainly enough in what direction the Liberalism of the day is tending—the new Liberalism, which is

Radicalism. They must recognise the fact, if they will but open their eyes and look about them, that there is no one to resist it but the Conservatives. To dangle a 'national' party before their eyes is only to drag a red herring across the line, and to lead them away from the one path in which they can be of real service.

Can Lord Hartington or anyone else suppose that Home Rule will pass away like an evil dream, and leave everything as it was before, when the old Liberalism shall be brought back in triumph, and the King enjoy his own again? It is impossible. Home Rule might pass away, but the newly consolidated Radical party would not have passed away. That would still remain, with a prescriptive title to the position which it had held so long as the official opponent of Conservatism, and recognised as such by the whole party of organic change both in and out of Parliament. We may remember what took place in 1791, when the Whig party had to choose between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox. Burke was an old Whig, as Lord Hartington is an old Liberal. He represented the original principles of the Whig party far more faithfully than his rival. Yet the Whig party, as a body [1] decided that Mr. Fox had maintained 'the pure doctrines by which they were bound to act together;' and Mr. Burke and his friends no longer found a place among them. That is what would happen again. And if Lord Hartington is ever to be the leader of a party, it is a Conservative party that he must lead.

Those persons who desire that the existing order of society and the principal institutions of the country should remain substantially upon their present footing are Conservatives, and if they are a majority of the nation they should be able to give effect to their convictions. They can only do so, however, by internal union, and by throwing off those obsolete prejudices and antipathies which now divide them into two camps, giving an advantage to their opponents which may be turned to fatally good account if the gap is much longer left open. On the other hand, if a majority of the people are not Conservatives, and do desire organic changes, they, too, will sooner or later have their own way, and no combination, reconstruction, or other political strategy will avail to stop them. But for either Conservatism or Unionism to hope to triumph with an army divided against itself, of which the two sections, more mindful of the past than of the present, co-operate with reluctance and start asunder with alacrity, and who, behind a thin veil of cordiality, still brood over the embers of an ancient quarrel, is sheer infatuation. If there are any members of the Unionist party who regard the alliance as a mere truce, to expire when its immediate object has been obtained or abandoned, and who, all the time they are working together, are looking forward to the moment when they will be at liberty to cut each other's throats, the sooner we get rid of them the better. We may have a long

[1] *Morning Chronicle*, May 12, 1791.

struggle before us. If we lose the next general action the war will not be over. There is Soignies behind Waterloo, and I question whether anything but a hearty sympathy with the general aims and objects of the Conservative party will be sufficient to sustain the spirit of the troops under the arduous conflict which it is idle to deny may still await them. Unionism alone will not do it.

One word more. We have heard a good deal of the sacrifices that have been made both by Conservatives and Liberals for the sake of the one great object which unites them. I think we have heard too much. If Home Rule be all which they say it is, neither side should demand any price for doing what is only their duty. I think it would be easy to show that the sacrifices made by the Conservatives have been far more important and more vital than any which have been made by the Liberals. But there should be no bargaining in the matter. If either party has given gold for brass, it cannot be helped now. Nothing should have been asked at all. But at all events this much may be said: that whatever concessions have been made by the Conservatives, whether great or small, necessary or unnecessary, they should make it so much the easier for Liberals to call themselves Conservatives, and reduce the chief difficulty in the way of a complete fusion to the smallest possible dimensions.

If we could only keep Unionism and domestic questions entirely distinct; if it could be an understood thing that, while the Unionist alliance lasted, no legislation affecting political principles should be undertaken or supported by the Government; and that when it was dissolved, each party should stand where it did before, the relations between the two would, of course, be simple enough. If we are told, as we sometimes are, that the present Government is in power for the sake of Unionism, and not for the sake of Conservatism, as little is it in power for the sake of Liberalism. If it must not bring in Conservative measures, as little may it bring in Radical measures; the conclusion being what we have suggested, that, strictly speaking, it should bring in neither. But, as that is impossible, it has to make the best compromise it can. Hence the difficulty of discussing Conservative prospects with perfect clearness and directness. An alliance which was formed for one object, and one object only, becomes inevitably mixed up with others with which it has no logical connection. But the main conclusions which I wish to submit to public opinion admit of being stated pretty plainly, and they are these:—that we ought not to rely on the popular antipathy to Home Rule for a majority at the next election; that the party which must ultimately stand in the breach must be a Conservative party, with words inscribed upon its banner which shall command the confidence of all its members; that many independent Liberals may in time be brought over to this party, so as to give it a permanent majority; and that a 'national party,' in the only sense in which it is

any novelty, while offering few attractions to the rank and file of either side, would, if by any chance it was successful, destroy party altogether.

If parties are to survive they must rest on certain definite and distinctive principles, marking them off clearly from their rivals or opponents. We are all Nationalists. But a Conservative party largely recruited from those classes which in its palmy days constituted the chief strength of old Liberalism, would possess a sufficiently marked idiosyncrasy to satisfy the great mass of politicians who love to stand upon their own ground; while at the same time it would be confronted by enemies sufficiently strong to make union essential to its safety, without being strong enough to extort undesirable compromises.

T. E. KEBBEL.

DANTE AND THE 'NEW REFORMATION.'

WHEN we remember that for centuries Catholics tortured Protestants, and that in their turn Protestants tortured Catholics, in the sacred name of religion—a religion, too, supposed to be founded on Divine love—and that they are still ready to rend one another, metaphorically speaking (and to join together in rending 'the infidels'), on account of their religious beliefs, it is really very curious and encouraging to find that they can nevertheless lie down amicably together, like the lion and the lamb, in the presence of Dante, the religious poet, notwithstanding that the framework of his great poem is compacted of the very elements that elsewhere have made the two sects irreconcilable. Each sect seems to find in him its special interpreter. Naturally they have a good deal of quiet mutual contempt for each other's interpretations of the interpreter; but, on the whole, they disagree not more unamiably than other literary disputants, and there are no threats of eternal damnation for any heresies. The Positivists and Agnostics have also taken 'the pre-eminent poet' as their prophet, so that to-day he may be said to focus all the conflicting rays of religious thought in the Western world.

Nothing would probably have surprised the poet himself so much as the idea that he might one day prove to be the missing link between belief, resting on theological dogmas, and a coherent social faith—a social faith dependent on the whole range of the past and looking to the future with unstinted hope, tempered by a great awe of the Eternal and of the everlasting reign of Laws, whereof Science is the handmaiden, and not necessarily divorced from a deep mystical tendency, for it will be nourished by the Bible and by all poetry of a 'high seriousness,' as Mr. Matthew Arnold has pointed out.

The situation is not only curious, it is suggestive of possibilities. For there is no more noteworthy phenomenon amongst the forces that are at work, moulding the thought of our time, than the extraordinary increase in Dante's influence during the last forty years—especially in England and America. It will probably be well within the mark to say that there are hundreds of readers of the *Divina Commedia* to-day for every single reader that there was when Dean Church published his well-known scholarly essay in 1850. And this

increase has taken place, be it remembered, precisely in the period during which the respect for theological—or ecclesiastical—dogmas has been most rapidly decaying, when it might naturally have been expected that the poem would have lost much of its constraining power over the minds and consciences of its readers, owing to the fact that the vast majority of them has ceased to believe in the corporeal realities of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. How, then, is the increase to be accounted for? No doubt it is to some extent due to the cheap editions of Longfellow's translation, for the readers of to-day are not confined to the small circle of Italian scholars. They form a wide public. Then it is a religious book which stands on its intrinsic merits, as the Bible perhaps may some day stand. Every one is permitted to put his own interpretation on the whole scheme and on every incident in it—to adapt its teachings to his own personal idiosyncrasy—and to believe only that which seems to him reasonable to believe. Whatever creeds a man may be brought to recite, he will never practically believe more than that; but the possibilities of belief will, of course, vary, as human minds vary—that which appears perfectly reasonable to one person often appearing in the highest degree unreasonable to another. What all sects claim, in reading Dante, is untrammelled freedom of the reason as well as of the imagination. Hence the interpretations are as numerous as the readers—but no reader goes empty away. There is matter for all.

It is true that Dante was professedly a great theologian—but he was something more. He was above all things an epoch-making poet, who 'carried a light behind;' and he is the true prophet of the New Reformation, because he shows us how a revelation is made, and why it is made. In the Comedy we not only see the effect produced, but we are taken behind the scenes (so to speak) and are shown the means by which it is produced. The pulleys and the properties are all laid bare. The poet has triumphed by the unique power of convincing mankind that a mortal, sufficiently moved by his theme, can by mere force of genius arrogate to himself and can have accorded to him the attributes of the Deity. He felt, as all the prophets from Moses onwards had felt before him, that the way to penetrate and enthral the hearts and consciences of his hearers was to bring them a special message direct from the Eternal. It was a device: 'une pensée de la jeunesse réalisée par l'âge mûr;' and in Dante's case it is open to us to accept the message with the consciousness of the device—a device which was worthy of his genius, and his genius was equal to it.

No such superbly audacious undertaking had ever been attempted before. Not that the idea was new—no world-famous idea is, every matured conception being the result of a long process of development; but the method of its application was new. Other prophets, seers, and poets, before and since, have visited in imagination the kingdoms of the dead; but the great Florentine was the first, and

will probably be the last, to undertake the delivery of what are supposed to be the everlasting judgments of a personal God, not only on mankind in general, nor only on the great historical characters of the past, but on named individuals contemporary with his own life, on his personal enemies as well as on his personal friends, on the living as well as on the dead. He was the first, and the last, to describe the spirits of the departed as engaged not only in suffering torments or singing hallelujahs, but apparently as still more deeply interested in the political and social questions of the day in Florence, and not unmindful of the personal fortunes and character of the poet Dante nor of their own literary productions. Brunetto Latini, in taking farewell of Dante in Hell, touchingly says, 'Commended unto thee be my *Tesoro*, in which I still live, and no more I ask.' The great desire of all the spirits is to have their fame re-established in the world, quite oblivious of the practical inconsistency, from the theological point of view, of the same man describing their tortures in Hell and at the same time setting them right with mankind. Bocca degli Abati is the only one who sees this logical difficulty, and acknowledges that the less that may be said of him the better it will be. But these are details. The plan of the Comedy results in a bold—perhaps an unconsciously bold—attempt to show that when the assumed divine voice speaks in the language of men it is in reality the exalted human voice.[1] As one of the most exalted of these voices has said, in language that will endure as long as the human race endures, '*The Heavens* declare the glory of God, and *the firmament* showeth His handiwork.' The only atheist, or infidel, is the man whose soul is dead to that declaration, which contrasts the infinite greatness of the Eternal with the infinite littleness of man, and it is the function of all poets of a high seriousness to act as interpreters between the Eternal and mankind.

And now let the orthodox Protestant Dean of St. Paul's tell us how Dante's attempt has succeeded. Writing of the Comedy he uses these phrases: 'It is at once the mirror to all time of the sins and perfections of men, of the judgment and grace of God. . . . History is indeed viewed, not in its ephemeral look, but under the light of God's final judgments, . . . and that which Dante held up before men's awakened and captivated minds was the verity of God's moral government.'

What more can be said for prophet or apostle? But no one now asserts that the Comedy is directly inspired—of divine origin—in the sense that such claim is asserted for the Scriptures. What, then, is the exact meaning of Dean Church's words? The answer, surely, is that when we analyse what is here meant by the judgment and grace of God, we shall find that it resolves itself into a specially

[1] 'The Scripture condescends unto your faculties, and feet and hands to God attributes, and means something else.' (*Par.* iv. 43.)

enlightened and elevated human judgment and grace. In fact, it is neither more nor less than the judgment and grace of the man Dante. No doubt Professor Huxley would be as ready as Dean Church to attribute an exceptional spiritual power to Dante—as well as to Moses, Ezekiel, and St. John. The Professor probably would say that the only difference among them is one of degree, not of kind—and it is difficult to understand, from the language quoted above, what further difference the Dean sees. Now, if the difference between the inspiration of the Scriptures and the inspiration of a work of human genius like the Divine Comedy can be narrowed down to a difference of degree, the path of the New Reformation will be made easier. For the object to be gained is the liberty of interpreting the Bible with the same freedom as the Comedy may be interpreted—each reader believing in that part of it which is conformable with his reason and with the best thought and with the social sanctions of the time. No ordinary reader of the Comedy considers himself to be bound by any particular judgment of Dante's which may seem to him to be contrary to that thought and to those sanctions. It is otherwise with the Dantologist, as it is with the Theologist. Dean Church, for instance, says that 'he who could tell her story bowed to the eternal law, and dared not save Francesca.' Why, then, it may be asked, did he dare to save Cunizza? The historical evidence (such as it is) does not seem to disclose much difference between the virtues of the two ladies, and if there be any, it is in favour of Francesca.[2] That which was eternal law in the one case ought certainly to remain eternal in the other. But Dante consigns the one to eternal torment (and, oddly enough, she is the only Christian woman in his Hell), and the other to eternal beatitude, because it happens to suit his dramatic purposes. Again, why should the great spirit of Virgil be left in limbo, 'where, without hope, he lives on in desire,' whilst the Trojan Ripheus is relegated to an honoured place in Paradise, although neither of them had the benefit of that baptism 'which is the portal of the faith we hold'?

The truth is that it is impossible for us to take these judgments literally. We must always bear in mind that the Comedy is a fourteenth-century drama, and in the nineteenth century it requires to be translated into our language, just as the miraculous portions of the Bible require to be translated. For example, the damnation of Boniface the Eighth may have been necessary, or expedient, as a dramatic incident, whether considered from Dante's personal or from his political point of view; but how can we think of it seriously as God's final judgment? The words are easily written, but the idea is difficult to seize. For is not God—the God of battles—liable to be appealed to by both sides in a conflict? Boniface would, without doubt, and with great show of reason from his point of view,

[2] Cunizza could scarcely have said, 'Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso:' she would have had to use the plural—'Che forse parria forte al vostro vulgo.'

have made an earnest appeal to his God against the gross impiety of the whole conception and execution of the Comedy—against the revolutionary audacity of the layman who had dared to usurp the Papal prerogative and to lock and unlock at his own will the gates of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise—even in a vision. For it is evident that the vision of a man of genius is capable of being regarded as 'history viewed, not in its ephemeral look, but under the light of God's final judgments.'

It remains, indeed, a great puzzle for the lay mind to understand how stringent Churchmen are not more affected, and afflicted, by the savour of sacrilege in Dante's whole treatment of his theme. There is in truth no escape from a logical *impasse*. If the Comedy is to be regarded in the same light as any other human drama (say *Hamlet*, *Lear*, or *Faust*), it is undoubtedly a very ruthless satire on the pretensions of the Popes and the Church, showing their insignificance as compared with the pretensions of the poet. If, on the other hand, it is to be regarded as something more than human (and there is evidence that Dante wished it to be so regarded,[3] and many have so regarded it), then we are driven to admit an authority infinitely more binding than any that the Church can lay claim to, because the message from the heavenly powers conveyed by him is more specific, more circumstantial, and more personal than any previous message, whether by the mouth of Moses, Ezekiel, or St. John. The Church must choose which horn of the dilemma to be impaled on. If on the one, we are not surprised that, within twenty years of his death, the poet's ashes had a very narrow escape of being exhumed and scattered to the winds as those of a heretic; if on the other, the marvel is that his revelation is not accepted as the most directly divine message ever delivered, and that St. Dante does not take his place as at least the equal of St. John, St. Peter, or St. Paul.

M. Ozanam, the orthodox Catholic Dantologist, is amusing in his way of dealing with the difficulty. 'Si Dante *apprécia mal* la piété de St. Célestine, le zèle impétueux de Boniface VIII, la science de Jean XXII, ce fut imprudence et colère, ce fut erreur et faute et non pas hérésie.' There is a quaint humour in the phrase '*apprécia mal*' when we bear in mind the virulent language in which the misdoings of these Popes are recorded, and that two of them are chiefly known to popular fame outside the Catholic world by Dante's damnation of them. Then there is poor Pope Anastasius also in Hell, 'whom out of the right way Photinus drew'—but Dr. Döllinger assures us that Anastasius was guiltless of any lapse from the true faith. What a reflection it is on theological pretensions when a Pope can be eternally damned by one eminent theologian and certified as sound by another! It would be ludicrous if it were not so serious. The fact is that a Pope with whom he did not agree seems to have been to Dante like a red flag to a bull. He has

[3] *Par.* x. 27, and xxv. 1.

placed three of them irredeemably in Hell, and Clement the Fifth is relegated to the same hot place (*pozzetto*), where Nicholas the Third is waiting for Boniface, whilst Adrian the Fifth is expiating the sin of avarice in Purgatory, Martin the Fourth is expiating the sin of gluttony, and there is not a single Pope in Paradise.[4] Now, whatever may have been the faults and failings of these Popes in life, they all died in the bosom of the Church, repenting of their sins, receiving absolution and extreme unction; and one would have thought that no deadlier blow could be struck at the authority of the Church than the doffing aside of all these solemn rites and mysteries on the independent judgment of a lay poet. And the same argument may be applied to the admission of the excommunicated Manfred and the pagan Cato to Purgatory, as well as of Ripheus to Paradise. Which are we to take as God's final judgment, Dante's or the Church's, when Dante damns and the Church canonises? The difficulty can only be solved by the old device of reading with one eye open and the other shut: and so I suppose the Churchmen manage to solve it.

General readers, however, happily for themselves and for their appreciation of everything best worth appreciating in the poem, need not be troubled with these difficulties; for they may believe Dante to have been a man of transcendent genius, with a mighty message to deliver to the world in the fourteenth century, who used the device of a vision of the unseen as the most powerful vehicle for delivering that message. It would have been impossible for him to have struck so hard or so deep without the intervention of supernatural agency, for the age was one which cast every serious thought into a religious mould—the age following St. Louis, when the last crusade had just been accomplished, when miracles were of daily occurrence, when the end of the world was still looked for as imminent, and when Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise were realities such as can scarcely be conceived of by the men of to-day.

But, although it was an age that after the lapse of six centuries we have the proud privilege of characterising as grossly superstitious (what age is not to the age six hundred years later?), it was also one of the most interesting epochs in the world's history —an epoch vibrating with new life, intellectual, political, religious, and artistic. After the long sleep of over a thousand years the laity were beginning to recover their freedom of thought. The lawyers were everywhere pitting themselves against the clergy. The two great institutions that had between them governed the Western world for more than ten centuries (the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church) were grappling in death-throes. The spirit of nationality was crystallising in France and in England, and the bases of representative and constitutional government were being laid, the very forms of which still endure in England

[4] Gregory is mentioned, but only to be set right by Dante on a point of doctrine. *Par.* xxviii. 133.

to this day. Dante, not knowing, stood at the fountain-head of this stream, which, issuing through the Reformation in England and the Revolution in France, broadened out into the wide river of American Independence, opening a new industrial era of great hope to mankind. In the intellectual world Roger Bacon[5] had already laid the foundation for his great namesake's superstructure, and had driven the first nails into the coffin of theological dogmas.

Upon this surging 'sea of being' was launched the Comedy—like the Ark upon the waters after the Deluge—and an appreciative re-born world instinctively and gratefully christened it Divine. It is still divine in the New Reformation's sense of the term, for it is the divine-human. All future ages will pay due tribute to the genius with which the Poet worked out his conception, but we shall never form a just idea of the man Dante unless we recognise that he had his full share of human errors and weaknesses, just as the Psalmist David had. The one was an impassioned Italian poet and prophet (and it needs an Italian to comprehend his nature as well as his intellect), the other was an impassioned Hebrew prophet and poet, and both of them had the defects of their qualities—defects which must never be forgotten. They were merciless and unforgiving to their enemies, capable of any injustice where their own egoistic preferences were crossed;[6] but, whether by reason of, or in despite of, their defects of character, they both knew how to sound the depths of the human heart, its capabilities for good and evil, its great yearnings. They were both men of sorrows and acquainted with sin, and consequently they were able to let shafts of light down into the secret places of men's souls. And this is the characteristic attribute of the great seer, whether he be a Hebrew prophet, a Greek tragedian, a Roman poet, a Christian apostle, or a Dante. He must have the eye to penetrate the eternal truths of life, and the real motives which actuate human conduct, to see things as they are, disengaged from the conventional point of view of the day. The motto of the Comedy might be taken from St. Francis: 'What every man is in the eyes of God, that he is and no more.' The God within each man knows what that is.

> How many are esteemed great kings up there
> Who here shall be like unto swine in mire,
> Leaving behind them horrible dispraises.[7]
>
> But look thou, many crying are, Christ! Christ!
> Who at the judgment shall be far less near
> To Him than some shall be who knew not Christ.

[5] It is noteworthy that Dante never mentions Roger Bacon's name.

[6] Note especially the case of Guido da Montefeltro—the 'romanzo storico' of 'the promise long and the fulfilment short.' On the face of it, it is ridiculous to suppose that Boniface—who is described by Dante as a fox, and was undoubtedly a very accomplished Italian intriguer—would seek for such ingenuous and childlike advice. It is said that the story is not mentioned by any contemporary.

[7] *Inf.* xiii. 49.

Such Christians shall the Ethiop condemn,
When the two companies shall be divided,
The one for ever rich, the other poor.
What to *your* kings may not the Persians say,
When they that volume opened shall behold
In which are written down all their dispraises? [8]

et not Dame Bertha nor Ser Martin think,
Seeing one steal, another offering make,
To see them in the arbitrament divine,
For one may rise, and fall the other may.[9]

Dante's undying influence, with the great mass of lay-readers, is due to this penetrating power of seeing things as they are, and making us see ourselves as we are, unmasking the shams of the world, and passing beyond the pretensions of the Church to absolve and remit sins. He knew that wrongdoing and its punishment are as inseparable as the root and the flower of a poisonous plant, and that if the wheels of the gods grind slow they grind exceeding fine.[10] Then his clear perception of the necessity for social regeneration appeals directly to the modern spirit. Looking round on the world from his standpoint as an exile, and a wanderer deprived of all worldly goods, he vividly realised the misery wrought by the excessive claims of individual selfishness—the envy, the arrogance, the sloth, and the avarice—and he conceived his vision as the strongest possible appeal to men's fears and to their hopes.

The fundamental idea of the Comedy, as of the Bible, consists in the precept 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.'[11] As Beatrice beautifully puts it—

Of those things only should one be afraid
Which have the power of doing others harm.
Of the rest no; because they are not fearful.[12]

It is an essentially social basis. The application of the idea to life will enlarge with the developing conscience of mankind. At one

[8] *Par.* xix. 106. [9] *Ibid.* xiii. 142. [10] Cf. *Par.* xxii. 16.

[11] 'Love must be the seed within yourselves of every virtue and every act that merits punishment.' (*Purg.* xvii. 103.)

Hence if, discriminating, I judge well,
The *evil* that one loves is of one's neighbour,
And this is born in three modes in your clay.
There are, who, by *abasement of their neighbour*,
Hope to excel, and therefore only long
That from his greatness he may be cast down;
There are, who power, grace, honour, and renown
Fear they may *lose because another rises*,
Thence are so sad that *the reverse* they love;
And there are those whom *injury* seems to chafe,
So that it makes them *greedy for revenge*,
And such must needs shape out *another's* harm.
This threefold love is wept for down below.—Purg. xvii. 112.

[12] *Inf.* ii. 88.

time it will require the support of a supernatural sanction, at another time it will rest on the social sanction; but it will ever remain the basis of all true religion—of universal religion—because it demonstrably leads to the Kingdom of Heaven. If we could conceive of a world where the doctrine was not only preached but practised, we could conceive of a world without sin. For all sin or wrong-doing is finally referable to the love of self, instead of love of others—and the love of others is the love of God: for 'God is love.'[13] In these three words of St. John lie the foundation and the reconciliation of all religions.

We have only to read the literature of the opposing Christian sects in order to acknowledge that we are still a long way off this final stadium of development; but the worship of human goodness (which is the highest goodness we know from experience) is one form of worshipping God, and our best image of God's love is the love of the mother for her child, of the child for its mother. All readers of Dante know that when he wishes to strike his tenderest chord, this love is the note he touches.[14] And in another art we recognise—in the Madonna di San Sisto, the ideal mother with the ideal Child in her arms—the everlasting emblem of the religion of Christianity, of the religion of humanity, and haply also of their junction.

Hell can never be reached except when the love of others is dead within us, whether we regard Hell as an actual place of torment or as a subjective mental and moral state. So long as there is love of others in the heart, there is hope, and that is the secret of Jesus. He is the true corner-stone, for our finest conceptions of perfect love cluster round His personality, real or ideal. The authenticity of the gospel narratives may be proved or disproved, but the character of Jesus as it has formed itself for us during nineteen centuries will remain as a type. It is true that in Dante's poem the finest essence of His teaching and example is often overlaid by the requirements of the system of the Roman Church, and by the poet's own passionate unforgiving nature; but no one has shown more clearly how treachery, fraud, covetousness, pride, anger, sloth, and all other deadly sins have their common root in love of self causing us to claim more than our fair share. What we have to aim at is 'hungering at all times so far as is just.'[15] In a few striking lines he puts his finger on the diseased spot in our social structure:

> O human race! why dost thou set thy heart
> Where interdict of partnership must be?[16]
>
> 'What did the spirit of Romagna mean,
> Mentioning interdict and partnership?'
> Whence he[17] to me: 'Of his own greatest failing

[13] Cf. *Inf.* i. 39; and *Par.* xxxiii. 145.
[14] *Inf.* xxiii. 38; *Purg.* xxx. 44; *Par.* i. 101, xiv. 64, xxii. 1, xxiii. 121, xxx. 82.
[15] *Purg.* xxiv. 154; and cf. *Par.* vii. 25. [16] *Purg.* xiv. 86. [17] Virgil.

He knows the harm; and therefore wonder not
If he reprove us, that we less may rue it.
Because are thither pointed your desires
Where by companionship each share is lessened,
Envy doth ply the bellows to your sighs.
But if the love of the supernal sphere
Should *upwardly* direct your aspiration,
There would not be that *fear* within your breast:
For there, as much the more as one says *Our*,
So much the more of good each one possesses,
And more of charity in that cloister burns.' [18]

The purchase which capital has acquired over the products of labour is seen to be the root of some of the greatest evils from which humanity suffers. In the very opening of the poem avarice is figured as a she-wolf

that with all hungerings
Seemed to be laden in her meagreness,
And many folk has caused to live forlorn! [19]

She is to be driven back to Hell, 'there from whence Envy first did let her loose.' The application is much wider than to the mere avarice of the clergy. The sudden gains are set down as the ruin of Florence. Plutus is referred to as the great Enemy, and Virgil is constantly reminding Dante of the dangers arising from 'the accursed hunger of gold'; particularly in the beautiful lines—

For all the gold that is beneath the moon
Or ever has been, of these weary souls
Could never make a single one repose.' [20]

Beatrice, at the beginning of that charming passage in the *Paradise* where she anticipates much that Wordsworth has said as to 'the youth who daily farther from the East must travel,' says:

O Covetousness, that mortals dost ingulf
Beneath thee so, that no one hath the power
Of drawing back his eyes from out thy waves! [21]

Dante himself, too, takes occasion to blow the bellows on the flames that are licking the soles of Pope Nicholas the Third, by reminding him how 'his avarice afflicts the world—trampling the good and lifting the depraved'; and the following lines put into the mouth of Hugh Capet have still their pointed significance in our own Vanity Fair. They refer to Charles the Second of Apulia, who married his daughter to Azzo the Third da Este of Ferrara.

The other, now gone forth, ta'en in his ship,
See I his daughter sell, and chaffer for her
As corsairs do with other female slaves.
What more, O Avarice, canst thou do to us,
Since thou my blood so to thyself hast drawn,
It careth not for its own proper flesh? [22]

[18] *Purg.* xv. 45. [19] *Inf.* i. 49; cf. *Purg.* xx. 10.
[20] *Inf.* vii. 64. [21] *Par.* xxvii. 121, and cf. xxx. 139. [22] *Purg.* xx. 79.

These are only a few passages, that can be multiplied over and over again, showing that social questions form the very warp and woof of the Comedy. The poet is in truth much more concerned with the affairs of this world than with the next—although the scene is laid in the latter. He is not afraid to use the lash, and it falls on peculiarly tender places in the modern conscience. He saw clearly that the voluntary poverty of the Friars was the most helpful gift that the mediæval Church had given to the world[23] (our Bishops and Deans must have their withers wrung as well as the rest of us); and as he had himself been, involuntarily, stripped of all his own worldly goods, he was in a position to recognise the fact that the ever-increasing inequality in the distribution of wealth is the greatest danger to social well-being. The fierce white light that he throws on the danger of the two excesses, in acquiring individual wealth and in profusely spending it, illumines for us the higher aspirations of the true spirit of social regeneration—that spirit which is looming up so largely through the world to-day. Not the crude spirit which would risk reducing order to chaos by violent methods, but the spirit which is at work modifying and changing our ideal of possession from an individual to a social basis. Dante sombrely shadows forth the outlines of the mighty problem, and to the modern mind it is one of the most interesting of all the interesting elements in the Comedy.

His descriptions of the spirit world may be taken as figures, symbols, types. No doubt many people will maintain that if you take away the belief in the future life as represented in the Comedy, you take away all meaning from the poem, which may be compared to saying that if you take away the Jewish ordinances from the Old Testament you take away its essential part. These ordinances had no doubt a deep and important significance to the Israelites; their significance has ceased for us, but the vital teaching of the Old Testament is not in the least dependent on them. It is as true to us as the day it was written, because it is the highest poetry. I suppose in Dante's time there were believers in the future life as described by him—but does any one believe in it literally to-day? Did he believe in it himself? It is much more difficult to think that he did, than to think that he did not. It is hard for us to imagine that the torments were really such, and felt by the shades to be such, as they are described when we find Farinata in Hell saying to Dante, in reference to the banishment of the Ghibellines by the poet's ancestors, and in reply to a taunt that they had not 'acquired the art' of returning from their banishment to Florence—

> And if they have *not* learned that art aright,
> *That* more tormenteth me than doth this bed.[24]

[23] St. Francis, *Par.* xi. 61–7 *et seq.*; St. Dominic, *Par.* xii. 82 *et seq.*; and cf *Par.* xxii. 82.

[24] *Inf.* x. 76.

It certainly puts a different complexion on them when we are told that a sufferer feels them less than the thought that his descendants had not found the way of reinstating themselves in power in the city of Florence, and that he 'held Hell in great despite.' Again, if Dante had believed in the actuality of his own Hell, he would scarcely have made Virgil say to Capaneus—

O Capaneus, in that is not extinguished
Thine arrogance, thou punished art the more:
Not any torment saving thine own rage
Would be unto thy fury pain complete.[24]

Nor, on the other hand, if he had believed in the reality of his own Paradise, can we imagine him introducing his pride of birth in meeting his great ancestor Cacciaguida; nor, when he has been brought face to face with the Virgin Mary, the Angel Gabriel, St. John, and Moses, allowing St. Bernard to finish his introduction with such lines as these:

But since the moments of thy vision fly,
Here will we make full stop, *as a good tailor*
Who makes the gown according to his cloth.

Undoubtedly one of the most puzzling among the many puzzling problems coiled in the mysterious verses of the Comedy is to conceive how we are meant to take this future life. There are so many curious incongruities in the treatment of it that we are sometimes driven to think that

Perhaps his doctrine is of other guise
Than the words sound, and possibly may be
With meaning that is not to be derided.[25]

In the verses spoken by Cacciaguida we find what may be taken as a reference to subjective immortality:

Because thy life into the future reaches
Beyond the punishment of their perfidies.[26]

To which Dante replies:

And if I am a timid friend to truth,
I fear lest I may lose my life with those
Who will hereafter call this time the olden.[27]

He conjures the spirits in Hell:

'So may your memory not steal away
In the first world from out the minds of men,
But so may it survive 'neath many suns.'[28]

And Cunizza says that of Folco the troubadour:

Great fame remained; and ere it die away
This hundredth year shall yet quintupled be.
See if man ought to make him excellent,
So that another life the first may leave.[29]

[24] *Inf.* xiv. 63. [25] *Pur.* xxxii. 139. [26] *Ibid.* iv. 55.
Ibid. xvii. 98. [27] *Ibid.* xvii. 118. [28] *Inf.* xxix. 103. [29] *Par.* ix. 39.

This is probably the immortality that Dante refers to when he says to Brunetto Latini, 'You taught me how a man becomes eternal.'[32] Of course, there are scores of passages in the *Convito* as well as in the Comedy which can be adduced in proof of Dante's complete belief in the accepted view of his century on this subject, just as an equal number of passages can be adduced in proof of his complete belief in the accepted view of his century as to the divine appointment of the Holy Roman Emperors. All we can with certainty affirm is, that whatever interpretations may be put on the poet's descriptions of the future life, they have no warrant from scriptural authority, but rest entirely on the authority of his own imagination. In that great subtle mind there was room for many conceptions of immortality, and for many motives in favour of enforcing a particular conception. No one knew better than he that human nature is so constituted that the reiterated assertion by a supreme artist of a claim to superhuman knowledge, and experience beyond the grave, although admittedly in a vision, compels an attention and a belief that would never be accorded to any mortal who had cast his ideas into a different form.

And no writer ever made such personal claims for himself. He tells us at once of his beautiful style that has done honour to him, and how the five poets whom he regarded as the greatest of antiquity made him the sixth in their own band. Brunetto Latini prophesies smooth things to him, and says he is 'the sweet fig amongst the crabbed sorbs.' Guido del Duca, Judge Nino, Currado Malaspina, Sapìa, Marco Lombardo, Hugh Capet, Guido Guinicelli, Cacciaguida, Charles Martel, Thomas Aquinas, Justinian, and indeed most of the shades of thedeparted, assure him that he is particularly beloved of God—an assurance that was scarcely required, as the very fact of his journey was sufficient evidence of his 'especial grace.' He addresses the Gemini, 'O glorious stars, O light impregnated with mighty virtue, from which I acknowledge all of my genius, whatsoe'er it be.'[33] In Paradise St. Peter himself encircles Dante's brow after his examination on faith—a much greater honour for the poet than 'taking the laurel crown at his baptismal font.' St. James expresses his gratitude to the expert disciple who shows such proficiency in the doctrine of hope, St. John catechises him on Divine Love, and St. Bernard introduces him to the Virgin Mary. He receives direct from the mouths of these saints elucidations of various disputed points of doctrine,[34] and is commanded to tell the blind world how it is going wrong by not separating the Spiritual and the Temporal powers. Much as we may bow to Dante's genius to-day, it is utterly impossible for us by any effort of the imagination to realise the impression that these intimate relations with the saints in Paradise must have produced on the religious minds of the time in Florence. To think that their own fellow-citizen could say at the sight of the blessed Rose:

[32] *Inf.* xv. 85. [33] *Par.* xxii. 112.
[34] *Ibid.* xxix. 70 *et seq.*, xxx. 127.

I who to the divine had from the human,
From time into eternity had come,
From Florence to a people just and sane,
With what amazement must I have been filled![36]

A selection from the various writers on the *Divina Commedia* and their various interpretations will convince us of the impossibility of defining Dante's own inmost beliefs. Probably no other human soul ever believed exactly as he believed. Probably no two human souls from the beginning of time have ever believed exactly alike as to the eternities—a thought which ought to make us charitable in our judgment of each other's beliefs. But we may observe that whenever he comes out of the region of barren metaphysics into his own region of exquisite poetical images, we can all go along with him. No one of a religious mind, whatever may be his creed, can fail to appreciate such lines as these:

Into the justice sempiternal
The power of vision that your world receives
As eye into the ocean penetrates;
Which, though it see the bottom near the shore,
Upon the deep perceives it not, and yet
'Tis there, but it is hidden by the depth.

This is the very gospel of Agnosticism. It is true that in another passage he tells us, 'If so the Scriptures were not over you for doubting there were marvellous occasion;' but then it is precisely on the interpretation of these Scriptures that the whole difference between Catholics and Protestants has turned. Certainly Dante's literal interpretation will not coincide with the Protestant's interpretation, still less with the Unitarian's, and least of all with the Agnostic's, but they all join in admiration of the beauty of his imagery:

Within the deep and luminous subsistence
Of the high light appeared to me three circles
Of threefold colours and of one dimension,
And in the second seemed the first reflected
As Iris is by Iris, and the third
Seemed fire that equally from both is breathed.[37]

Mr. Lowell takes this as an 'image of that Power, Love, and Wisdom, one in essence but trine in manifestation, to answer the needs of our triple nature and satisfy the senses, the heart, and the mind.' That is an interpretation to which everyone can subscribe. Professor Huxley and Cardinal Manning can meet on it, although it conveys such different conceptions to their two minds. It has been said that Dante 'translated into the language of the multitude what the Schools had done to throw light on the deep questions of human existence.'[38] But he has done much more. As a great poet he has

[36] *Par.* xxxi. 37. [37] *Ibid.* xix. 58. [37] *Ibid.* xxxiii. 115.
[38] Dean Church (Essay on Dante).

soared infinitely beyond and above their metaphysics, although it is evident that he judged it to be necessary that the world of his day should be governed by their system, or rather he placed his hopes in the idealisation of the two systems then existing—the Holy Roman Church, and the Holy Roman Empire. But to make the arrangements completely satisfactory to his critical and exacting mind, he would have required, for their actual working, one Dante as Pope, and another Dante as Emperor. He was keenly alive to the necessity for a divine authority for the Temporal power, as well as for the Spiritual power, because he knew that the crowd must have emphatic warrant; and we get some help to understanding his mental attitude towards miracles and revelations from the serious argument in the *De Monarchiâ* founding the claims of Rome to the empire of the world on the old Roman miracles—the geese of the Capitol, the hailstorm which checked Hannibal &c., 'proved by the testimony of illustrious authorities.' If anyone wishes to learn the value of the testimony of illustrious authorities, it is only necessary to look up the records of the Tichborne trial.

Dean Church remarks on Dante's belief in these early miracles that 'the intellectual phenomenon is a strange one.' Perhaps the stranger one is to accept some miracles and to reject others, when they are all said to be 'proved by the testimony of illustrious authorities.' Our poet carried his belief backwards from the early Christian miracles, just as Dr. Newman carries his belief in them forwards. The logic is unimpeachable. Every phenomenon claiming acceptance as a miracle must be subjected to the same rigorous scientific tests, although I suppose the most sceptical of men admits that all life is one long miracle, from birth to death, in the sense that the first cause is unknown. It may be said that these arguments for the miraculous sanctions of the Roman Empire are in the *De Monarchiâ*, which was probably written before 1300. But they are not confined to that essay. The belief was a common one at the period, and if we were to take out of the Comedy all the direct and indirect references to the divinity of the Empire, we should have a body of doctrine fully as convincing as the theological dogmas. God is alluded to as the Emperor, the Virgin Mary as Augusta, and in Purgatory Beatrice tells Dante that he will only be a short time there, and then will be with her for evermore in Paradise, 'a citizen of that Rome where Christ is Roman.' Judas, who betrayed Christ, and Brutus and Cassius, who betrayed Cæsar, are all punished together; and the Roman eagle is one of the most conspicuous features in Paradise as well as in Purgatory. So far as Dante's arguments go, the reasons for believing in the divine origin of the Empire are just as convincing as the reasons for believing in the divine origin of the Church. And in a certain sense we all believe in this kind of divinity. There was a time (not long ago) when this divinity did

hedge our kings. It still hedges the English constitution to the Englishman, the American constitution to the American, and so forth: for the frame of civil government is the symbol of the reign of law, which mankind has seen to be necessary for its salvation and endurance. In that sense it is eternal or divine—just as the decisions of a supreme court of appeal are practically infallible. But at the same time we know that if the majority of the men in a country determine to alter them they will be altered, and generally improved. Institutions develop as the race develops. As Dante puts it, 'though there are other beings which with him have understanding, yet this understanding is not, as man's, capable of development.'[39] 'Semper eadem' is an impossible motto in this quickly changing world—quickly changing especially from the point of view of a thousand years being as one day.

Dante shows us the real meaning, to his mind, of the divine origin and the supernatural sanction, when he says, 'If the Church had power to bestow authority on the Roman prince, she would have it either from God, or from herself, or from some emperor, or from the universal consent of mankind, *or at least of the majority of mankind.*' This is indeed the *vox populi vox Dei*. It is a firm social basis: for it practically acknowledges the divinity of the State, supported by supernatural sanctions—sanctions which 'to the people were equally true, to the philosopher were equally false, and to the magistrate were equally useful.' Now, the State can stand unaided on the basis of human reason. No wonder that the *De Monarchiâ* is in the Index Expurgatorius. For it is certain that one of the institutions which Dante believed to be as divinely ordained as the Church has passed away; the other may pass away also; but, because the social instincts of man are ever ripening to a finer fruit, the human race will still go on developing, though, perhaps, under different conceptions of spiritual and temporal direction. Dogmas will alter—as they always have altered—'with the process of the suns;' but the spirit of truth and justice will remain, because it is 'within men, like the kingdom of God, as a great spiritual yearning.' We may disbelieve all Dante's supernatural ideas, just as we disbelieve the miraculous sanctions of the Roman Empire, or the Ptolemaic system of astronomy; but they were not 'false errors,' and he will remain to us as the greatest poet of humanity because none has seen more clearly the seed of social disease and the need for social regeneration. The latest political ideal too—'the parliament of man, the federation of the world'—is to be found in his writings.

And great as his claims may be as a thinker, they are still greater as an artist. Through his dramatic representation he has riveted the attention of mankind on his writing for six centuries, and his influence is as fresh, and infinitely wider to-day than it has ever been before. The interest of his poem centres in his own person-

[39] *De Monarchiâ.*

ality; it shows 'how men may rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things.' Its origin is constantly attributed to his desire of deifying Beatrice; but if we look at it closely, the result is not the deification of Beatrice, but the deification of Dante. The lady of his mind becomes more and more shadowy, melts into his ideal self, but his own personality becomes ever more sharply defined—cut out in clear relief against the background of the poem—so that at the last we find that Beatrice is not a being apart from him, but that she has become a part of his being, and that she, the angels, the saints, the spirits in torment, and Lucifer, are all used as adjuncts to enable a supreme artist to deliver one of the greatest of human messages to a social world.

As the first Christian prophet who has given us a revelation without the pretension of any miraculous intervention—a revelation which we are not bound to accept by any theological dogma, but the essence of which (its perception of the social bases of human virtues and vices) forces itself on our belief as the truth, whether we like it or not—and as the first great literary artist who has known how to curb his genius,

> That it may run not, unless virtue guide it,[40]

who has known how to seize the essential in that which he wished to portray and by a few strong strokes to leave a perfect picture on the mental retina—how to press out the juice of his conception, throwing away the pulp and the rind—in a word, as the first great impressionist, the Italian poet has fixed his place as the guiding star to the modern intellectual movement. And if the Dante dome is wide enough to cover opinions and feelings as antipodal as those of Protestants and Positivists, Roman Catholics and Agnostics, shall the Christian Cathedral of the future open its doors less widely? Surely there will be room in it for all the men, women, and children who may be seeking in any way to leave this confused world a little better than they found it, whatever may be their beliefs—or no beliefs—in dogmatic theology. The Church speaks brave words as to its increasing influence, but the voice of Rome sounds tremulous. It is too late nowadays to anathematise men of science as infidels. The Church of the future must recruit them to herself as the best soldiers in the ranks of the truly religious. For the pursuit of real science is the pursuit of truth—truth, in which alone the intellect finds rest:

> Light intellectual replete with love,
> Love of true good replete with ecstasy,
> Ecstasy that transcendeth every sweetness.[41]

This, too, is religion, and the highest poetry is its best expression.

J. W. Cross.

[40] *Inf.* xxvi. 22. [41] *Par.* xxx. 40.

THE WORKING OF 'THE PEOPLE'S PALACE.'

MUCH attention has of late been attracted to the various institutions generally described as 'polytechnics' which are in course of establishment in various parts of London, under the scheme recently promulgated by the Charity Commissioners. The People's Palace in Mile End has, perhaps, absorbed the greatest share of this attention, owing, no doubt, in a very large measure, to the fact that it has been for some time in full work, and has now very tangible results to show, as well as to its unique and distinct character among the smaller institutions or schemes for the formation of institutions. This being the case, it may be, perhaps, not uninteresting to briefly glance at the history of the People's Palace from the day upon which active work began within its walls—October 3, 1887—and, in the light of experience already gained, to consider its future prospects.

The accommodation, in the shape of permanent buildings, with which the trustees began operations, was very considerably short of that projected in the original scheme—the Queen's Hall being, in fact, the only portion of the permanent structure then erected, so that a very large part of the work had to be carried on in old and unsuitable buildings which remained upon the site, or in temporary iron buildings which were specially erected. Since that time there have been opened the new swimming-bath (on May 14, 1889), the library (on June 16, 1888), and the Technical Schools (on October 5 of the same year). There still remain to be placed at the disposal of the People's Palace clientelage, the new winter garden and the building for various purposes forming the front, both of which are in course of construction, as well as a permanent gymnasium and refreshment-rooms in place of the present iron building, a music-room, and various smaller structures for which no funds are at present available.

Starting, then, in the first place, with the closely limited accommodation above mentioned, the trustees found themselves in the peculiarly difficult position of embarking upon a novel undertaking, with no exact precedent to guide them in principles of management, and with a poverty of space and material which seriously hampered the carrying into effect of the various features of the scheme. In

these circumstances it seemed reasonable that much might be learned from the experience of the Polytechnic Institution, founded some few years ago by Mr. Quintin Hogg, in Regent Street, and recourse was had, with many good results, to the advice of the managers of that establishment.[1]

Following the Polytechnic plan, admission was given, during the first year, to 4,200 young men and women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, as members of the People's Palace Institute. These young men and women received, in exchange for a subscription of 2*s.* 6*d.* a quarter or 7*s.* 6*d.* a year in the case of males, or 1*s.* 6*d.* a quarter or 5*s.* a year in the case of females, the privileges of free admission to all concerts, exhibitions, shows, etc., the use of the gymnasium and of the billiard and social rooms, admission to the swimming-bath at a reduced charge, and eligibility for election to membership of the clubs and societies—athletic, artistic, and studious—connected with the Palace; and they were allowed a reduction of fee upon joining any of the evening classes. These evening classes, also modelled to a great extent upon Polytechnic lines, were established in a portion of the old Bancroft schools remaining upon the site, behind the Queen's Hall. In these old buildings (many of the rooms used in which were dormitories, and very badly qualified for the purpose) the Day Technical School for boys also began operations. This branch of the work was not an adaptation from the Polytechnic, but an entirely new thing in London, and, I venture to think, one of the very utmost utility and importance. Boys of poor parentage from the public elementary schools of the district, who were over twelve years of age and who had passed the fifth standard, were admitted either free by scholarship or at a low fee, and, in the care of masters of the best qualifications, carefully trained in such technical and scientific subjects as would help them to an intelligent comprehension of the principles of the various handicrafts which they might practise in after-life. The Queen's Hall was fitted with temporary bookcases and used as a public library and reading-room until (in June 1888) the permanent library was completed.

The recreative features of the scheme were provided for by the institution of a series of good class concerts on two evenings (Wednesday and Saturday) in each week in the Queen's Hall, open to the public at very low fees, and were, in addition, maintained during the year by a number of fêtes, exhibitions, etc., at short intervals, the most largely attended of which was the six weeks' autumn fête and exhibition of pictures, which attracted 310,207 persons at a uniform charge of one penny. Other important exhibitions were

[1] Still, as will to some extent appear from what follows, it has since been found that many methods of the most excellent character and suitability in the conduct of such an institution as the Polytechnic, with its gradual growth, its religious features, and its entirely *club* character, are open to considerable amendment, if applied at a place of the public character and catholicity of the People's Palace.

those of apprentices' work, of dogs, of flowers, and poultry, and of the productions of *bona fide* workmen in their own trades; and there were other smaller shows. At the time that the trustees had decided to prohibit the use of intoxicants upon the premises they had also decided to open certain parts of the Palace on Sundays. In fulfilment of this decision a recital of sacred music, open free to the public, was given each Sunday at 12.30, and the library was kept open under the superintendence of honorary helpers from 3 to 10 P.M. Soon after the opening of the new library a second organ recital at 4.30 P.M. was added to the Sunday programme. All the several departments of the work were successfully floated, and in the course of the Palace year (from October 1 to September 30) the evening classes, in the restricted space at the trustees' disposal, became full to overflowing, as, indeed, did every other branch of the institution.

In connection with the Institute it shortly became noticeable that a certain section of the members used the Palace merely as a house of call and lounging place; they played at billiards, smoked, put on ridiculous airs in their dignity as members towards the officials and attendants, never appeared in the gymnasium or worked at the classes, and, in short, generally lowered the tone of the Institute and filled places which might have been more profitably occupied by others; besides which many of them did not belong to the class for whom the Palace was primarily intended. In view of these facts, the experiment was tried the following year of reversing the arrangement as to the reduction of class-fees to members; that is to say, that instead of fixing a rate of subscription for membership and allowing those who paid it a reduction of fee on joining a class, it was determined to absolutely fix the class-fees, and to allow the students a reduction of subscription on becoming members of the Institute. It was anticipated that this would provide a small but sufficient check upon undesirable members, and have the effect to a large extent of making those who were admitted students or gymnasts first and members after. The age limits were also raised a year, and a 'Junior Section' instituted to provide for lads of from thirteen to sixteen years of age, who were in respectable employment. These lads, who paid a subscription of a few pence per month, were allowed to choose which of certain evening classes (especially formed) they would join, and attendance at these and at the gymnasium on specified nights was made compulsory. They were allowed to form clubs, for which special facilities were arranged, and they were provided with rooms. This, which may be called the social department of the Palace work, was the only department in which, after a year's experience, it was found necessary to make any important modifications. The evening classes, which some 3,700 students, male and female, had joined during the year, had been, in spite of the want of space and appliances, eminently success-

ful, and in the public recreative department everything had worked satisfactorily. A million and a-half of people had passed the turnstiles during the year, and not once had trouble been occasioned by anything in the nature of ill-behaviour.

The new swimming-bath, presented by the Earl of Rosebery, had been opened in May, and 70,000 bathers had used it up to the 30th of September. The library, which had only occupied its permanent home for some few months, had been attended by very large and steadily increasing numbers of well-behaved students and readers, an audience averaging about 2,500 had attended each of the Wednesday and Saturday concerts, and the various fêtes and exhibitions had attracted very large attendances. Considering the transactions of the first year generally, the trustees had reason to congratulate themselves on a very distinct success, and began their second year's work, on the 1st of October 1888, under good auspices. The completion and opening, at this time, of the large new schools, erected at the cost of the Drapers' Company, relieved the overcrowding which had been so much felt in the old buildings, and enabled the educational session to start under very favourable conditions. With the transfer of the classes to the new schools, the old buildings in which they had previously been conducted became available for other purposes, and it was decided to fit them up as a club-house for the members of the Institute. The lower floor was appropriated to the use of the young women, and the upper to that of the young men, communication between the two being blocked, and separate entrances being provided. The billiard-tables were transferred here from the iron building in which they had previously been placed, and parts of the upper floor were fitted up as reading and smoking rooms, committee-rooms, chess and draught rooms, billiard and bagatelle rooms, and one room as a small library; while on the ground floor the young women were given a sitting-room, needlework-rooms, a reading-room, cloak-rooms, and a music-room. The accommodation provided by these rooms for the purposes of the various clubs connected with the Institute proved a very acceptable aid to their efficiency. In the public recreative department, the practice of the previous year was followed, both in regard to concerts and exhibitions, except that, among the latter, it was found desirable to amalgamate the workmen's with the apprentices' exhibition. Success, fully equal to that of the first year, was experienced in this department, except that the occurrence of the great dock strikes seriously diminished the attendance at the autumn fête and exhibition of pictures, some 100,000 fewer passing the turnstiles to this, the finest exhibition of pictures ever held in East London, than to the exhibition of 1888. During the year 100,000 bathers had used the swimming-bath.

In the educational department a great impetus was found to have been given to the attendance at classes by the acquisition of the new

buildings, and class tickets were issued during the year to the number of 5,500, the total attendances registered on the 228 working evenings being 77,143. Nearly 400 boys, too, attended the day technical school. In the social department it was found that the modification which had been made at the beginning of the year in the arrangement for the admission of members to the Institute had not been sufficient to accomplish its object. The class of members which it was designed to eliminate or improve, increased in its proportion to the total numbers, and did not amend its manners in the same ratio, but rather the reverse. Indeed, it soon became evident that a mistake had been made in the construction of the Institute—one of those mistakes which the promoters of every entirely new thing must expect to make, which are the price which travellers in untrodden paths must pay for their experience, and which, I may add, the operations of the People's Palace trustees have been remarkably free from. It was seen that in opening the doors to all who cared to join an institute founded upon the model of the Polytechnic, due regard had not been paid to the need of some substitute for the discipline which its gradual growth and religious features assured that admirable institution. A loyal *esprit de corps* could not be expected among a large number of young persons of different religions, tastes, and habits, brought together suddenly, with only the common object of getting all the convenience and amusement which the Palace had to offer for as little payment as possible. The inconvenience of the arrangement was felt in many ways, and the habits of an increasing minority of the members threatened to seriously annoy the general body of the East End public frequenting the Palace at concerts and other entertainments. Indeed, many letters of complaint were received, and it was evident that a radical alteration must be made. As a first step, therefore, no new members were enrolled, and, as the quarterly tickets of existing members expired, they were not pressed to renew them. It was then decided to suspend the Institute at the end of the Palace year—the 30th of September 1889—as it would indeed have been necessary to have done in any case, the building operations now in progress rendering necessary the total, or partial, demolition of many of the buildings devoted to the uses of the Institute. It was, however, discovered, upon an examination of the registers, as might indeed have been expected, that most of the desirable members, beside belonging to the Institute, attended some evening class, or belonged to the gymnasium. It was therefore determined to arrange that, upon suspension of the Institute, the students in the evening classes, without restriction of age, should be allowed, upon payment of an additional fee of sixpence a quarter, certain of the privileges previously enjoyed by the members of the Institute. To make these privileges as widely available as possible, the gymnasium, the

military band, the chess club, and the choral and orchestral societies were allowed to rank as classes for the purposes of the rule; and the students, whether paying the additional fee or not, were allowed the use of certain social rooms and a small library (in addition to the large library of the institution available to everybody), and were encouraged to form clubs and societies among themselves, for which clubs and societies the Palace provided every accommodation. In this way, nearly the whole of the old clubs continued a healthy existence with certain changes of membership; for in more than one case it had been found that persons had been elected members of Palace clubs who were in no way connected with the institution, either as members or students. Every possible elasticity was allowed in the interpretation of the rule, and any old member who could produce evidence of his attendance at a class at any other respectable institution was allowed all the social advantages appertaining to a Palace student. These arrangements were, of course, greeted with murmurings among the class of members whose membership had been beneficial neither to themselves nor to the institution, but there can be no doubt whatever of the good effects of the change. And it should here be particularly noted, that no person was forced, as has been asserted, either to join an ordinary class or lose membership in his club. Apart from the fact that I never succeeded in discovering a member so well educated that he would have gained nothing by joining some one of the classes in the seventy or more subjects taught in the evening schools, the attendants at the gymnasium, the chess club, and the choral and orchestral societies were specially exempted; so that there could be little hardship in requiring the members of a football, cricket, harriers or cycling club to avail themselves of a splendid gymnasium as an aid in their physical training, while the studious clubs had classes available in their particular subjects. But it was not, indeed, from the *bona fide* members of clubs that murmurs arose, but from those young men whom it was found desirable to exclude from the Institute until such time as it should please them to co-operate in the efforts of the trustees to improve their minds and bodies, and who resented the loss of their exclusive lounging place. The new arrangement has now been at work for some four or five months and is found to work excellently.

From the experience of two years' work certain other things have been learnt. It is found that, to reach the class of persons for whom the Palace was designed, low fees—a penny, twopence, or at the very highest threepence—must be charged for admission to concerts, exhibitions, fêtes, and other entertainments. Even at these prices there is seen a difference in class between a penny and a twopenny or threepenny crowd. On the other hand, even with the large accommodation afforded by the People's Palace, exhibitions, shows, and fêtes (not ordinary concerts) at these prices bring large monetary

loss. And this brings me to the question of a danger to the efficiency of these institutions which it will be most important never to lose sight of. I allude to the constant temptation to raise fees in order to lessen or avoid large expenditures. This temptation is most active and dangerous shortly after operations have begun; for it will always be found that the class *first* to avail itself of the advantages offered is a class above that for which the institutions are intended, and one the members of which are able to pay higher fees. A temptation will thus be presented, seeing that these people can pay higher fees, to charge those higher fees with benefit to the exchequer—a course which at first sight seems reasonable enough. But this will at once and for ever shut out the poorer class, and frustrate the best intentions of the scheme. If the fees be but kept low, it will soon be seen that the poorer people, overcoming that shy distrust with which they so singularly regard anything new set amongst them, will come in fast-increasing numbers, and that the attendance of the class more capable of purchasing their amusements through the ordinary channels will correspondingly decrease. To increase the fees to the level of the means of the class found to first present themselves at the doors is to go out of the way in order to accept defeat and to perpetuate its evils.

I am often asked whether the benefits of the People's Palace really reach the genuine poorer classes, and I am glad to be able to always reply that they most certainly do. I believe that this question often arises in the minds of good friends of the Palace, who visit the institution with the expectation of finding the halls and corridors swarming with ragged men and women with no boots. An impression exists among many people that poverty and rags are synonymous; an impression which a short residence in the East End and some personal intercourse with its inhabitants would very completely eradicate. The silent struggles which are going on in every direction among the decent poor to keep a respectable appearance even at the expense of misery and semi-starvation, are heart-breaking to think of for the man who sees them daily around him, and knows that an appeal to charity would be looked upon with something approaching scorn by the sufferers. The noisy complainer who stands at the out-relief door of the workhouse is often much better off than many of the quiet people in decent well-worn clothes who are to be met at every turn in Mile End, Stepney, Limehouse, and Poplar. Of course, a certain leaven of a more fortunate class are still found among the audience at a People's Palace concert, although it may often require the eyes of an expert in East End matters to distinguish between the two classes; but one can scarcely complain of their presence in a public place, and in the People's Palace where all sorts and conditions of men are expected to foregather. And even they are certainly not rich people.

As I have already mentioned, it is found that this provision of sound recreation at low prices involves a much larger expenditure of money than was at first anticipated, and it is to avoid the disastrous necessity of meeting this by raising the fees that the trustees of the People's Palace are asking, at the present time, for additional funds towards maintenance. The department of public recreation should be energetically carried on and kept well up with the times. The moment the productions in this department are allowed to become in the least dull, or assume a character of sameness, a period of ill-success will set in.

It is interesting to know that our two years' experience at the People's Palace teaches us that the inhabitants of East London have every appreciation and enjoyment of high-class music. It is, indeed, most surprising to observe the enthusiasm with which a good performance of refined music is received among people whose taste (if, indeed, they could be reasonably expected to have any) might be supposed not to have been improved by what little popular music they have hitherto been accustomed to. They will come, too, in immense orderly crowds to see good pictures.

In the matter of Sunday opening the trustees have had no reason to regret a single step they have taken. Sunday morning in an East-End non-churchgoing labourer's household generally sees the husband turned out of doors, to walk about for an hour or two while the dinner is being cooked and the place generally 'set to rights.' He lounges about the Mile End Road and leans against posts until one o'clock, when the public-houses open, when he goes to the nearest bar and remains there drinking until such time (about two o'clock generally) as his dinner is ready for him, and, indeed, too often, if he meet with congenial companions, until it is cold and cleared from the table. Now, however, as soon as the church congregations are dismissed, and before the public-house doors open, he finds the great Queen's Hall, well warmed and lighted, open for him, and an excellent recital of sacred music being performed for his benefit. From 900 to 1,000 of these men come every Sunday midday to hear the sacred music in the Palace instead of going to the public-house, which seems to the trustees a good thing, although certain people have told them that it is not. In the afternoon, at half-past four, there is more sacred music, this time, to a great extent, vocal, and provided either by the Palace Choral Society, or by members of neighbouring church choirs, and other vocalists who are so good as to volunteer to help. Sometimes a part of an oratorio is given. In the evening at eight another organ recital is given. It will be observed that the times at which all this music takes place are carefully regulated so as to leave no chance of their interfering with any person's attendance at either church or Sunday-school, and that they occur in each case *after* the church or Sunday-school

service. In the vocal music nothing of a sectarian character is allowed, and no music is ever performed which is not regularly performed in churches. The library is open from three to ten P.M., and is attended by a very large number of quiet, orderly readers. Parts of the Mile End Road and Bow Road have long borne an unenviable Sunday-evening reputation as 'Monkey Parade,' owing to the ill-behaviour of numbers of lads and girls frequenting it at that time; there is no doubt that the Sunday-evening opening of the People's Palace for music and reading is doing much toward keeping the youth of the district out of mischief. From the 1st of October, 1888, to the 30st of September, 1889, the People's Palace had within half-a-dozen of 110,000 Sunday visitors.

A continued use of a good library has been found to produce more thoughtful and studious habits among readers; works of fiction were almost the only books called for when first the library was thrown open to the public, but now, although fiction is still the favourite department of reading, more solid matter is steadily gaining its proper proportion of favour; scientific and technical books, in particular, are much used. The numbers of readers registered at the library turnstiles, too, show, and have shown all along, a remarkably steady and persistent weekly increase. It should be borne in mind, in fairness to the heavily-taxed pecuniary resources of the institution, that the People's Palace maintains for the general benefit a perfectly free public library without the slightest assistance from the rates; indeed, the trustees actually *pay* pretty heavy parish rates on the library building.

In connection with certain well-meaning suggestions recently made, that halls should be provided at the new polytechnic institutions for the accommodation of public meetings, it may be well to note that the People's Palace trustees have found it absolutely necessary to establish a rule, and adhere most strictly to it, that their large hall shall never be lent or let for any purpose whatever; and I am confident that no good results will accrue from allowing any of these institutions to be used to promote any object beyond those of an educational and recreative character, which are their direct function. At the same time, it has always been intended to provide at the People's Palace, so soon as space should be available, rooms for the use of local benefit and provident clubs such as now usually meet at public-houses.

The 'Junior Section' has been found to be a most useful and efficient department, and it is the only department of the Palace work (with the exception, of course, of the day school) in which experience teaches that any age limit is desirable. The members of the Junior Section are lads of from thirteen to sixteen years of age, who have left school, and who can produce certificates of good character from their employers; considerations of space have compelled the number

of these to be fixed at 350. They pay a monthly fee of sixpence, which is as high as their very small earnings renders it desirable to fix, and are expected to attend regularly four nights a week—two in the gymnasium, and two in any they may choose of the special classes organised for them, and for which no fee in addition to the sixpence subscription is charged. They have cricket, football, swimming, ramblers, and harriers clubs, and are a promising body of lads, who, having been secured soon after leaving school and before forgetting what they were there taught, will be found, when they reach the age at which they must leave the section, to be excellently prepared for passing on to the senior evening classes. The success of the lads' Junior Section has induced the trustees to establish a girls' section on similar principles, with lessons in needlework and cookery, and the experiment has, up to the present time, proved entirely successful.

For the future of the educational department of the People's Palace there are very great prospects indeed. It should become a technical university, at which every East-End workman who is to stand high as a master of his trade must graduate. The system should develop in every direction, and will naturally, of its own working, soon become complete, from the day school up. Beside the great amount of sound sense which has been talked about technical education, there has been a great amount of talk of a different character. Nobody who understands his subject will talk of teaching a trade at a school—a trade can only be learnt in a workshop. But what is learnt in a workshop is never more than the practical drudgery, and the tendency is to limit the knowledge even of that to a particular department. Technical education may do immense service, first, by preparing lads in the principles of the trades they will eventually follow, in a knowledge of the properties of material, the use of tools, and the bearings of science upon various industries; and, second, by following up that teaching when the lads have entered upon the acquisition of the practical part of their trades, and imparting a knowledge of the theory and higher scientific aspects of their particular trades, concurrently with the practical training provided by the workshop. The plan I wish to see steadily developed at the People's Palace would be somewhat as follows. In the first place, the institution should place itself in touch with all the elementary schoolmasters of the eastern district—say, roughly speaking, the School Board divisions of Tower Hamlets and Hackney. An arrangement should be come to by which (and it might easily be done without adding to the already excessive work of the masters) the names and addresses of all boys leaving school after the Government examination should be procurable. Each of these boys should immediately receive a post-card, asking him to call at the People's Palace in reference to his future education and work. The seventh-standard boys calling

should then be offered places, by free scholarship, in the Day Technical School for a thorough two years' preliminary technical training. The difficulty which might be found here would be the difficulty which already exists, namely, that the parents would be unable to afford to keep and clothe a growing lad for two whole years without some help from the wages he would otherwise be earning. There are boys in the Palace schools now whose parents are making desperate struggles, and practising surprising self-denial, in order to give their boys the benefits of a good practical education. On the other hand, the prospect of a free scholarship in the Palace schools might induce many to remain at the elementary day schools until they had passed the seventh standard, the vast majority at present leaving school long before they reach this standard, and generally at about twelve years of age. As many promising boys as possible being thus induced to place their names upon the registers of the Day Technical School, the remainder, whose parents' circumstances rendered it necessary for them to begin wage-earning at once, might be secured for the Junior Section—requiring only evening attendance. The day-school boys, after their two years' training, should then enter upon the various trades of their choice,[2] and immediately transfer their names from the registers of the day school to those of the evening technical classes, avoiding any break in the continuity of their theoretical and scientific training, which, especially at this period, should never be allowed to lapse. The less fortunate lads from the Junior Section should also be brought straight to suitable senior evening classes immediately upon their reaching the requisite age; but, for a sound and thorough technical training, the foundation of everything should be the Day Technical School—a department of the Palace work but faintly alluded to in the draft scheme for the government of the People's Palace prepared by the Charity Commissioners. Every bright boy leaving school should be looked after, and as few as possible allowed to escape the net. The difficulty might then arise of too many boys being found for the Palace to deal with. The ideal manner of dealing with this would be, of course, the establishment in various parts of the district of small institutes, each self-governing to a large extent, and passing its more successful students on, by promotion, to the central People's Palace or university.[3] Failing this, the lads should go to the various

[2] It is generally found that masters are glad to secure boys who have gone through the manual training provided by the Day Technical School, and they often apprentice them free.

[3] Indeed, for purposes of recreation as well as of education, East London is certainly in need of such local institutions. There are parts of this vast district distant two or three miles from the People's Palace, central as its position is, and it is found that the contented, dull, unamused East-End poor cannot, or will not, travel far for their recreation—it must be brought to their doors. It is noticeable that with schemes for four polytechnic institutions for the south of London, the great East, the city of the London poor, has still only its original People's Palace.

evening classes organised by the School Board, and pass, by competitive examination, from these to the People's Palace. Of course all these lads will not follow trades. For those who enter shops and offices, the Junior Section, with its classes in shorthand, writing, book-keeping, and French, will be available, and the more advanced evening classes in these and other subjects afterwards. But every institution of the kind under discussion should have its defined district and hunt up every likely boy. In Germany, I believe, an inducement is held out to parents to give their sons the advantage of this secondary education by certain exemptions in military duty being offered the lads so trained. No such inducement is possible in this country, and, therefore, every means of persuasion should be the more persistently exercised. Boys' clubs should be formed in the various districts, and these clubs should be accorded certain privileges in connection with the People's Palace or the Polytechnic Institution to which they might be attached.

The evening classes at the People's Palace, in every conceivable technical trade and scientific subject, are now attended by 5,000 students, and there is little doubt that within a few years the number will be doubled, and that in accordance with the natural development of the scheme, this number will include the most intelligent and capable young people of East London. Scholarships may be instituted, tenable by the more successful among these students, at the Finsbury Technical College or at South Kensington.

The gymnasium will be found, as it has been found already, to be a great school of training—mental as well as physical. It teaches habits of strict discipline and makes its pupils orderly and good-natured.

I have occasionally had questions addressed to me by friends of the scheme who notice dissimilarities between the methods of work as carried out at the People's Palace and those hinted at in the book to which the institution owes so much—Mr. Besant's 'All Sorts and Conditions of Men.' The answer to all such questions is simple: Mr. Besant in writing his book, notwithstanding the practical purpose which it served, was an artist, producing a work of art to be contemplated as such. The trustees (Mr. Besant himself being one) are men of business, carrying on practical philanthropic work, and having to contend with many unforeseen practical difficulties which would have been out of place in a novel. It will be remembered that dancing was put by Mr. Besant in the forefront of the delights of his ideal Palace, and the many admirers of his work will be pleased to know that the dances organised among the students and members of the People's Palace have been successful from every point of view, and that as many as 1,200 East-End young men and women have stood up to dance at one time in the great Queen's Hall. They will probably also be interested to know that, when at play, these

young people, beside dancing, sketch, photograph, swim, play at lawn-tennis, cricket, football, billiards, chess and draughts, run across country, cycle, box, fence, ramble to places of interest, debate, read, sing, act, and play musical instruments. Properly and liberally managed, the good still to be done by the People's Palace cannot be calculated. Much stress (and rightly so) is laid upon the importance to a great town population of open spaces, but it always appears to me that in the list of the needs of our poor population they should rank next below institutions of the description of the People's Palace. At best they are only usable five months out of the twelve, and with our ordinary summer weather never continuously then. A People's Palace is always available; physical and mental amusement, and education, are always procurable within its doors.

EDMUND HAY CURRIE.

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NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. CLVII.—March 1890.

THE REPORT OF THE PARNELL COMMISSION.

Writing dispassionately, as a person whose head should, and would, ornament Temple Bar, if some kindly disposed critics could only give to the Report of the Special Commission their own effective interpretation, I am inclined to join in the chorus of conditional satisfaction with which that long laboured document has been received by all the parties most interested and concerned. It is true, the Act 51 and 52 Vict. 1888, was not passed to create a tribunal to discover if I was sentenced in 1870 for being a Fenian, or to show that the Land League was organised by me eleven years ago. Still, to have these remote historic matters re-affirmed with becoming judicial gravity against a man who was not even included by the *Times* among the Respondents when the Commission began its 'great inquest,' will be, I hope, some compensating consolation to those who lament, in my respect, the absence of Temple Bar from among the recognised institutions of law and order in England.[1]

The Charges and Allegations which were placed before the tribunal of public opinion for a political 'trial' by process of party accusation, before being modified at the bar of the Special Commission for judicial inquiry, were—

1. That the Land League was a treasonable conspiracy, part of

[1] 'We suppose there is no doubt whatever that the accused would have been convicted and sentenced, and, most assuredly, one hundred, not to say two, hundred years ago, such a conviction would have been followed by nothing short of capital punishment.'—*The Times*, Feb. 20, 1890.'

and one in design with the I.R.B. and Clan-na-Gael, for the achievement of absolute independence for Ireland, by means of dynamite and outrage.

2. That the Invincibles were a branch of the Land League.

3. That Patrick Egan had paid out of the funds of the League money for the murder of Lord Cavendish and Mr. Burke, and that Mr. Egan and Mr. Brennan, treasurer and secretary, respectively, of the League, were Invincible leaders.

4. That Mr. Parnell was intimate with the Invincibles as such.

5. That Mr. Parnell wrote out of Kilmainham prison urging them 'to make it hot for Old Forster,' and demanding that they (Mr. Parnell and other Land League leaders) should get 'the worth of their money.'

6. That Mr. Parnell met Frank Byrne when released on parole in April, 1882, and became cognisant of, and privy to, the Invincible plans which eventuated in the assassinations of the 6th of May following.

7. That, following the Park murders, Mr. Parnell, in conjunction with Messrs. Dillon and Davitt, issued a manifesto against the perpetrators of the deed which was insincere, and that he wrote to Invincibles saying his condemnation of their work of the 6th of May was for policy's sake only.

8. That Mr. Parnell gave 100*l.* to Frank Byrne to enable him to escape from justice.

9. That Mr. Egan, Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., and Mr. Davitt wrote letters to Invincibles of a similar character to those attributed to Mr. Parnell.

10. That the knives which were used in the Park murders had been in the London offices of the Irish Parliamentary Party, open to the inspection of such members.

11. That the Respondents, as leaders of the Land League, were in the habit of deliberately selecting agents for the commission of murder, and paid to them fixed sums of money for their work, and subscribed to testimonials for convicted assassins.

12. That the Respondents consorted knowingly with murderers, and that murderers, as such, shared their inmost counsels.

13. That the Respondents, in denouncing crime, afterwards assured the perpetrators that the condemnation was not real.

14. That not one of the sixty-five Respondents ever made a single speech which was a *bonâ fide* denunciation of outrage or crime.

Upon each and all of these charges, which Sir Richard Webster undertook to prove to the hilt on his brief from the *Times*, the Report of the Special Commission completely and unequivocally acquits every one of the Respondents.

I will now examine the modified edition of *Parnellism and Crime* as it was presented to the judges for investigation, and compare the verdicts on each of the fourteen counts with facts and evidence.

CHARGE I.

That the respondents were members of a conspiracy and organisation having for its ultimate object to establish the absolute independence of Ireland.

Verdict.

We find that the respondent Members of Parliament collectively were not members of a conspiracy having for its object to establish the absolute independence of Ireland, but we find that some of them, together with Mr. Davitt, established and joined in the Land League organisation with the intention by its means to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation. The names of those respondents are set out at page 32 of this Report.

The charge as it was made by the *Times*, and meant to be understood by the public, has completely broken down. It was more than half untrue: The allegation covered by the terms of the charge was that Mr. Parnell and his party deliberately joined in a conspiracy which had the absolute independence of Ireland for its ultimate object. The judges do not report that the League was any such conspiracy, while but seven out of Mr. Parnell's party of eighty-six members are found to have joined the Land League with the 'intention' of doing what the *Times* declared the entire party, as a party, had confederated to accomplish. The Commissioners say that the National League 'was substantially the old Land League under a new name.' This is disputed by the entire evidence of the respondents. The programmes of the two organisations tendered in testimony differ essentially, while the plans of action were, respectively, as divergent. The Land League left the question of 'self-government' for Ireland out of its platform, while the National League adopted it as its first and principal plank. Defined by the National League it meant 'Home Rule,' while being neither mentioned nor defined in the Land League, it was interpreted according to the views of every man who cared to expound them on the subject.

The means employed by the old League were generally extra-Parliamentarian: organisation among the people; resistance to eviction and rack-rent; in a word, 'a land war' against landlordism. The National League, while improving upon some of the methods of the Land League, was based upon stricter constitutional lines and was worked upon Parliamentary principles. Its programme was drawn by Mr. Parnell and not by me. The Land League as an organisation, with its president's expressed or tacit sanction, engaged in 'the land war' against landlordism. The National League has not. In its capacity as an organised body it has worked for the first plank in its platform, Home Rule. Mr. Parnell has only actively identified himself with this its chief object, at least in Ire-

land. A section only of the National League have carried on 'the land war,' and this in a manner far more legally and with less radical aims than characterised the Land League struggle.

The conclusion to which the Commissioners have come with reference to the seven members of Parliament who, with myself, are declared 'to have established and joined in the Land League' with the intention of bringing about the absolute independence of Ireland, must be considered by the public in conjunction with the following facts.

The Land League ceased to exist in October 1881, more than eight years ago. The only one of the seven Parliamentary respondents included in this judgment who was actively identified with the 'establishing' of the Land League, was Mr. Harris. Of the remaining six, Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien, and Redmond were never members of the I.R.B. or of any secret revolutionary body; while the entire seven, having entered Parliament years ago and taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, have, in the most solemn manner possible, proved, years before *Parnellism and Crime* was published, that they had not then, and therefore cannot have now, any intention of bringing about the absolute independence of Ireland.

Those of them who joined the Land League nine or ten years ago with such intention will not, I am sure, feel either morally or politically degraded at the judgment of the Report. The universal opinion of mankind is more just than the verdict of political opponents, and no man or body of men, who have honestly aspired to win absolute independence for Ireland, have yet earned from history the stigma of dishonour or disgrace. There are few men throughout the British Empire more generally esteemed than Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who has been knighted for his services to the great colony of Australia; yet in 1848 he was tried and convicted of the 'crime' of conspiring to effect the complete national independence of his country.

The minor finding on the first charge, that 'the support of the extreme party, both in Ireland and America, was secured' by me for the Land League is, I respectfully submit, against the weight of evidence; unless by 'party' is meant 'individuals' who belonged to revolutionary organisations. As 'a party,' the I.R.B. expelled me from its ranks in 1880, for having established the Land League. In narrating the circumstances of the Rotunda meeting of the 30th of April, 1880, in order to quote Mr. Parnell's reference to 'bread and lead,' the Commissioners omit either to give or to mention the resolution which the attacking party of Fenians came to propose, which was as follows:—

Resolved: 'That while we, the Nationalists of Dublin, are ready to make any sacrifice to give the land to those who cultivate it, we protest against the deceptive policy of Heaven-sent champions and ex-political prisoners who are trying to seduce the people from the straight road to independence' (*Evidence*, p. 1883).

At page twenty-three of the Report, the Commissioners say, in dismissing the subject of the meeting here referred to: 'After this meeting at the Rotunda Mr. Parnell does not appear to have encountered any hostility from the physical force party.' This is clearly an error. It was shown by Sir Charles Russell in his speech (*Evidence*, p. 3709), and subsequently proved, that the following manifesto was issued after the date fixed by the Report as the termination of Fenian opposition to Mr. Parnell's movement.

The agitators themselves claim to be Nationalists when it suits their purpose, no matter whether they hold forth in the Home Rule League, the Land League, at the hustings, or that exalted platform the floor of the British House of Commons. We have borne with their vapourings and false doctrines, as well as their treacherous designs against the freedom and national independence of Ireland, fully aware that the fate of the 'new departure' would be short-lived and would, in its final collapse, bring unutterable political ruin to all its promoters. To this end we are resolved to let them have rope enough, but as they are not content with this forbearance, and are occasionally sheltering themselves behind the sacred name of Irish nationality, we feel constrained to warn them that if they persevere in such a course we shall be obliged to adopt measures that will end their career much sooner than anticipated.

Thoughts of the painful present and the past
Must bring the hour of reckoning at last.

(By order)
EXECUTIVE OF THE I.R.B.

'The extreme party both in Ireland and in America,' as an organisation, always opposed the Land League, though the hostility was not so marked in America as in Ireland; but it would be true to say that individual extremists in both countries joined the League in large numbers and gave to its objects a warm and effective support. The learned Commissioners quote Mr. Harris, M.P. (*Report*, p. 24) in their counter-contention to Mr. Parnell's assertion that the opposition of the Fenian party grew stronger after 1880 than it was before. Mr. Harris's admission, however, must be taken along with the argument of his whole evidence, which was, that while the leaders of the Fenian party were strongly adverse to the Land League, the rank and file were, to a large extent, in strong sympathy with the new movement.

CHARGE II.

That one of the immediate objects of their conspiracy was, by a system of coercion and intimidation, to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the 'English garrison.'

Verdict.

We find that the respondents did enter into a conspiracy by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the 'English garrison.'

Barring the use and application of the word 'conspiracy' to the

Land League, I confess it would be difficult for the Commissioners, sitting as English judges, to come to any other conclusion from the evidence contained in the speeches which are cited in the Report. That the Land League used the weapon of boycotting, which the judges declare to have been an 'all-pervading tyranny,' was never denied by the respondents. That all the respondents advocated boycotting was fully admitted by them in their evidence. But the charge in *Parnellism and Crime* was not that which has been decided against us in the words given above. The original allegation reads:—

> There are volumes of evidence, and it is being added to every day, to show that the whole organisation of the Land League, and its successor the National League, depends upon a system of intimidation carried out by the most brutal means, and resting ultimately upon the sanction of murder (*Blue-book*, quoting *Parnellism and Crime*, p. 194).

And again, at p. 197 of same, the *Times* said:—

> Murder still startles the casuist and doctrinaire, and we charge that the Land League chiefs based their movement on a scheme of assassination, carefully calculated and coolly applied.

This is the monstrous libel as it was formulated in the first two articles of the *Parnellism and Crime* series, and from this atrocious imputation the respondents are completely freed by the Report.

The special Dublin jury which tried the Land League Executive upon the charge of 'Criminal Conspiracy' declared by a ten to two vote in 1880 that the persons so indicted were not guilty. Upon the evidence submitted to the Special Commission, an Irish jury, influenced by popular feeling, and the character and deeds of 'the landlord garrison' of Ireland, would have acquitted the respondents. On the system of landlordism or the evils with which it has cursed the social life of Ireland, the judges could not pronounce. Evictions and unjust renting were, to them, mere processes of law. 'Land-grabbing' represented but a simple act of occupying land, from which someone else had been dispossessed from failure to fulfil his legal obligations, whether these obligations were just, or equitable, or the reverse. This and nothing more. The long and agonising story of the doings of the 'landlord garrison' could find no place in the judgment, if it even arrested the attention, of the three eminent Englishmen appointed by a landlord government to try a great political movement, and with it the whole Celtic people of Ireland, in accordance with the rules of judicial procedure. But if the learned Commissioners could investigate the deeds and records of the 'garrison,' as they have done those of the League, their decision might possibly concur with the following historic judgment:—

> By his holding the peasant lives; his potato crop maintains him and his family, wretchedly indeed; but miserable as is the pittance on which he lives, it is derived

from his holding. To that holding he clings with desperate tenacity; and lest he should be evicted he will promise anything. The unfortunate man can find no farmer near in want of hands and ready to give wages. The grave or the workhouse is now his only alternative, and this alternative has only of late years been offered to him. What, we ask, are likely to be the feelings of a man cast into the road with his wife and wailing children around him, without food, without shelter, without hope? Burning indignation in his heart, ignorant, and mad with desperate recklessness, he turns in his anger on the direct instrument of his misery. If that instrument, by the manner in which he performs the harsh duties of his office, adds bitter insult to the injury which by itself is too much for poor human nature to bear; if rude curses attend deadly wrong, can we wonder at the wild torrent of vengeance and of hate which bears away before it all thoughts of duty and obedience; ought we to be startled if before it lie prostrate all fear of doing evil, all thoughts of the terrible future, and the consequence that must inevitably follow the breach of that law which bids us do no murder? Revenge weaves for itself a fatal web of sophistry, and eagerly listens to any suggestion which gives to the gratification of its passion and hate the character of that wild justice which was long since declared to be the slave's sole protection.

And is not society called upon under such circumstances to step in and consider the abuse of those rights of property which society has created for the benefit of all? Are we to stand by with folded hands looking on in mute despair, as if these events were an inevitable necessity, an evil beyond the reach of law or public opinion? Surely we are not justified in adopting any such listless course. If the proprietors of the soil, in maintaining the rights which the law has given them, thus recklessly inflict misery without stint upon the helpless and unfortunate peasantry; if they say that without the perpetration of barbarities that would disgrace a Turkish pasha their rents cannot be collected; if they are to bring in the attorney multiplying process, and with process multiplying costs, and reducing the peasantry to a hopeless slavery; and if they are then to convert the country into a battle-field for the landlords, and process-servers, and sheriffs, and sheriffs' officers, on the one side, and the furious peasantry and banded assassins on the other: then we say it is the bounden duty of the Legislature boldly to interfere, and either to enforce upon the present landlords the duties, while it maintains the rights of property, or to create a new landed proprietary, whose intelligence and wealth will enable them to secure the peace of society, and thus lay the sure foundation of national prosperity.—The *Times*, May 30, 1850.

CHARGE III.

That when on certain occasions they thought it politic to denounce, and did denounce, certain crimes in public, they afterwards led their supporters to believe such denunciation was not sincere. [This charge is chiefly based on the 'facsimile' letter of the 15th of May, 1882, alleged to be signed by Mr. Parnell.]

Verdict.

We find that the charge that 'when on certain occasions they thought it politic to denounce, and did denounce, certain crimes in public, they afterwards led their supporters to believe such denunciation was not sincere' is not established. We entirely acquit Mr. Parnell and the other respondents of the charge of insincerity in their denunciation of the Phœnix Park murders, and find that the 'facsimile' letter on which this charge was chiefly based as against Mr. Parnell is a forgery.

This disposes of the most odious of the charges contained in *Parnellism and Crime*. It may appear to the Commissioners to have had the 'facsimile letter' for foundation, but throughout the

entire series of *Times* articles which were embodied in the indictment against the respondents, this horrible imputation is reproduced in every form of possible innuendo. In the *Times* of the 7th of March, 1887, it is written:—

> Murderers provide their funds, murderers share their inmost counsels, murderers have gone forth from the League offices to set their bloody work afoot, and have presently returned to consult the 'Constitutional leaders' on the advancement of the cause.

In the same issue it is again said:—

> These tasks must be made as easy for them as possible; hence murder is verbally discouraged, and Mr. Parnell judiciously drops the inspiriting language he is accustomed to address to his brother conspirators when dollars are required.

CHARGE IV.

That they disseminated the Irish World *and other newspapers tending to incite to sedition and the commission of other crime.*

Verdict.

We find that the respondents did disseminate the *Irish World* and other newspapers tending to incite to sedition and the commission of other crime.

In giving their decision upon the dissemination of the *Irish World*, the Commissioners print six columns of extracts from the most violent of the writings that have appeared in that paper. A reading of these excerpts would convey the impression that nothing else but dynamite and destruction had been advocated by Patrick Ford, and that it was for such a propaganda I recommended the circulation of the paper in Ireland. Nothing could be more misleading than this except the extraordinary act of placing immediately after these selected passages the opinion expressed by me of Mr. Patrick Ford, years after he had abandoned the advocacy of a policy of violence towards England. I am convinced that this juxtaposition of my personal views of the man with the opinions at one time expressed in his paper was not meant to convey the impression that my estimate of his private character was founded upon his former newspaper dynamite doctrines. Yet there is not a word printed or implied from pages 59 to 65 of the Commissioners' Report that could give a person unacquainted with the evidence any other idea than that I had lauded Patrick Ford for his incendiary writings alone. This I know was not in the minds of the learned Commissioners. It would be inconsistent with the evidence. I recommended the circulation of the *Irish World* in Ireland because of its teachings on land reform and on account of its warm and generous support of the Land League movement.

I never concurred in its propaganda of terrorism. At page 5601 of the evidence, a letter of mine, published in March 1883, is given, from which the following is an extract:—

It is true, and I regret it exceedingly, that Patrick Ford is represented in late despatches as having gone in with the dynamite party, and this acquisition, if really made, will lend to it a power which it never could otherwise obtain. From 'spreading the light' to educate, to advocating dynamite, which must destroy the movement of social reform, is an extraordinary change, indeed, in the opinions of a man who has been so strenuous a supporter of the moral force doctrine; and I can hardly believe that Patrick Ford has altogether abandoned reason for Rossa. Principles of reform, intelligently and fearlessly propagated, are far more destructive to unjust and worn-out systems than dynamite bombs, which only kill individuals, or knock down buildings, but do no injury to oppressive institutions; and that man must be politically blind who cannot see that the firing of ideas of ameliorative social reform into the heads of England's toiling millions is infinitely more likely to hasten the solution of our own national and social problems than will be the blowing down of houses and the killing of innocent persons amongst these very millions. Any course of action on the part of Irishmen that would be calculated to consolidate thirty millions of people into a unit of deadly antagonism against every form of Irish political movement and perhaps of retaliation upon seven millions of our race in Ireland and Great Britain must be the proposition of a madman. The dynamite theory is the very abnegation of mind, the surrender of reason to rage, of judgment to blind unthinking recklessness, and can only be equalled in unconscious imbecility by advocating the substitution of gunpowder for coal to hasten the process of generating steam.

I have sworn my belief that Mr. Ford had abandoned his advocacy of revenge against England since Mr. Gladstone adopted the policy of Home Rule for Ireland, and I know that this is so, not in this instance alone, but, in fact, as regards almost the whole Irish race in America. When speaking of Mr. Ford before the Commission, I had in mind the fact that he has raised tens of thousands of dollars for the relief of distress in Ireland, not once but several times, during the last ten years. I know likewise that, morally and as a Christian, his character stands unimpeachable where and to whom he is best known, and I have said, and I repeat it again, he is misunderstood in England because he is yet made out to be an implacable enemy of this country and a revolutionist of the darkest dye, when it is within the knowledge of all America that he is now an earnest advocate of moral force methods only, and is held in the highest esteem by the President of the United States.

To speak truthfully of a man in his private character because as a one time revolutionist he was England's deadly enemy, and waged against her government in Ireland a warfare of violence, is, doubtless, a grave moral offence on my part, in the eyes of pharisaical opponents. I shall not attempt to purge myself of this sin, any more than of the still greater one of having once been the active enemy of England myself. I asked no absolution from the Commission in these matters, and I would set no value upon it were it offered me unsolicited. I call to mind, in this connection, some verses written by the most popular American minister London ever welcomed as a friendly ambassador.

> Of all the sarse thet I can call to mind,
> England *does* make the most onpleasant kind:

It's you're the sinner ollers, She's the Saint;
Wut's good's all English, all that isn't aint;
Wut profit's her is ollers right an' just,
An' ef you dont read Scriptur so, you must;
She's praised herself until she fairly thinks
There aint no light in Natur when She winks;
Haint She the Ten Commandments in her pus?
Could the world stir 'thout she went, tu, ez nus?
She aint like other mortals, thet's a fact:
She never stopped the habus-corpus act,
She dont put down rebellions, let's 'em breed,
An's ollers willin' Ireland should secede;
She's all thet's honest, honnable, an' fair,
An' when the vartoos died they made her heir.

CHARGE V.

That they, by their speeches, and by payment for that purpose, incited persons to the commission of crime, including murder.

Verdict.

We find that the respondents did not directly incite persons to the commission of crime other than intimidation, but that they did incite to intimidation, and that the consequence of that incitement was that crime and outrage were committed by the persons incited. We find that it has not been proved that the respondents made payments for the purpose of inciting persons to commit crime.

This charge, thus disposed of, was very different in its original form. The charge from the first to the last page of *Parnellism and Crime* was not a charge of constructive, moral, or legal responsibility for the words or acts of agents. What was alleged was, the deliberate selection by the respondents of men instructed and paid to organise outrage and murder, as the means by which the political aims of the League were to be attained.

The Attorney-General in his speech before the Commission spoke from his *Times* brief as follows:—

It will appear that an emissary of the Land League used to get the money from the treasurer—either Mr. Biggar, Mr. Brennan, or Mr. Egan, any one of the officials who might be in charge, used to take down the money, 20*l.* or 30*l.*, having received the money of course from Mr. Biggar, and then distribute it locally to the men who were to carry out the outrages.

Not a single word of this particularised allegation but has been rejected by the Commissioners as false.

CHARGE VI.

That they did nothing to prevent crime, and expressed no bond fide disapproval of it.

Verdict.

We find as to the allegation that the respondents did nothing to prevent crime and expressed no *bond fide* disapproval, that some of the respondents, and in par-

ticular Mr. Davitt, did express *bonâ fide* disapproval of crime and outrage, but that the respondents did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect.

The original charge, as made by counsel for the *Times* in O'Donnell *v.* Walter, and repeated before the Commission, reads:—

During the whole period of these years there is not, as far as I know, one solitary speech amongst the thousands delivered in which any one of these men deprecated the outrages which were going on. - *Blue-book*, p. 73.

And at p. 74 of same, the Attorney-General affirmed on his brief—

On not one single occasion do we find the slightest speech or one single expression directed to diverting the minds of people from acts which certainly followed the infamous speeches directly inciting to outrage.

CHARGE VII.

That they subscribed to testimonials for, and were intimately associated with, notorious criminals, defended persons supposed to be guilty of agrarian crime, supported their families, and made payments to secure the escape of criminals from justice.

Verdict.

We find that the respondents did defend persons charged with agrarian crime, and supported their families, but that it has not been proved that they subscribed to testimonials for, or were intimately associated with, notorious criminals, or that they made payments to procure the escape of criminals from justice.

The portion of this verdict which bears out the least injurious part of the charge simply affirms that which the respondents never denied. It was notorious that the Land League paid for or subscribed towards the expenses of many persons accused of agrarian offences. But, to reason from this fact, as the *Times* has persistently done, that subscribing to defend a person accused of a certain crime implies complicity in the perpetration of it, or encouragement to others to follow criminal example, is where the injury to the respondents lies, which is not perceptible in the wording of this section of the charge as given in the Report.

Any person acquainted with the peasantry of Ireland knows of the wide distrust there is of the administration of the law. There is, unhappily, only too much justification for this feeling, and during the time of the Land League, as in all political agitations in that country, the agents and administrators of the law were men who were recruited from the ranks of the anti-national classes. Trials in Ireland are more expensive than in England. Poor peasants accused of illegal or criminal acts would have no chance of a fair trial if left to their own resources. Guilty or innocent, a person accused in these countries is entitled to a fair trial, and instead of shirking in any way the responsibility attached to this part of the above charge, I

claim it was to the credit of the Land League that it aided justice in helping it to determine where criminality lay, and where innocence was untruthfully accused in a legal prosecution.

CHARGE VIII.

That they made payments to persons who had been injured in the commission of crime.

Verdict.

We find, as to the allegation that the respondents made payments to compensate persons who had been injured in the commission of crime, that they did make such payments.

The only instance of any such payment having been made, which came in evidence before the Commission, was that of the Timothy Horan letter and cheque for 6*l.* This money was granted on the eve of the suppression of the Land League in October, 1881, eight months after I had been arrested and sent back to prison, and consequently while I was in a situation which rendered it absolutely impossible for me to be connected with the grant. How I could, therefore, make this payment is not easily seen, except through very far-seeing judicial glasses. Most of the other prominent respondents were also incarcerated at the time of this transaction, and the only one of the sixty-four included in the charges and allegations whose name was in any way associated with this cheque was Dr. J. E. Kenny, M.P., who was not even present when the sum was voted. Technically what was done by the acting treasurer of the Land League was part of the work of the organisation for which the respondents are legally responsible under the law of conspiracy, but looked at from the point of view in which the *Times* has represented it, the respondents have incurred no moral responsibility whatever in regard to the voting of this 6*l.* The Commissioners have dealt with this matter in the severest possible manner, and have, I think, gone beyond what anything but mere inference should warrant in assuming that proof of one such payment was evidence of many. It is insisted upon in the reasoning which leads to their decision that the absence of certain books, and inability of the respondents to produce all the correspondence of the Land League, does not enable them to agree to the contention of the respondents under this charge. But surely this is an insufficient reason why the allegation of the accusers should be accepted as true. The complaint about the non-production of Land League books and letters is not fully justified from the facts. The Commissioners report that the Land League has been continued under the name of the National League. I have already expressed my own opinion on this point. But, according to the decision arrived at in the Report, the actual time during which the Land League has had an existence was not from October 1879 to October 1881, but from the former date to the hour when the Report was

drawn up. The complaint about the absence of books and correspondence is therefore unreasonable under the circumstances, as the Commissioners have had access to, and every opportunity of inspecting, every book, every letter, and every document belonging to the 'Land League,' from October 1882 until the inquiry into the charges and allegations began. This six years' record of moneys received and paid, of letters written and received, and of minutes of meetings held, has been open to the inquisition of the Commission along with the books and correspondence commented upon in the Report, and the result has been the discovery of the Timothy Horan grant of 6*l.*, alleged, but not proved, to have been given to some men who had been wounded by the police in some nocturnal raid. If ever the 'benefit of the doubt' was conceded to the wrong side, it is in this instance, where one such payment, under the circumstances related, is accepted as conclusive proof that the respondents, who were but indirectly and through subordinates concerned in the grant of this 6*l.*, 'made payments to persons who had been injured in the commission of crime.'

CHARGE IX.

That the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation of, and accepted subscriptions of money from, known advocates of crime and dynamite.

Verdict.

As to the allegation that the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation of, and accepted subscriptions of money from, known advocates of crime and the use of dynamite, we find that the respondents did invite the assistance and co-operation of and accepted subscriptions of money from Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite, but that it has not been proved that the respondents or any of them knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the League or was collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund. It has been proved that the respondents invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force Party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and in order to obtain that assistance abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party.

The credence given by the Commissioners to Le Caron's whole story—his history of Clan-na-Gael doings and the account of the alleged conversation and interview with Mr. Parnell—is one of the marked features of the Report. It is significant proof of what a skilfully played part can do in the way of making a good impression upon men who are supposed to be influenced only by the hard facts of evidence. As a witness, and apart from what he swore, Le Caron was the very best put forward by the *Times*. His manner in the witness-box could not be improved upon. Deferential, but not obsequious, to the Court; attentive and courteous to Sir Charles Russell, resourceful in his replies all round, and entirely devoid of bravado, except where he loudly boasted of always having been 'an English-born fellow,' he succeeded most artfully in masking the

character and career of a spy behind the well-acted personality of a patriotic Englishman who for near thirty years had risked his life in efforts to counteract the plans of England's enemies. It was an histrionic performance of a high order, and would have won any jury of Englishmen into a sympathetic belief in the artist's romantic recital —especially as the Clan-na-Gael were not in court and could not therefore unfold a counter-story. Le Caron's testimony was against absent enemies. The stage was all his own, and right good use he made of it.

His evidence is quite another matter. It has received no corroboration except in the single instance where Devoy's letter of the 24th of June, 1881 (page 104 of the Report) appears to confirm Le Caron's statements about the alleged talk with Mr. Parnell. This letter may or may not be Devoy's. We have only Le Caron's word for it that it is; while on the other hand Messrs. Parnell and O'Kelly have sworn they never had any conversation of the kind with Le Caron, and Mr. Parnell was equally emphatic in his declaration that he never sent any such message, as that alleged by Le Caron, to Devoy or anyone else in America. It is therefore one witness against, practically, three; and the learned judges have resorted to the 'probabilities of the case' as a foundation for their finding; but the 'probabilities' favourable to the credibility of Le Caron's story only.

The probabilities on the other side appear not to have been taken into account at all.• They would reasonably be the following: Armed with the introduction from Devoy to Mr. Egan, a trained and courteous spy seeking to serve his employers would endeavour to obtain an interview with Mr. Parnell. I believe such an interview did take place. Mr. Parnell would not swear it did not. He is compelled, like most members of Parliament, to see persons making application for interviews during the Session. The interview, therefore, is probable, alike from the point of view of the veracity or the concoction of the story about the conversation and message to America. The mere meeting with Mr. Parnell or speaking to him lends no proof whatever to the statements which Le Caron declares Mr. Parnell made and which Mr. Parnell swears he never used to Le Caron or anyone else. That Mr. Parnell is right and Le Caron wrong is probable from various considerations. If Mr. Parnell had spoken as alleged, or had entrusted such a mission to a man whom he had never met before— a most improbable thing in itself, when a man of Mr. Parnell's reticent character is in question—it would be too big an achievement for the adventurous spy not to place the fact on record in Mr. Anderson's keeping, where it might afterwards be found when required among the 1,200 reports, letters, and memoranda which, according to Sir Henry James, represent Le Caron's contributions to the secret service intelligence department of the Home Office. No such record

was produced before the Commission. No letter was ever written by Mr. Parnell or Mr. O'Kelly to the man whom the judges believe to have been an accredited agent from Mr. Parnell to Devoy and Hynes, nor did Le Caron, according to his own testimony, ever write a line from America to Mr. Parnell, informing him of the success of the mission confided to him. If Le Caron's account of this interview is 'probable' in one particular, it is so in all. Yet he represents Mr. Parnell as having said, among other things, this: 'He did not see any reason why a successful insurrectionary movement could not be inaugurated in Ireland, as we will soon have 100,000*l.* in the Land League funds!' (*Evidence*, p. 2723). When asked by Sir Charles Russell what his opinion of such a proposal was, a proposal to engage in a war with Great Britain with a fund of 100,000*l.*—Le Caron replied that he considered it 'an insane idea.' Yet 'the probabilities of the case' have inclined Sir James Hannen and his learned colleagues to the belief that Mr. Parnell, whom they nevertheless exonerate from all treasonable intent or designs, actually discussed a project of physical force rebellion against England within the precincts of the House of Commons!

On Le Caron's return to New York, following the incident of this interview, what more probable course would a spy adopt than that of writing to his friend Devoy such an account of the meeting with Mr. Parnell as would flatter Devoy into the belief that Mr. Parnell required him to come to Ireland or England—just at the time when his association with either Mr. Parnell or Mr. Egan would be most dangerous to Mr. Parnell's policy and most agreeable to the plans which Mr. Forster in Ireland and Sir William Harcourt in London were pursuing against the Land League?

It was manifestly to Le Caron's interest that he should incriminate Mr. Parnell at a time when it was being freely alleged by Sir William Harcourt and other members of the then Liberal Government that the Land League was being controlled by Irish-American revolutionists. It was with this object in view that Le Caron provided himself with a letter of introduction from Devoy to Mr. Egan when leaving for Europe in April 1881. Devoy had been referred to by Sir William Harcourt in March as 'an enemy who should be stamped upon as a viper if he dared to land in England'; to which threat Devoy retorted through the Atlantic cable by saying that Home Secretaries could be stamped upon likewise. Le Caron came to Paris with 'two sealed packets' from Devoy, one for Mr. John O'Leary and the other for Mr. Patrick Egan. An air of much mystery was assumed by the adroit spy when detailing this circumstance. Asked by Sir Charles Russell if he had read the contents of either packet, the witness replied 'No, Sir. No opportunity of doing that. Too securely sealed!' and this answer conveyed the suggestion that important documents, of treasonable intent of course, had been carried

by Le Caron from Devoy to Egan. I have succeeded in obtaining this 'important sealed dispatch' which was thus delivered to Mr. Egan. Unfortunately it did not come into my possession until after Mr. Parnell had withdrawn his case from the Commission. Here is the 'dispatch':—

Palmer House, Chicago: March 31, 1881.

Dear Friend,—This will introduce to you a friend of mine, Dr. Le Caron, of Braidwood, Ill., who is going to spend a few months in Europe. Although a Frenchman he is a member of the Land League, and has always been *a good Irishman*, barring the bull.

I want him to make your acquaintance and, as he treated Davitt well when in his town, I know you will show him any kindness in your power.

Remembrance to all friends,

Yours truly,

Patrick Egan, Esq. JOHN DEVOY.

Should Le Caron or anyone interested in the *Times* case desire to test the authenticity of this letter, by submitting it to any person who has possession of any of Devoy's writing, or who is familiar with it, I will give him every facility for inspecting the original. That this letter of introduction was given, unsealed, to the man who asked for or required it, as all such letters are, is inherently probable, and the air of dramatic mystery with which Le Caron spoke of it as a 'sealed dispatch,' which he did not, because he could not, open, was but in keeping with the inventive skill with which the most commonplace incidents were dressed up by an artist experienced in deception, in order to assail with suspicion the man whom Pigott's forgery had been employed to destroy.

Le Caron's testimony against the Clan-na-Gael was also a safe performance. The *U. B. Circulars*, many of which are printed in whole or in part in the Commissioners' Report, were all in Le Caron's handwriting. No other human being was produced before their lordships to corroborate the evidence tendered for the *Times* in this way. The circulars began and ended with the man who had sent them from America to Mr. Anderson of the Home Office. Those who could throw light upon these documents were American citizens, who would be unlikely to appear before a British tribunal; and Le Caron, therefore, had the field all to himself. It is upon this kind of testimony the learned judges have found that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the National League of America from the 25th of April, 1883, and that the former body was an organisation 'actively engaged in promoting the use of dynamite for the destruction of life and property in England.'

With regard to the witness whose sole evidence has led the Commissioners to form this judgment, the following facts have been established in the evidence: he admitted that he had repeatedly taken oaths with the intention of breaking them; he asserted that Patrick Egan had told him there was a warrant issued for his (Egan's)

arrest at the time he left Dublin. No such warrant is on record, nor was the existence of any such document attempted to be proved before the Commission. He also declared that Egan had told him that Mr. Sexton, M.P., had helped Thomas Brennan 'to escape' (no warrant having been issued for his arrest, either), and no help of that kind or anything akin to it was ever required from, or rendered by, Mr. Sexton. He swore that 'Daly of Castlebar' was present at the Clan-na-Gael convention in Philadelphia, in April, 1883. There is but one 'Daly' of Castlebar, the editor of the *Connaught Telegraph*, who occupied the chair at the first Irishtown meeting, and he was never outside of the United Kingdom in his life. In innumerable other instances to be found in the evidence it can be shown again that this witness has woven so much romance into his story that no absolute reliance can be placed upon any particular statement he has made.

The references made in the Report to the Buffalo Land League Convention of January, 1881, are not all which the respondents might reasonably expect. The Commissioners say that James Redpath attended, and that 'the action of this Convention does not seem to have satisfied the Clan-na-Gael.' An extract from a Le Caron circular follows, and we are taken at a jump from Buffalo to Paris. It was proved in evidence that at this Convention the following resolution was unanimously passed:

> That we cordially unite with the Irish National Land League of Ireland in deprecating all forms of violence, and earnestly urge the Irish people to continued patience under all provocation, remembering the words of O'Connell that 'He who commits a crime gives strength to the enemy.'

A similar remark may be made about each of the subsequent American League Conventions. Admitting there must be considerable abridgment in the selection of the matter upon which a final decision was to be given, resolutions favourable to the respondents' case are completely ignored, while all matter making for the contention of the *Times* is dwelt upon by the learned judges in their summary of each of the five Conventions, whose proceedings are reviewed in the Report. In dealing with the Washington Convention of April 1882, three lines of General Collins's speech are given, for the apparent purpose of bringing out the reference to the expression, 'let us stand upon a platform broad enough for all the friends of Ireland to stand upon, and with all hearts, and wills, and energies, unite behind "United Ireland,"' obviously meaning by the last two words a united Irish people, and not what the Report conveys, behind the leadership of the paper *United Ireland*. The following resolution is ignored in the judges' summary of this Convention:

That we are proud of the Christian forbearance of the Irish people under their dreadful exasperations; and while exhorting every man in Ireland to continue to use his influence in preventing even the least act of violence, we solemnly charge the British government with the responsibility of all crimes and outrages occurring since the imprisonment of the leaders of the people.

In dealing with the Philadelphia National League Convention, due prominence is given to Mr. Parnell's cable letter to president Mooney; but no mention is made of the fact, admitted by Le Caron in evidence, that an attempt to introduce a discussion upon the subject of dynamite and physical force was voted down by the entire Convention. It is equally overlooked that the official report of this Convention shows the allocation of over 20,000 dollars of American League money for relief of distress in Ireland. It is from the date of this Convention the judges affirm that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the National League of America. A Le Caron circular, boasting of the capture of the League by the secret organisation, is cited, but what appears to lend more confirmation to the view taken in the Report on this point is the bombastic and untruthful comment quoted from the *Irishman* newspaper of the 12th of May, 1883. The American press of Philadelphia declared that the outcome of the Convention was a victory for the moral over the physical force element in the assemblage, and such witnesses, with all the penetrating reputation of American reporters and interviewers, are more reliable than a spy in the pay of the Home Office, whose interest and inclination would lie in printing everything in the darkest colours, or a sensational paragraphist on a Dublin weekly paper, which had but recently ceased to be the organ of Richard Pigott.

With all due respect to the three eminent Commissioners who devoted so much trained ability to their most arduous labours, I deny that the Clan-na-Gael did then, or at any subsequent Convention, capture or control the American League, as sworn by Le Caron and credited in the Report. Clan-na-Gael men were, undoubtedly, at each of these Conventions, but they were in a minority at every one of them. They attended, not in that capacity, but as members of the Land League. Prominent men among them were elected at Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago to offices of importance, it is true, but in not one single instance as Clan-na-Gaelers. They were elected as upholders of the Land League policy, and not as advocates of physical force. The official reports of these Conventions which were adduced as evidence make this manifest. Contemporary newspaper reports do the same. Conventions are not to be judged by the presence of a minority holding extreme views, but by the Convention's own organised action as expressed by its platform, and resolutions emanating from the vote of the majority of delegates. An organisation must be judged by the same rule. Patrick Egan was not elected president of the National League of America, at the Boston Conven-

tion in 1884, because he was then a member of the Clan-na-Gael, but from the fact of his having been treasurer of the Land League of Ireland. Had the Clan-na-Gael the control of the League organisation in the sense asserted by Le Caron, and credited upon his unsupported statements by the Commissioners, the League funds would have been appropriated, in whole or in part, for revolutionary purposes, and the open organisation would have been utilised for the ends of the secret body. No evidence whatever was adduced to establish any such facts. The League funds were audited and publicly accounted for at each Convention, and the official reports handed in to the Commission by me as evidence contain the particulars of the receipts and disbursements of all Land League moneys from the first Land League Convention of Trainor Hall, New York, in May 1880, to the last or Chicago National League Convention of August 1886.

CHARGE X.

(and first special charge against Mr. Parnell.)

That at the time of the Kilmainham negotiations, Mr. Parnell knew that Sheridan and Boyton had been organising outrage, and therefore wished to use them to put down outrage.

Verdict.

We find that this charge has not been proved.

This charge was first made by the late Mr. W. E. Forster in 1882. It is true it did not originate with the *Times*, but it was dextrously used as a corroborant to the forgeries and fabrications of *Parnellism and Crime*, and was made in this manner more injurious to Mr. Parnell than if it had been invented like the other special charges. The terms used by the Commissioners in the body of their Report plainly indicate that their verdict was 'not guilty,' rather than 'not proved.' They say (p. 56):

That Mr. Parnell should employ Sheridan and Boyton to quiet the disturbed districts was natural, as they had been organisers there, and had no doubt acquired influence in those districts. We cannot doubt that Mr. Parnell was aware of the inflammatory speeches they had made, *and there is no evidence that he knew that Sheridan or Boyton had organised outrages.*

In justice to Boyton, it can be said that no charge of organising outrage was ever brought against him in Ireland. He was imprisoned under Mr. Forster's Coercion Act without trial, like hundreds of other Land Leaguers; but after his release in 1882, he took up his residence in London, where he lived down to 1885, visiting Ireland frequently in that interval, and it is not on record that any attempt has ever been made by the administrators of the law in Ireland to indict him for any of the crimes or outrages imputed to him without any justification whatever by the *Times*.

CHARGE XI.

(and second special charge against Mr. Parnell.)

That Mr. Parnell was intimate with the leading Invincibles, that he probably learned from them what they were about when he was released on parole in April 1882, *and that he recognised the Phœnix Park murders as their handiwork.*

Verdict.

We find that there is no foundation for this charge. We have already stated that the Invincibles were not a branch of the Land League.

At p. 58 of the Report, the Commissioners state more fully their disbelief in this charge, and say—

We consider that there is no foundation whatever for the charge that Mr. Parnell was intimate with Invincibles, knowing them to be such, or that he had any knowledge, direct or indirect, of the Phœnix Park murders, and we find the same with reference to the other respondents.

This charge and its atrocious accessories rang throughout a startled civilised world. One of the editions of *Parnellism and Crime* appeared with the representation of a finger-mark of blood upon the cover, as a figurative proof of Mr. Parnell's red-handed guilt in the murder of Lord Cavendish and Mr. Burke!

CHARGE XII.

(and third special charge against Mr. Parnell)

That Mr. Parnell, on 23rd January, 1883, *by an opportune remittance, enabled F. Byrne to escape from justice to France.*

Verdict.

We find that Mr. Parnell did not make any remittance to enable F. Byrne to escape from justice.

This charge had a 'setting' in the columns of the *Times* which rendered it far worse than as it was presented to the Commission for investigation. The part which Byrne was alleged to have played in the Phœnix Park murders was coupled with a statement that the knives by which the Secretaries were butchered 'lay for several days in a paper parcel along with a rifle and revolvers in the Parliamentary Offices of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, open to the inspection of the curious.' In these offices Frank Byrne was employed, and the picture of the 'brown paper parcel' with its hideous contents was intended to convey the impression to the public that the members of Mr. Parnell's party who frequented these offices had inspected the weapons used in the Phœnix Park murders. It was also stated in *Parnellism and Crime* that Mr. Parnell saw Byrne while out on parole from Kilmainham, in April 1882, and that he

learned from him what the Invincible plans were which subsequently culminated in the Phœnix Park murders.

Next to the complete acquittal of Mr. Parnell from the three specific and monstrous charges which were based upon Pigott's forgeries, the most significant collapse of the *Times* case is the silence of the Report with respect to Mr. Patrick Egan. Mention of his name is not altogether omitted, but, excepting where at pages 114 and 118 he is found to have joined the Clan-na-Gael after having left Ireland, there are no serious charges of any kind proved against him. Yet, Mr. Egan, as treasurer of the Land League, was accused of more diabolical criminality than any other of the prominent Land Leaguers, not excepting Mr. Parnell, during the inquiry. The *Times* witness Delaney swore (p. 1,856 of the *Evidence*) that 'Mr. Egan and Mr. Brennan were the principal leaders of the Invincibles.' He again swore (p. 1,859) that James Mullet and other Invincibles received sums of money from Egan. The Attorney-General, speaking from Mr. Soames' brief, and evidently relying upon Delaney's proffered testimony as well as on Pigott's forgery of Mr. Egan's name in the letters addressed to Carey, asserted in the trial of O'Donnell *v.* Walter, 'that several months after Egan resigned the treasurership of the Land League he had funds in hand to enable *his fellow-criminals in the Phœnix Park murder plots* to escape to America;' 'that Mrs. Frank Byrne's sister-in-law got 200*l.* from Egan to enable the whole gang (of Invincibles) to escape to America, and on Mrs. Byrne's discharge from custody Egan made her a further grant of money for the same purpose,' while the whole contention of the *Times* with reference to Mr. Egan was that he was the paymaster of the Invincible conspiracy. Not a single word of these abominable allegations is believed in the Report. They are outrageous libels upon a man who has been held up to the most cruel odium during the past three years, and who now stands vindicated by the judges' decision that the Invincibles were not, as alleged by the *Times*, a branch of the Land League. The Commissioners have rejected Delaney's evidence as being as worthless as Pigott's forgeries, and the magnitude of the injury which both were expected to inflict indirectly upon Mr. Parnell and his party will be the true measure of the defeat which the *Times* has sustained in its falsified charges against the ex-treasurer of the Land League. Too much credit cannot be given by the whole Irish race to the President of the United States for having had the courage as well as the sagacity to nominate Mr. Egan as Minister Plenipotentiary to Chili while yet the *Times*-Pigott accusations were hanging over the head of the man whose character and reputation this unholy alliance conspired to destroy. President Harrison was influenced by his own judgment of Mr. Egan, and time has vindicated the justice and wisdom of his action.

CHARGE XIII.
(and first special charge against me.)

That he was a member of the Fenian organisation, and convicted as such, and that he assisted in the formation of the Land League with money which had been contributed for the purpose of outrage and crime.

Verdict.

We have shown in the course of the Report that Mr. Davitt was a member of the Fenian organisation, and convicted as such, and that he received money from a fund which had been contributed for the purpose of outrage and crime, namely, the Skirmishing Fund. It was not, however, for the formation of the Land League itself, but for the promotion of the agitation which led up to it. We have also shown that Mr. Davitt returned the money out of his own resources.

The four statements contained in this finding are strictly true. But, in estimating the value of this verdict and admission to the *Times*, it must be borne in mind that my former conviction for Fenianism was a notorious fact years before *Parnellism and Crime* was written, and that I had likewise expiated the legal penalty of penal servitude which such conviction involved. It was, moreover, a matter in my history which I had never attempted to disguise when speaking to British audiences from 1878 to 1887; and those in Ireland who joined the Land League, with objects justly recognised by the Commissioners as free from ulterior purposes, were not invited to do so in ignorance of my political antecedents. Three of her Majesty's judges need never have been taken from their ordinary duties to investigate a circumstance which every one of the Queen's subjects knew as much about before the Commission as he knows now, and this observation can also be applied to the three other statements in the finding upon this special charge.

In the month of July 1882, I published, in an interview in the *New York Daily World*, which was reproduced in the Irish press, the story of the Skirmishing Fund money, which forms the gravamen of this charge. The judges have accepted this story as true, and they have rejected the allegation which the *Times* founded upon it, namely, that it was with this money the Land League was formed. It is the *Times* that is convicted here, and not I. The accusation on this head was levelled at Mr. Parnell and the other respondents, through their colleagueship with me in the Land League, and the Commissioners have found, truly, that it was a transaction with which I was alone concerned, and for which neither Mr. Parnell, as head of the Land League, nor the other persons accused with him, as members of that body, had any the least responsibility. This whole charge, therefore, had nothing but ancient history for foundation, and the published facts were simply distorted by the *Times* in order to implicate Mr. Parnell.

The secondary aspect of the judgment upon this special charge

will, I admit, be considered from another point of view. It will be said by many that the acceptance by me of money that had been subscribed for the 'Skirmishing' fund—for purposes of criminal violence against England—though not so used by me, was, in itself, a guilty act, and is morally reprehensible. I shall not attempt to reason on what is and what is not a legitimate subject of moral reproach in political action. It would be a useless waste of effort in this instance. The judges have pronounced truly upon the facts. I have no regrets to offer or apology to make for the facts being in accord with truth.

CHARGE XIV.

(and second special charge against me.)

That he was in close and intimate association with the party of violence in America, and was mainly instrumental in bringing about the alliance between that party and the Parnellite and Home Rule party in America.

Verdict.

With regard to the further allegation that he was in close and intimate association with the party of violence in America, and mainly instrumental in bringing about the alliance between that party and the Parnellite and Home Rule party in America, we find that he was in such close and intimate association for the purpose of bringing about, and that he was mainly instrumental in bringing about, the alliance referred to.

I have little, if any, fault to find with this verdict, except as to the meaning which may be attached to the word 'alliance' in the connection in which it stands. If by 'alliance' is meant that I succeeded in winning over to the movement of the Land League men who were still revolutionists and members of organisations which existed for purposes of physical warfare against England, the finding of the judges is true. It did not require the labours of a Special Commission to discover that fact. I never attempted to disguise it. I sought for the aid and co-operation of all men in America who had experienced the evils of Irish landlordism to help in the movement organised to purge the system from the social life of Ireland, and the extent of my success in that direction was and is still the measure of my gratification at having combined exiled Irishmen of extreme views with those of moderate ones in a work both English parties are now competing with each other in anxious rivalry to complete. The learned Commissioners do not, however, put any definite interpretation of the 'alliance' in their Report, and I assert that it must in fairness be read in the light in which I place it, and not as meaning that 'the Party of Violence' was allied, as a party, with the 'Parnellite and Home Rule Party in America' for the objects, or any of them, for which such 'Party of Violence' existed.

But the point which the *Times* attempted to establish in making this second special charge against me is completely set aside by the

wording of the judges' finding. What the *Times* alleged in the particulars served upon me by 'Soames, Edwards, and Jones,' on the 27th of October, 1888 (which was but a copy of the document handed in to the Commission) was, 'that he was mainly instrumental in bringing about the alliance between that party ("the Party of Violence") and the Parnellite and Home Rule Party *in Ireland*.' This was the language and meaning of *Parnellism and Crime*. Mr. Parnell was accused of being, along with his movement in Ireland, but a puppet of the Clan-na-Gael. His movement and party were declared to be but a section of a revolutionary organisation which used dynamite as a weapon against England, and included assassination in its methods; and the charge against me was that I had effected an alliance between 'the American branch' of this organisation and 'the Parnellite and Home Rule Party in Ireland.' The judges have given a totally different reading of this charge in substituting 'the Parnellite and Home Rule Party in America' for 'the Parnellite and Home Rule Party *in Ireland*,' which was the letter and spirit of the *Times* allegation; and this finding is in keeping with the decisions given in acquitting Mr. Parnell and the Parliamentary respondents of all knowledge of the part played by members of the Clan-na-Gael in the movement of the American National League. The leaders and members of 'the Parnellite and Home Rule Party in America' are all American citizens. They are not British subjects, and, therefore, in bringing about an 'alliance' between them and others who were, likewise, American citizens, I have in no way compromised Mr. Parnell or infringed the law of England in this particular achievement.

There are mistakes not a few in the Report upon which much comment might be made by the respondents. But, on the other hand, allowance must be granted for the manifold difficulties which beset three English judges, presumably ignorant of Irish history and modern Irish national politics, when they commenced their task of investigating the events of the Land League period. At page 6 of the Report, it is stated that 'Th. F. Bourke, for whose rescue Clerkenwell Prison was blown up,' was among those who signed an address presented to me while in America in September 1878. Here two names are confounded. Thomas Francis Bourke, mentioned in this connection, was in no way identified with the Clerkenwell outrage. It was a 'Col. Ricard Bourke' who was a prisoner in Clerkenwell when the explosion alluded to occurred, and there was no mention of his name in relation to me, throughout the investigation before the Commission.

At page 109, the Commissioners report that I went to America in 1882 with Mr. William Redmond and 'Mr. Dillon, M.P.' There was in 1882, and there is now, but one Mr. Dillon, M.P., and he did not accompany me on my then visit to the United States. Mr. John

Dillon's brother, William Dillon, was a passenger on the same ship, but beyond this casual association in crossing the Atlantic, he had nothing whatever to do with my visit on that occasion. The mis take is not an important one, but, in view of the finding against Mr. John Dillon in another part of the Report, I deem it right to correct an error that may, possibly, have contributed to the formation of the opinion come to by the learned judges, that Mr. John Dillon, M.P., entered the Land League with sentiments kindred to my own upon the question of the absolute independence of Ireland.

There are mistakes in the Christian names of several of the forty-four members of Parliament affirmed to have been guilty of 'Criminal Conspiracy,' which are more likely to give rise to amusement than to a counter-indictment of Sir James Hannen and his colleagues. It is, however, a moot point whether, in the event of a State prosecution following upon the judges' finding, 'Gametr' M. Byrne, 'Morris' Healy, 'Joseph' Condon, or 'J. F. K.' O'Brien could be legally identified among Mr. Parnell's Parliamentary Party.

Exception can reasonably be taken to the apparently onesided manner in which the statistics of agrarian crime are arranged from page 81 to 87 of the Report. The argument and treatment here given correspond almost exactly with the figures used by Sir Henry James in his summing up for the *Times*. No use whatever is made of Sir Charles Russell's statistics. While it is pointed out that more agrarian crimes took place in Mayo, Galway, and Sligo, where the League was active, than in other counties where it was not so active, there is no mention of the fact that there were more evictions in those three counties than in any of the corresponding counties during the years mentioned. On page 87 a total number of agrarian crimes for 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1882 is given by the figures 11,964, while no reference is made to the fact that the same returns from which these figures are taken show that no less than 6,010 of these were but threatening letters, while only 1 in 200 of the grand total were homicides, and of these not one-third were proved by evidence to be agrarian.

The observations in the Report upon the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill can be contrasted with the language made use of by the late Mr. W. E. Forster when he succeeded in persuading the House of Commons to pass the measure as an indispensable means of preserving order and preventing disturbance pending the introduction of a Land Bill. The learned judges were not more competent to form a judgment on this point than the late Chief Secretary for Ireland.

On page 109 it is recorded, in one sentence between extracts from two of Le Caron's U. B. circulars, that Mr. Patrick Egan arrived in America from Ireland and went at once to the house of Alexander

Sullivan. There was no evidence produced before the Commission to connect this or any other private visit of Mr. Egan's with the issuing of any dynamite document, as thus suggested in the Report.

The Report in its entirety hands over the name, and work, and record of the Land League to the consideration of the historian, the politician, and the statesman. What the learned Commissioners thought right to say, in explanation of the purely judicial nature and scope of their inquiry, in the beginning of their judgment, would be more appropriately found at its conclusion.

> We must leave it for historians to investigate the remote causes of the present condition of Ireland—we must leave it for politicians to discuss, and for statesmen to determine, in what respects the present laws affecting land in that country are capable of improvement, and we must confine our researches to the question whether the respondents or any of them have been guilty of the things charged and alleged against them; we have no commission to consider whether the conduct of which they are accused can be palliated by the circumstances of the time, or whether it should be condoned in consideration of benefits alleged to have resulted.

History, impartially written, will say that the Land League was not without its serious faults, nor were its leaders free from the ordinary weaknesses and mistakes of human nature in the heat and turmoil of fierce political agitation. But the Land League all but accomplished its mission. It found the Irish name a byword and reproach among nations for weakness, vacillation, and disunion. It has given it a new meaning of power, undeviating purpose, and disciplined unity. The 'traditional' Ireland of faction and impotence has gone with the 'traditional' Irishman of stage buffoonery, and in its place the world recognises an alert and potential nationality which is destined, in vindicating its own indefeasible rights, to work a change in the constitution of the British Empire of far-reaching and beneficial importance to it and to Ireland.

The League found the Irish peasant a virtual slave on the land of Ireland. It has 'rooted' him in the soil on which he was but a rent-earning machine, and has given him a right of property, where he was previously but a trespasser, equal to that of his former master.

It found 'the English landlord garrison' lords of the soil of Ireland, as Elizabeth, James, and Cromwell had planned they should remain; and the League has replaced the Celtic people back into their inheritance, and has compelled the landlord government of England to project and carry on this racial restoration by means of British taxes, as the only way of rescuing the 'garrison' from the fear of an ultimate possible penniless capitulation.

The League found the Irish race politically broken and scattered all the world over by the exterminating work of the 'landlord garrison;' and it has, by its organisation in Ireland, Great Britain,

America, Canada, and Australia, combined this race for political purposes, as if it were inhabiting the country from which its exiled millions were driven—effectively combined, too, under a trusted, tried, and victorious leader.

The League found a dominant feeling of revenge among the Irish in America towards England, and of hostility to the British Empire for past wrongs. It has, under Mr. Parnell's leadership, changed that feeling into one of friendly responsiveness to the altered views and policy of the British people on the Irish question.

And the Land League, accused by the *Times* of being a revolutionary conspiracy having for sole object the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain, has been the indirect means of uniting, with bonds of mutual good-will, the masses of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland in one practically combined movement and struggle for Home Rule or the Federation of the Empire, the abolition of land monopoly in Great Britain and Ireland, and for the full vindication of the rights of labour.

The Revolution, of which these are the garnered and still growing fruits, has been accomplished with infinitely less bloodshed than was expended in the battle for the abolition of tithes in Ireland a generation ago, and with less actual violence than characterised the reform movements of 1832 and 1848 in England.

MICHAEL DAVITT.

ON BOOKS AND THE HOUSING OF THEM.

In the old age of his intellect (which at this point seemed to taste a little of decrepitude), Strauss declared[1] that the doctrine of immortality has recently lost the assistance of a passable argument, inasmuch as it has been discovered that the stars are inhabited; for where, he asks, could room now be found for such a multitude of souls? Again, in view of the current estimates of prospective population for this earth, some people have begun to entertain alarm for the probable condition of England (if not Great Britain) when she gets (say) the seventy millions, that are allotted to her against six or eight hundred millions for the United States. We have heard in some systems of the pressure of population upon food; but the idea of any pressure from any quarter upon space is hardly yet familiar. Still, I suppose that many a reader must have been struck with the naive simplicity of the hyperbole of St. John,[2] perhaps a solitary unit of its kind in the New Testament: 'the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.'

A book, even Audubon (I believe the biggest known), is smaller than a man; but, in relation to space, I entertain more proximate apprehension of pressure upon available space from the book population than from the numbers of mankind. We ought to recollect, with more of a realised conception than we commonly attain to, that a book, ay, that every book, consists, like man from whom it draws its lineage, of a body and a soul. They are not always proportionate to each other. Nay, even the different members of the book-body do not sing, but clash, when bindings of a profuse costliness are imposed, as too often happens in the case of Bibles and books of devotion, upon letterpress which is respectable journeyman's work and nothing more. The men of the Renascence had a truer sense of adaptation; the age of jewelled bindings was also the age of illumination and of the beautiful *miniatura*, which at an earlier stage meant side- or margin-art,[3] and then, on

[1] In *Der alte und der neue Glaube.* [2] xxi. 25.

[3] First of all it seems to have referred to the red capital letters placed at the head of chapters or other divisions of works.

account of the small portraitures included in it, gradually slid into the modern sense of miniature. There is a caution which we ought to carry with us more and more as we get in view of the coming period of open book-trade, and of demand practically boundless. Noble works ought not to be printed in mean and worthless forms, and cheapness ought to be limited by an instinctive sense and law of fitness. The binding of a book is the dress, with which it walks out into the world. The paper, type, and ink are the body, in which its soul is domiciled. And these three, soul, body, and habiliment, are a triad which ought to be adjusted to one another by the laws of harmony and good sense.

Already the increase of books is passing into geometrical progression. And this is not a little remarkable when we bear in mind that in Great Britain, of which I speak, while there is a vast supply of cheap works, what are termed 'new publications' issue from the press, for the most part, at prices fabulously high, so that the class of real purchasers has been extirpated, leaving behind as buyers only a few individuals who might almost be counted on the fingers, while the effective circulation depends upon middle-men through the engine of circulating libraries. These are not so much owners as distributors of books, and they mitigate the difficulty of dearness by subdividing the cost, and then selling such copies as are still in decent condition at a large reduction. It is this state of things, due, in my opinion, principally to the present form of the law of copyright, which perhaps may have helped to make way for the satirical (and sometimes untrue) remark that in times of distress or pressure men make their first economies on their charities, and their second on their books.

The annual arrivals at the Bodleian Library are, I believe, some twenty thousand; at the British Museum, forty thousand, sheets of all kinds included. Supposing three-fourths of these to be volumes, of one size or another, and to require on the average an inch of shelf space, the result will be, that in every two years nearly a mile of new shelving will be required to meet the wants of a single library. But, whatever may be the present rate of growth, it is small in comparison with what it is likely to become. The key of the question lies in the hands of the United Kingdom and the United States jointly. In this matter there rests upon these two Powers no small responsibility. They, with their vast range of inhabited territory, and their unity of tongue, are masters of the world, which will have to do as they do. When the Britains and America are fused into one book-market; when it is recognised that letters, which as to their material and their aim are a high-soaring profession, as to their mere remuneration are a trade; when artificial fetters are relaxed, and printers, publishers, and authors obtain the reward which well-regulated commerce would afford them, then let floors beware lest they crack,

and walls lest they bulge and burst, from the weight of books they will have to carry and to confine.

It is plain, for one thing, that under the new state of things specialism, in the future, must more and more abound. But specialism means subdivision of labour; and, with subdivision, labour ought to be more completely, more exactly, performed. Let us bow our heads to the inevitable; the day of encyclopædic learning has gone by. It may perhaps be said that that sun set with Leibnitz. But as little learning is only dangerous when it forgets that it is little, so specialism is only dangerous when it forgets that it is special. When it encroaches on its betters, when it claims exceptional certainty or honour, it is impertinent, and should be rebuked; but it has its own honour in its own province, and is, in any case, to be preferred to pretentious and flaunting sciolism.

A vast, even a bewildering prospect is before us; for evil or for good; but for good, unless it be our own fault, far more than for evil. Books require no eulogy from me; none could be permitted me, when they already draw their testimonials from Cicero[4] and Macaulay.[5] But books are the voices of the dead. They are a main instrument of communion with the vast human procession of the other world. They are the allies of the thought of man. They are in a certain sense at enmity with the world. Their work is, at least, in the two higher compartments of our threefold life. In a room well filled with them, no one has felt or can feel solitary. Second to none, as friends to the individual, they are first and foremost among the *compages*, the bonds and rivets of the race, onwards from that time when they were first written on the tablets of Babylonia and Assyria, the rocks of Asia Minor, and the monuments of Egypt, down to the diamond editions of Mr. Pickering and Mr. Frowde.[6]

It is in truth difficult to assign dimensions for the libraries of the future. And it is also a little touching to look back upon those of the past. As the history of bodies cannot, in the long run, be separated from the history of souls, I make no apology for saying a few words on the libraries which once were, but which have passed away.

The time may be approaching when we shall be able to estimate the quantity of book knowledge stored in the repositories of those empires which we call prehistoric. For the present, no clear estimate even of the great Alexandrian Libraries has been brought within the circle of popular knowledge; but it seems pretty clear that the books they contained were reckoned, at least in the aggregate, by hundreds of

[4] Cic. *pro Archiâ poetâ*, vii.

[5] *Essays Critical and Historical*, ii. 282.

[6] The Prayer Book, recently issued by Mr. Frowde at the Clarendon Press, weighs, bound in morocco, less than an ounce and a quarter. I see it stated that unbound it weighs three-quarters of an ounce. Pickering's Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, in leather binding, weighs an ounce and a quarter. His Dante weighs less than a number of the *Times*.

thousands.[7] The form of the book, however, has gone through many variations; and we moderns have a great advantage in the shape which the exterior has now taken. It speaks to us symbolically by the title on its back, as the roll of parchment could hardly do. It is established that in Roman times the bad institution of slavery ministered to a system under which books were multiplied by simultaneous copying in a room where a single person read aloud in the hearing of many the volume to be reproduced, and that so produced they were relatively cheap. Had they not been so, they would hardly have been, as Horace represents them, among the habitual spoils of the grocer.[8] It is sad, and is suggestive of many inquiries, that this abundance was followed, at least in the West, by a famine of more than a thousand years. And it is hard, even after all allowances, to conceive that of all the many manuscripts of Homer which Italy must have possessed we do not know that a single parchment or papyrus was ever read by a single individual, even in a convent, or even by a giant such as Dante, or as Thomas Aquinas, the first of them unquestionably master of all the knowledge that was within the compass of his age. There were, however, libraries even in the West, formed by Charlemagne and by others after him. We are told that Alcuin, in writing to the great monarch, spoke with longing of the relative wealth of England in these precious *estates*. Mr. Edwards, whom I have already quoted, mentions Charles the Fifth of France, in 1365, as a collector of manuscripts. But some ten years back the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale informed me that the French King John collected twelve hundred manuscripts, at that time an enormous library; out of which several scores were among the treasures in his care. Mary of Medicis appears to have amassed in the sixteenth century, probably with far less effort, 5,800 volumes.[9] Oxford had before that time received noble gifts for her University Library. And we have to recollect with shame and indignation that that institution was plundered and destroyed by the Commissioners of the boy king Edward the Sixth, acting in the name of the Reformation of Religion. Thus it happened that opportunity was left to a private individual, the munificent Sir Thomas Bodley, to attach an individual name to one of the famous libraries of the world. It is interesting to learn that municipal bodies have a share in the honour due to monasteries and sovereigns in the collection of books; for the Common Council of Aix purchased books for a public library in 1419.[10]

Louis the Fourteenth, of evil memory, has at least this one good deed to his credit, that he raised the Royal Library at Paris, founded two centuries before, to 70,000 volumes. In 1791 it had 150,000 volumes. It profited largely by the Revolution. The British

[7] See *Libraries and the Founders of Libraries*, by E. Edwards, 1864, p. 5. Hallam, *Lit. Europe*. [8] Hor. *Ep.* II. i. 270; Persius, i 48; Martial, IV. lxxxvii. 8. [9] Edwards.
[10] Rouard, *Notice sur la Bibliotheque d'Aix*, p. 40. Quoted in Edwards, p. 34.

Museum had only reached 115,000 when Panizzi became keeper in 1837. Nineteen years afterwards he left it with 560,000, a number which must now have more than doubled. By his noble design for occupying the central quadrangle, a desert of gravel until his time, he provided additional room for 1,200,000 volumes. All this apparently enormous space for development is being eaten up with fearful rapidity; and such is the greed of the splendid library that it opens its jaws like Hades, and threatens shortly to expel the antiquities from the building, and appropriate the spaces they adorn.

But the proper office of hasty retrospect in a paper like this is only to enlarge by degrees, like the pupil of an eye, the reader's contemplation and estimate of the coming time, and to prepare him for some practical suggestions of a very humble kind. So I take up again the thread of my brief discourse. National libraries draw upon a purse which is bottomless. But all public libraries are not national. And the case even of private libraries is becoming, nay, has become, very serious, for all who are possessed by the inexorable spirit of collection, but whose ardour is perplexed and qualified, or even baffled, by considerations springing from the balance-sheet.

The purchase of a book is commonly supposed to end, even for the most scrupulous customer, with the payment of the bookseller's bill. But this is a mere popular superstition. Such payment is not the last, but the first term in a series of goodly length. If we wish to give to the block a lease of life equal to that of the pages, the first condition is that it should be bound. So at least one would have said half a century ago. But, while books are in most instances cheaper, binding, from causes which I do not understand, is dearer, at least in England, than it was in my early years. So that few can afford it.[11] We have, however, the tolerable and very useful expedient of cloth binding (now in some danger, I fear, of losing its modesty through flaring ornamentation) to console us. Well then, bound or not, the book must of necessity be put into a bookcase. And the bookcase must be housed. And the house must be kept. And the library must be dusted, must be arranged, should be catalogued. What a vista of toil, yet not unhappy toil! Unless indeed things are to be, as they now are in at least one princely mansion of this country, where books, in thousands upon thousands, are jumbled together with no more arrangement than a sack of coals; where not even the sisterhood of consecutive volumes has been respected; where undoubtedly an intending reader may at the mercy of Fortune

[11] The Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which I suppose still to be the first library in the world, in doing for me most graciously the honours of that noble establishment, informed me that they full-bound annually a very few scores of volumes, while they half-bound about twelve hundred. For all the rest they had to be contented with a lower provision. And France raises the largest revenue in the world.

take something from the shelves that is a book, but where no particular book can, except by the purest accident, be found.

Such being the outlook, what are we to do with our books? Shall we be buried under them like Tarpeia under the Sabine shields? Shall we renounce them (many will, or will do worse, will keep to the most worthless part of them) in our resentment against their more and more exacting demands? Shall we sell and scatter them? as it is painful to see how often the books of eminent men are ruthlessly, or at least unhappily, dispersed on their decease. Without answering in detail, I shall assume that the book-buyer is a book-lover, that his love is a tenacious not a transitory love, and that for him the question is how best to keep his books.

I pass over those conditions which are the most obvious, that the building should be sound and dry, the apartment airy, and with abundant light. And I dispose with a passing anathema of all such as would endeavour to solve their problem, or at any rate compromise their difficulties, by setting one row of books in front of another. I also freely admit that what we have before us is not a choice between difficulty and no difficulty, but a choice among difficulties.

The objects further to be contemplated in the bestowal of our books, so far as I recollect, are three: economy, good arrangement, and accessibility with the smallest possible expenditure of time.

In a private library, where the service of books is commonly to be performed by the person desiring to use them, they ought to be assorted and distributed according to subject. The case may be altogether different, where they have to be sent for and brought by an attendant. It is an immense advantage to bring the eye in aid of the mind; to see within a limited compass all the works that are accessible, in a given library, on a given subject; and to have the power of dealing with them collectively at a given spot, instead of hunting them up through an entire accumulation. It must be admitted, however, that distribution by subjects ought in some degree to be controlled by sizes. If everything on a given subject, from folio down to 32mo, is to be brought locally together, there will be an immense waste of space in the attempt to lodge objects of such different sizes in one and the same bookcase. And this waste of space will cripple us in the most serious manner, as will be seen with regard to the conditions of economy and of accessibility. The three conditions are in truth all connected together, but especially the two last named.

Even in a paper such as this the question of classification cannot altogether be overlooked; but it is one more easy to open than to close—one upon which I am not bold enough to hope for uniformity of opinion and of practice. I set aside on the one hand the case of great public libraries, which I leave to the experts of those establishments. And, at the other end of the scale, in small private

libraries the matter becomes easy or even insignificant. In libraries of the medium scale, not too vast for some amount of personal survey, some would multiply subdivision, and some restrain it. An acute friend asks me under what and how many general headings subjects should be classified in a library intended for practical use and reading, and boldly answers by suggesting five classes only: (1) science, (2) speculation, (3) art, (4) history, and (5) miscellaneous and periodical literature. But this seemingly simple division at once raises questions both of practical and of theoretic difficulty. As to the first, periodical literature is fast attaining to such magnitude, that it may require a classification of its own, and that the enumeration, which indexes supply, useful as it is, will not suffice. And I fear it is the destiny of periodicals as such to carry down with them a large proportion of what, in the phraseology of railways, would be called dead weight, as compared with live weight. The limits of speculation would be most difficult to draw. The diversities included under science would be so vast as at once to make sub-classification a necessity. The *ologies* are by no means well suited to rub shoulders together; and sciences must include arts, which are but country cousins to them, or a new compartment must be established for their accommodation. Once more, how to cope with the everlasting difficulty of 'Works'? In what category to place Dante, Petrarch, Swedenborg, Burke, Coleridge, Carlyle, or a hundred more? Where, again, is Poetry to stand? I apprehend that it must take its place, the first place without doubt, in Art; for, while it is separated from Painting and her other 'sphere-born harmonious sisters' by their greater dependence on material form, they are all more inwardly and profoundly united in their first and all-enfolding principle, which is to organise the beautiful for presentation to the perceptions of man.

But underneath all particular criticism of this or that method of classification will be found to lie a subtler question—whether the arrangement of a library ought not in some degree to correspond with and represent the mind of the man who forms it. For my own part, I plead guilty, within certain limits, of favouritism in classification. I am sensible that sympathy and its reverse have something to do with determining in what company a book shall stand. And further, does there not enter into the matter a principle of humanity to the authors themselves? Ought we not to place them, so far as may be, in the neighbourhood which they would like? Their living manhoods are printed in their works. Every reality, every tendency, endures. *Eadem sequitur tellure sepultos.*

I fear that arrangement, to be good, must be troublesome. Subjects are traversed by promiscuous assemblages of 'works;' both by sizes; and all by languages. On the whole I conclude as follows. The mechanical perfection of a library requires an alphabetical cata-

logue of the whole. But under the shadow of this catalogue let there be as many living integers as possible, for every well-chosen subdivision is a living integer and makes the library more and more an organism. Among others I plead for individual men as centres of subdivision: not only for Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, but for Johnson, Scott, and Burns, and whatever represents a large and manifold humanity.

The question of economy, for those who from necessity or choice consider it at all, is a very serious one. It has been a fashion to make bookcases highly ornamental. Now books want for and in themselves no ornament at all. They are themselves the ornament. Just as shops need no ornament, and no one will think of or care for any structural ornament, if the goods are tastefully disposed in the shop-window. The man, who looks for society in his books, will readily perceive that, in proportion as the face of his bookcase is occupied by ornament, he loses that society; and conversely, the more that face approximates to a sheet of book-backs, the more of that society he will enjoy. And so it is that three great advantages come hand in hand, and, as will be seen, reach their maximum together: the sociability of books, minimum of cost in providing for them, and ease of access to them.

In order to attain these advantages, two conditions are fundamental. First, the shelves must, as a rule, be fixed; secondly, the cases, or a large part of them, should have their side against the wall, and thus, projecting into the room for a convenient distance, they should be of twice the depth needed for a single line of books, and should hold two lines, one facing each way. Twelve inches is a fair and liberal depth for two rows of octavos. The books are thus thrown into stalls, but stalls after the manner of a stable, or of an old-fashioned coffee-room; not after the manner of a bookstall, which, as times go, is no stall at all, but simply a flat space made by putting some scraps of boarding together, and covering them with books.

This method of dividing the longitudinal space by projections at right angles to it, if not very frequently used, has long been known. A great example of it is to be found in the noble library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and is the work of Sir Christopher Wren. He has kept these cases down to very moderate height; for he doubtless took into account that great heights require long ladders, and that the fetching and use of these greatly add to the time consumed in getting or in replacing a book. On the other hand, the upper spaces of the walls are sacrificed, whereas in Dublin, All Souls, and many other libraries the bookcases ascend very high, and magnificent apartments walled with books may in this way be constructed. Access may be had to the upper portions by galleries; but we cannot have stairs all round the room, and even with one gallery of books a room should not be more than from sixteen to eighteen feet high if

we are to act on the principle of bringing the largest possible number of volumes into the smallest possible space. I am afraid it must be admitted that we cannot have a noble and imposing spectacle, in a vast apartment, without sacrificing economy and accessibility; and *vice versâ*.

The projections should each have attached to them what I rudely term an end-piece (for want of a better name), that is a shallow and extremely light adhering bookcase (light by reason of the shortness of the shelves), which both increases the accommodation, and makes one short side as well as the two long ones of the parallelopiped to present simply a face of books with the lines of shelf, like threads, running between the rows.

The wall-spaces between the projections ought also to be turned to account for shallow bookcases so far as they are not occupied by windows. If the width of the interval be two feet six, about sixteen inches of this may be given to shallow cases placed against the wall.

Economy of space is in my view best attained by fixed shelves. This dictum I will now endeavour to make good. If the shelves are movable, each shelf imposes a dead weight on the structure of the bookcase, without doing anything to support it. Hence it must be built with wood of considerable mass, and the more considerable the mass of wood the greater are both the space occupied and the ornament needed. When the shelf is fixed, it contributes as a fastening to hold the parts of the bookcase together; and a very long experience enables me to say that shelves of from half to three-quarters of an inch worked fast into uprights of from three-quarters to a full inch will amply suffice for all sizes of books except large and heavy folios, which would probably require a small, and only a small, addition of thickness.

I have recommended that as a rule the shelves be fixed, and have given reasons for the adoption of such a rule. I do not know whether it will receive the sanction of authorities. And I make two admissions. First it requires that each person owning and arranging a library should have a pretty accurate general knowledge of the sizes of his books. Secondly it may be expedient to introduce here and there, by way of exception, a single movable shelf; and this, I believe, will be found to afford a margin sufficient to meet occasional imperfections in the computation of sizes. Subject to these remarks, I have considerable confidence in the recommendation I have made.

I will now exhibit to my reader the practical effect of such arrangement, in bringing great numbers of books within easy reach. Let each projection be three feet long, twelve inches deep (ample for two faces of octavos), and nine feet high, so that the upper shelf can be reached by the aid of a wooden stool of two steps not more than twenty inches high, and portable without the least effort in a single hand. I will suppose the wall space available to be eight feet,

and the projections, three in number, with end pieces need only jut out three feet five, while narrow strips of bookcase will run up the wall between the projections. Under these conditions, the bookcases thus described will carry above 2,000 octavo volumes.

And a library forty feet long and twenty feet broad, amply lighted, having some portion of the centre fitted with very low bookcases suited to serve for some of the uses of tables, will receive on the floor from 18,000 to 20,000 volumes of all sizes, without losing the appearance of a room or assuming that of a warehouse, and while leaving portions of space available near the windows for purposes of study. If a gallery be added, there will be accommodation for a further number of five thousand; and the room need be no more than sixteen feet high. But a gallery is not suitable for works above the octavo size, on account of inconvenience in carriage to and fro.

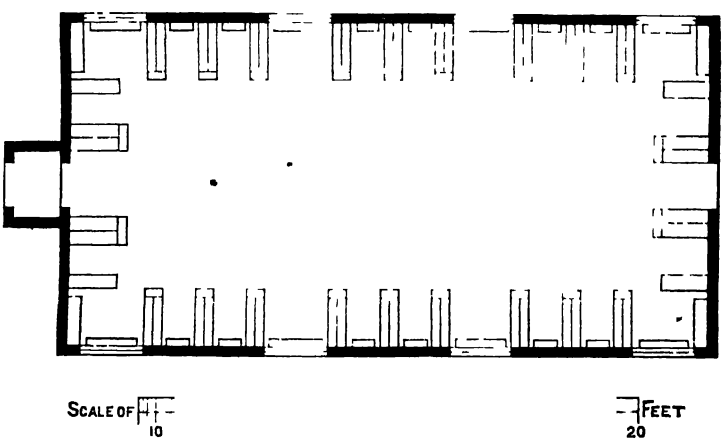
It has been admitted that in order to secure the vital purpose of compression with fixed shelving, the rule of arrangement according to subjects must be traversed partially by division into sizes. This division, however, need not, as to the bulk of the library, be more than threefold. The main part would be for octavos. This is becoming more and more the classical or normal size; so that nowadays the octavo edition is professionally called the library edition. Then there should be deeper cases for quarto and folio, and shallower for books below octavo, each appropriately divided into shelves.

If the economy of time by compression is great, so is the economy of cost. I think it reasonable to take the charge of provision for books in a gentleman's house, and in the ordinary manner, at a shilling a volume. This may vary either way, but it moderately represents, I think, my own experience, in London residences, of the charge of fitting up with bookcases, which, if of any considerable size, are often unsuitable for removal. The cost of the method which I have adopted later in life, and have here endeavoured to explain, need not exceed one penny per volume. Each bookcase when filled represents, unless in exceptional cases, nearly a solid mass. The intervals are so small that, as a rule, they admit a very small portion of dust. If they are at a tolerable distance from the fireplace, if carpeting be avoided except as to small movable carpets easily removed for beating, and if sweeping be discreetly conducted, dust may, at any rate in the country, be made to approach to a *quantité négligeable*.

It is a great matter, in addition to other advantages, to avoid the endless trouble and the miscarriages of movable shelves; the looseness, and the tightness, the weary arms, the aching fingers, and the broken finger-nails. But it will be fairly asked what is to be done, when the shelves are fixed, with volumes too large to go into them? I admit that the dilemma, when it occurs, is formidable. I admit also that no book ought to be squeezed or even coaxed into its place: they should move easily both in and out. And I repeat here that

the plan I have recommended requires a pretty exact knowledge by measurement of the sizes of books and the proportions in which the several sizes will demand accommodation. The shelf-spacing must be reckoned beforehand, with a good deal of care and no little time. But I can say from experience that by moderate care and use this knowledge can be attained, and that the resulting difficulties, when measured against the aggregate of convenience, are really insignificant. It will be noticed that my remarks are on minute details, and that they savour more of serious handiwork in the placing of books than of lordly survey and direction. But what man who really loves his books delegates to any other human being, as long as there is breath in his body, the office of inducting them into their homes?

And now as to results. It is something to say that in this way 10,000 volumes can be placed within a room of quite ordinary size, all visible, all within easy reach, and without destroying the character of the apartment as a room. But, on the strength of a case with which I am acquainted, I will even be a little more particular.



I take as before a room of forty feet in length and twenty in breadth, thoroughly lighted by four windows on each side; as high as you please, but with only about nine feet of height taken for the bookcases; inasmuch as all heavy ladders, all *adminicula* requiring more than one hand to carry with care, are forsworn. And there is no gallery. In the manner I have described, there may be placed on the floor of such a room, without converting it from a room into a warehouse, bookcases capable of receiving, in round numbers, 20,000 volumes.

The state of the case, however, considered as a whole, and especially with reference to libraries exceeding say 20,000 or 30,000

volumes, and gathering rapid accretions, has been found to require in extreme cases, such as those of the British Museum and the Bodleian (on its limited site), a change more revolutionary in its departure from, almost reversal of, the ancient methods, than what has been here described.

The best description I can give of its essential aim, so far as I have seen the processes (which were tentative and initial), is this. The masses represented by filled bookcases are set one in front of another; and, in order that access may be had as it is required, they are set upon trams inserted in the floor (which must be a strong one) and wheeled off and on as occasion requires.

The idea of the society of books is in a case of this kind abandoned. But even on this there is something to say. Neither all men nor all books are equally sociable. For my part I find but little sociability in a huge wall of Hansards, or (though a great improvement) in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the *Annual Registers*, in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, or in the vast ranges of volumes which represent pamphlets innumerable. Yet each of these and other like items variously present to us the admissible, or the valuable, or the indispensable. Clearly these masses, and such as these, ought to be selected first for what I will not scruple to call interment. It is a burial; one, however, to which the process of cremation will never of set purpose be applied. The word I have used is dreadful; but also dreadful is the thing. To have our dear old friends stowed away in catacombs, or like the wine-bottles in bins: the simile is surely lawful until the use of that commodity shall have been prohibited by the growing movement of the time. But however we may gild the case by a cheering illustration, or by the remembrance that the provision is one called for only by our excess of wealth, it can hardly be contemplated without a shudder at a process so repulsive applied to the best beloved among inanimate objects.

It may be thought that the gloomy perspective I am now opening exists for great public libraries alone. But public libraries are multiplying fast, and private libraries are aspiring to public dimensions. It may be hoped that for a long time to come no grave difficulties will arise in regard to private libraries, meant for the ordinary use of that great majority of readers who read only for recreation or for general improvement. But when study, research, authorship, come into view, when the history of thought and of inquiry in each of its branches, or in any considerable number of them, has to be presented, the necessities of the case are terribly widened. Chess is a speciality and a narrow one. But I recollect a statement in the *Quarterly Review*, years back, that there might be formed a library of twelve hundred volumes upon chess. I think my deceased friend, Mr. Alfred Denison, collected between two and three thousand upon angling. Of living Englishmen perhaps Lord Acton is the most

effective and retentive reader; and for his own purposes he has gathered a library of not less, I believe, than 100,000 volumes.

Undoubtedly the idea of book-cemeteries such as I have supposed is very formidable. It should be kept within the limits of the dire necessity, which has evoked it from the underworld into the haunts of living men. But it will have to be faced, and faced perhaps oftener than might be supposed. And the artist needed for the constructions it requires will not be so much a librarian as a warehouseman.

But if we are to have cemeteries, they ought to receive as many bodies as possible. The condemned will live ordinarily in pitch darkness, yet so that when wanted, they may be called into the light. Asking myself how this can most effectively be done, I have arrived at the conclusion that nearly two-thirds, or say three-fifths, of the whole cubic contents of a properly constructed apartment [12] may be made a nearly solid mass of books: a vast economy which, so far as it is applied, would probably quadruple or quintuple the efficiency of our repositories as to contents, and prevent the population of Great Britain from being extruded some centuries hence into the surrounding waters by the exorbitant dimensions of their own libraries.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

[12] Note on the structure. I assume a room 28 feet by 10, and a little over 9 feet high. Divide it longitudinally for a passage 4 feet wide. Let the passage project 12 to 18 inches at each end beyond the line of the wall. Let the passage ends be entirely given to cabinets, or glass doors. Twenty four pairs of trams run the room. On these are placed 56 book-cases, divided by the passage, reaching to the ceiling, each 3 feet 6 by 1 foot 12 inches deep, and separated from its neighbour by an interval of 2 inches, and set on small wheels, pulleys, or rollers, to work along the trams. Stout shoulders on the inner side of each book-case to draw it out into the passage. Each of these book-cases would hold 500 octavos, and a room of 28 feet by 10 would receive 25,000 volumes. A room of 40 feet by 20 (a great size) would receive 60,000. It would, of course, be not properly a room, but a warehouse.

A BATTLE DESCRIBED FROM THE RANKS.

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON'S Highland Brigade was made up of the 42nd, the 74th, the 75th, and the 79th regiments. We always used the good old numbers, and never got the hang of the fancy newfangled names. I was a corporal in that good old corps, the 79th (Cameron) Highlanders. The brigade landed at Ismailia on the 9th of September. It waited three hours for the order to march, and during this time many of the men found out a grog-shop, and some were pretty far gone when at last the 'Fall in' sounded.

It was about half-past four in the afternoon when we started on our march across the desert. Tents, valises, and rations were sent by train or carts, and all we carried was a rolled blanket, soap and towel, water-bottle, glengarry bonnet, mess tin, seventy rounds of ammunition, and of course our belts and arms. The heat was dreadful, footing was difficult in the loose sand into which at each step we sank over the ankles, and it was a hard task to keep in line. There was no breath of wind: we laid bare our chests in the vain hope to catch a little air. Hands, faces, and bodies were streaming with perspiration, and soon we were almost as wet as if we had been swimming in our clothes. The region we were traversing was a vast tract of fine loose sand without a leaf of herbage or any living thing, beaten on by a glaring scorching sun. By-and-bye thirst began to rage. The big stout men suffered from it and the toil of the march more than did the little ones. The former had soon emptied their water-bottles, and were begging of their neighbours, but to little purpose, for every man felt that water was too precious to give away. The old boozers suffered worst, and the tongues of some of them seemed actually hanging out of their mouths. I got along pretty well by carrying a pebble in my mouth, and occasionally rinsing my mouth with a little water and then spitting it out.

As we tramped on many of the men were falling out, and some dropped, never to rise again; on them the sun had done its work. The fellows who had been taking too much liquor aboard in the Ismailia grog-shop were prisoners in charge of the guard, who kept flogging them with rifle-slings to urge them on and prevent them from falling behind; their yells under this rough but justifiable treat-

ment sounded strange to one's ears in this outlandish place. I was told off to look after a man who had fallen down exhausted. I knew him to be one of those who had been drinking. When I bade him rise and march his reply was, 'Oh, leave me here to die, corporal; I cannot stir.' The regimental surgeon was near, and I asked him to see the man. 'Has he been drinking?' asked the doctor. 'Yes, sir.' 'Well, get him up somehow, and use your rifle-sling if you like, but don't leave him on any account.' 'All right, sir,' I answered; and I thought what a nice job was mine, darkness coming on, little water, and left with a helpless man. Returning to my invalid I found him prostrate, very sick, and vomiting green matter. 'Come, up you get, Jimmy,' said I, 'or I'll leather you!' There was no stir in him, so I gave him a few good cuts with the rifle-sling. The punishment started him; up he got, and marched a few yards and then went down again. Another sharp application of the sling brought him to his feet, and he went some distance, but then lay down again. I left him, and groping through the moving masses in the darkness, shouting for my own regiment and company, I found my sergeant, to whom I reported Jimmy's plight. 'Oh,' said he, 'leave him alone; when he sees the camp-fires, and feels cold and hungry, devil doubt him but he'll soon turn up.' The sergeant was right; I finished the march with my company, and just as I was going to sleep with my blanket round me and my mess-tin for a pillow, Jimmy arrived and thanked me for leathering him.

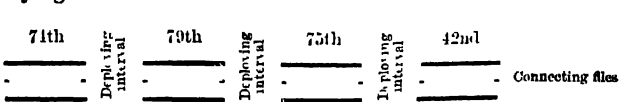
The first march was of course our worst. The men were soft with inaction aboard ship, and the heat and drink told on them dreadfully. The scenes of it are vividly in my memory still; how men were knocked over by the sun and buried where they fell; how others, falling exhausted, were borne to the adjacent railway line to await the chance of a passing train; how the piteous yells of the prisoners being flogged cut the darkness like a knife. Then the mad struggle for water when the 'Halt' sounded—the rush to the foul and stinking misnamed 'Sweetwater Canal,' faces buried in the putrid water, men fighting for room to kneel, snatching and emptying the kettles as fast as they were filled, till at last they had to be escorted to the cooking places under the protection of guards, so that tea could be made, which with ship biscuit was the supper of officers and men. All night we lay in an abominable stench, the cause of which morning revealed. It came in great measure from the canal, which, as an Irishman said, was 'shtiff' with the dead bodies of camels and horses, and there were many human corpses as well. This ghastly water we were forced to drink; it was that or go without. I filtered my water-bottle full, against the day's march; the contents still remained the colour of mud and had a loathsome slimy taste. What of stench the canal did not yield came from the unburied bodies of horses and Egyptians that lay around the bivouac.

While the army lay camped at Kassassin, the brigade orders issued on the morning of the 10th of September foreshadowed the night march on Tel-el-Kebir, which began the same evening. One of the injunctions in those orders was, I remember, that each man's water-bottle should be filled with cold tea—as we supposed, to help to keep us awake. The regimental orders issued in the afternoon confirmed the brigade orders and announced that the position of Tel-el-Kebir was to be attacked with the bayonet; no one to load; and not a shot to be fired until over the entrenchments. The men cheered vigorously when the orders were read to them. They had the fullest confidence in their colonel, who, although severe, was a just and reasonable man; and he knew war, for he was a veteran of the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny, in which latter the three next senior officers had also served. There were thirteen victories on our colours, but scarce a man of the rank-and-file had ever seen a battle, for the regiment had been last in action during the Indian Mutiny.

The regiment paraded at 5.45 P.M.; when the word 'Stand at ease' had been given, the captains of companies explained to their men what they had to do to make Tel-el-Kebir a victory. Our captain was no great orator, but he had a straightforward manly manner of speech that somehow stirred the blood. As well as I can remember, this was about what he said:

'Men, you are marching to-night to attack a strongly entrenched position called Tel-el-Kebir, mounting some sixty guns sweeping our line of approach. On the march from Nine Gun Hill there must be no smoking, the strictest silence must be kept, and unless ordered to the contrary, you are to continue the march steadily, no matter if bullets and shells come hailstone fashion into the ranks. No bayonets are to be fixed till the order is given, and no man is to charge until the last note of the bugle is finished. The bayonet alone is to do the work, and not a shot is to be fired until the trenches are carried. You are to fight on so long as a man stands up. Remember the country and the regiment you belong to; and fight now as fought the Highlanders of old!'

As we were marching the four miles to Nine Gun Hill, chums were giving each other messages for home in case of being killed, for all knew there was hard fighting before us. My comrade was a practical fellow; he had no sentiment. 'If I'm put out of mess, chum,' said he, 'you'll find two sticks of tobacco in my pocket that you may have.' Nine Gun Hill reached, the brigade, in dense darkness, deployed into line of half battalions of double companies at deploying intervals—thus:



During the halt at Nine Gun Hill, two tots of rum per man were served out, the first double allowance of strong drink since quitting board-ship. 'Dutch courage' the regimental teetotaller called it, but nobody needed any incentive to fight. The rum was mighty comforting in the chill night air; and when we had bolted it—it had to be swallowed on the spot—most of us went to sleep, for a good many their last sleep before their final long sleep of all. As we slumbered there was a sudden alarm, and the troops promptly sprang to their arms; but it was only Sir Garnet and his staff riding round to see that all was in order, and so we lay down again.

About 1.30 A.M. the march was resumed. The 79th was appointed the directing regiment, and Lieutenant Rawson, R.N., had the duty of guiding it by the stars. Clouds obscured the sky occasionally, but the North Star and part of the Little Bear remained visible. Another non-commissioned officer and myself had the honour of being told off to march on the directing flank, and we were consequently close to the directing guide, Lieutenant Rawson. We were ordered to take off our helmets, and keep our eyes fixed on a certain star, and if it should disappear to inform him in a whisper. In less than an hour several stars disappeared, and as they did so, Lieutenant Rawson indicated others for us to watch. The strictest discipline was now maintained, and silence rigorously enforced. Save that occasionally a horse would neigh and another answer, not a sound was to be heard but the slow trampling of many feet on the sand, resembling the fluttering of a flock of birds. Once a man on whom the rum had taken effect, or whom the weird silence had made ungovernably nervous, suddenly broke out into wild yells. Sir Garnet immediately rode up and ordered the offender to be bayoneted, but the regimental surgeon interposed, and begged leave to chloroform him instead. This was granted—the man was drugged into insensibility and left lying on the sand.

After marching at a funeral pace for about two hours a twenty minutes' halt was commanded. As the orders were slowly passed from company to company in a low tone of voice, they did not reach the flanks of the brigade, which continued in motion, retaining the touch until the extremities all but met in front of the centre, so that the brigade in effect formed a great hollow circle. The line had to be laboriously straightened out and re-formed in the pitchy darkness, and in all but silence; and it was a fine proof of discipline that this was accomplished in twenty-five minutes. The advance was resumed about 4.30. The slowness of the pace was very tiring, and but for the necessity of steadily watching the stars, I certainly should have been nodding in sleep as I moved, as many men were doing. Sir Archibald Alison, commanding the brigade, was close to Lieutenant Rawson, and as the night waned and nothing was discerned, he was clearly beginning to fear that something was wrong. 'Are you sure,

Rawson,' he asked in a low tone, 'that we are on the right track?' 'Yes, sir,' said Rawson, 'we have the North Star on our right, and'—another whose name I did not catch—'in our front; and soon we ought to be there or thereabouts.'

Dawn was just breaking. I could dimly see some objects in front of us looking like a lot of kangaroos hopping backwards and forwards—they were Egyptian cavalry, we afterwards learned. I nudged my companion, and Rawson whispered, 'We are not far off now!' Suddenly a shout was heard, then two shots were fired from opposite our left front, and a man of F company fell dead. No notice was taken of this, and the brigade marched on silently, every man now on the alert. All at once a whole sheet of musketry fire flashed out, lighting up the scene far to right and left. Above the crackle of the rifle-fire sounded loud the roar of artillery. Regardless of these portents, our regiments marched steadily and silently on. The order to 'Fix bayonets!' was given; when it had been obeyed and the men sloped arms, the rattle of the bullets on the bayonets was like the sound of hailstones striking against glass. Some men, but not many, fell wounded.

The 79th had marched quite 100 yards with their rifles at the slope when the command 'Prepare to charge!' was given. Down came the rifles of the front rank of the unbroken line, the 'Charge!' sounded, and as the last note of the bugle died away, a tremendous cheer was raised, the pipers struck up the slogan, and with our gallant colonel in front shouting 'Come on the Camerons!' the ranks broke into double time, and still cheering with all their power, swept forward on the enemy's position. One of the pipers, just as he began to play, had his bagpipes pierced by a bullet, and most discordant sounds escaped from the wounded instrument. 'Gude faith,' cried the piper philosophically, 'but the bullet's a deevilitch sicht better through her wame than through mine!'

Shoulder to shoulder on we rushed for quite 200 yards under a shower of bullets, which fortunately were aimed too high and therefore wrought little harm. Suddenly our charge was checked by the first trench, twelve feet deep and the same in width. Many fell into it headlong, and others dropped on the brink under the fire of the enemy on the top of the further bank. The first man up among them was a brave young soldier, Donald Cameron by name, who had rushed to the front, determined to show the way. I saw him fighting desperately hand to hand against a throng of Egyptians, till a bullet through the head finished him and he tumbled back stone dead into the trench. It was full of Highlanders trying to clamber up the steep further face, and slipping back again, for there was no foothold. I tried in vain three times, and at last, calling to a comrade 'For God's sake, Finlay, give me a leg up!' I succeeded in mounting. Once on the summit, such was my state of excitement,

I was for the moment bewildered, and scarcely knew what to do—the enemy swarmed around us like bees, all in white with red fezzes, some brown-faced, some black-faced, and all showing their infernal white teeth. I plunged my bayonet into one of them; the man falling towards me, his weight toppled him and me back into the trench, and we fell together on top of one of my comrades; but I was soon again on the further bank, assisted up by four of my mates, and then took part in the charge of the regiment onward towards the second trench.

Cheering vigorously, and clearing our way with the bayonet, we were soon up to and across that obstacle. Just as I got on my feet after clambering out of the trench, I was felled by a blow across the legs from the clubbed rifle of an Egyptian, and as I fell saw the cold steel coming at me; but my comrades saved me, and in a moment I was up again, too excited to feel any pain. Suddenly there were shouts of 'Retire! retire!'—the word ran along the ragged front, causing an immediate and general check, and indeed a retirement on the part of many who thought they were obeying a command. Fortunately a staff officer in the nick of time galloped forward shouting 'No retirement, men! Come on! come on!' There was a general rally, and then forward we went again.

Those cries of 'Retire' had been treacherously raised by a couple of 'Glasgow Irishmen,' who had somehow evaded the precautions that were in force since the days of Fenianism to prevent the enlistment of disloyal characters. They had been proved cowards or something worse on two occasions when the regiment was before Kafr Dowar; and in virtue of instructions coming through the captain, the non-commissioned officers of the company appointed a sergeant and a corporal to watch the conduct of these two men in the battle. They were charged to use their own discretion, and if that step became necessary to put them summarily to death. When the treacherous dogs raised their shout of 'Retire,' the non-commissioned officers appointed to watch them promptly did their duty. I saw Sergeant —— kill one of them with a thrust of his sword-bayonet; and also saw Corporal —— fire at the other, who fell dead, but whether he was killed by the corporal's bullet or by one from the enemy I cannot undertake to say. The regiment was unanimous that both richly deserved to die, in which conviction every honest soldier will concur.

By this time it was clear daylight, and it was now apparent that in the semi-darkness, the scramble at the trenches, and the hand-to-hand fighting, the brigade had fallen into confusion, and that in the charging and struggling whirl the four regiments had got all mixed up and intermingled. There was a short halt in order to re-form, and, this roughly and hastily effected, the brigade swept down towards Tel-el-Kebir lock, driving all opposition before it. Just before this halt I received another 'butt-ender,' which smashed my

water-bottle to pieces and knocked me down, but I was immediately dragged up on to my legs again by my fighting chum, who exclaiming, 'Steel for leather! take that, you ——!' sent his bayonet into the Egyptian who had felled me. The regiment when re-forming had suffered from a cross fire coming from the trenches on either flank, to silence which skirmishers were thrown out to the left. They speedily cleared the trench and drove the enemy along it through a cross trench into trenches further to the left and rear. The detachment attacking the former came on a gun, the gunners belonging to which stood their ground and fought to the last man; they were killed, the gun was taken, and then brought into action against its owners.

As the regiment was pursuing its advance, I had the misfortune to be detached by an order from the sergeant-major to take charge of a prisoner, a man over six feet high and as black as a coal. He was sullen and would not move; I tried to stir him with a hint from the butt end of my rifle, on which he bolted, and I had to stop his flight with a bullet. Setting out to follow the regiment I came suddenly face to face with a big Egyptian officer, revolver in one hand, sword in the other. He fired and hit me on the right hand, but the bullet glanced off a ring I wore, and I rushed at him with the bayonet. He warded off my first thrust and my second; I then feinted, he swung his sword round for the parry and had not time to recover it before the bayonet was in him. A pull on a blue seal hanging from his tunic brought to light a silver watch, which I still keep as a remembrance of him.

When I reached the crest of the hill overlooking Tel-el-Kebir lock, there lay below me the many hundred tents of the Egyptian camp, and I could see the enemy swimming the canal, and running like deer across the desert in thousands. The Second Brigade was hurrying forward, as also the Scottish division of the Royal Artillery at a gallop; when the gunners passed the Highland Brigade, such a cheer went up as they shouted 'Scotland for ever!' Halting, they unlimbered, loaded, fired a round or two with great effect, and then, as it seemed in a few seconds, they were off again at a tearing gallop. One of their shells fell into a magazine, and the noise of the explosion was loud enough to wake the dead. Another struck and disabled the engine of a train pulling out from the railway station. It could not proceed, but another made shift to start, and although a shell struck and shattered the hindmost carriage, it held on and got away. A steady rattle of musketry indicated the route of the Indian contingent advancing south of the canal; and soon after the Highland Brigade had reached Tel-el-Kebir lock, Sir Garnet galloped up with Sir Archibald Alison, called out to us 'The battle is won, men!' and sent the 42nd to clear the village. Just as we were cheering the General, the cavalry came galloping forward to take up the pur-

suit, and shouting with many oaths, 'You —— jocks haven't left us the chance of a fight!' shot past in a whirl of dust above which flashed lanceheads and waving swords.

The men had been suffering so fearfully from thirst before they reached the canal, that I saw some of them drinking the blood that ran out of wounded camels. When we had drunk our fill of canal water the 'Assembly' was sounded and the roll was called, when many a poor fellow had to be marked as 'absent.' Men told each other of their adventures, narrated their escapes, and had time now to examine their bare legs, from which much skin had been lost in falling into and clambering out of the trenches. The most remarkable escape I remember was that of a colour-sergeant who was looking at the enemy through a binocular when a bullet came along, shivered the glass and then dropped spent into his mouth, from which he spat it with the loss only of a couple of teeth. Some of us were detailed to search the Egyptian camp to make sure that none of the enemy remained lurking in it. A guard was set on Arabi's tent, through which I had passed in the advance, and had snatched a cutlet from the table, little wotting to whom tent and food had belonged. I had the luck to chance on a small shed full of melons, nuts, bottles of eau de Cologne, tins of Turkish tobacco and boxes of cigarettes. I filled my water-bottle with eau de Cologne, my haversack with cigarettes, and with a tin of tobacco and a bottle of eau de Cologne in my hand went in search of my captain. He was not to be found in the tent of which the officers had taken possession, and I handed the eau de Cologne bottle to a major, an Irishman, who swallowed the contents neat at a gulp, and then exclaimed, 'Holy Jasus, isn't that good stuff!' to the great amusement of the other officers. Presently I met my captain, to whom I gave the cigarettes, and showed him where he could get all he wanted of lemons, tobacco, and eau de Cologne; he gave me a sovereign for my trouble.

Volunteers were now called for to go and assist the wounded. I made one of the party, and started well equipped with pipe in mouth, a haversack full of cigarettes, a water-bottle full of eau de Cologne, and plenty of water. The sights of the battle-field were gruesome, now one looked at them in cold blood. The artillery had wrought fearful havoc. I remember one heap of twenty-four corpses, some blown absolutely into fragments, others headless, others with limbs lopped off. Some of the dead Egyptians were roasting slowly as they lay; their clothing had been ignited and was still smouldering. A man of the Rifles came along, drew his pipe from his pocket, and lit it at one of those bodies, remarking, somewhat brutally it struck me: 'By —— I never thought I should live to use a dead Egyptian for a light to my pipe!' In the outer trench our dead and wounded lay more thickly than those of the enemy, but in the inner trenches and

on the spaces between, for one man of ours there were certainly ten Egyptians. In the redoubts, the black gunners lay dead or wounded almost to a man, for they had been fastened to the guns and to each other by small chains attached to ankle-fetters, so as to leave them free to work the guns, but hindering them from running away. Among them poor Lieutenant Rawson lay mortally wounded; it seemed bitter hard after his fine service in guiding the army, that he who had contributed so much to the victory should lie dying in the hour of triumph. When Sir Archibald Alison was told of his being wounded, he at once went to see him. 'Didn't I lead them straight, sir?' were the dying man's last faint words—faithful unto duty even to the end.

The first wounded man I attended to was an Egyptian whose moans were piteous, and on examination I found him severely wounded in the belly. I poured some eau de Cologne down his throat, and used my own surgical bandage to bind up his wound so as to keep the flies from it. Then I lit a cigarette, put it in his mouth, placed more beside him, and gave him a drink of water. He kissed my hand, and muttered something about 'Allah.' I had not left him far, when I heard the crack of a rifle and a bullet whizzed by my ear. Looking round I saw the smoke of the shot drifting away from where my wounded man lay, and noticed that he was quietly taking aim at me again. He had time to fire a second shot, which also missed me, before I reached him, and I had no compunction in driving the life out of him with my bayonet, remarking to myself as I took the weapon out of him for the last time, 'You won't come that game any more, you ungrateful brute!' Many such instances of this treacherous hate occurred. I myself had to wipe out four more wounded Egyptians whom I caught in the act of firing at our men after they had passed. To run the bayonet into a man who is down, one feels to be hardly the thing, and it was done reluctantly, but in such cases as I have described it was a clear act of compulsory duty.

Great droves of prisoners had been brought in, seemingly surprised and well pleased at being taken alive instead of being massacred. Most of them were chewing dates, and they jabbered with extraordinary rapidity, in a language quite unknown to any of us. Over the mass was placed a strong guard, and then burial parties were organised from among them, furnished with shovels, and marched under escort to the duty assigned them—the interment of their own dead. There was neither decency nor humanity in their method. Dead and seeming dead were huddled anyhow into the trenches and then the sand was shovelled over them. One could see limbs still moving and hands feebly raised in the effort to ward off the indiscriminate entombment, but the callous gravediggers took no notice of those dumb, pathetic remonstrances. The smell from the bodies was

already overpowering, which some accounted for by the habit on the part of the Egyptian of drinking quantities of oil.

Having attended to several of the wounded, I began to wander back in the direction of Tel-el-Kebir. Stray bullets, coming one knew not from where, were still flying about. I felt a sudden stinging in the right shoulder which caused me to drop my rifle, but I picked it up and went on although the pain of the shoulder was great. Presently I felt something trickling down my arm, which to my amazement was blood. I then realised that I had sustained a bullet wound. There were surgeons close by, to whom I went and had a hasty dressing applied to the wound, which I was told was only a flesh injury, and would not give me much trouble. Feeling faint, however, I accepted the offer of a ride from a sailor who was mounted on a camel, and offered to take me to my regiment. Camel-back I found rougher than aboard-ship in a high sea. Then Jack and the animal did not seem to understand each other, the camel resenting Jack's attempts to steer it by hitting it on the head with a stick, Jack denouncing the beast in nautical language, and informing me that 'the —— would not answer the helm.' Although in pain, I laughed so heartily that I fell off the camel, and for a time lay where I had fallen, all but insensible. Pulling myself together, I set out to walk and soon came across Sergeant Donald Gunn, of my regiment, lying dangerously wounded by a bullet in the lung. He could not walk and I could not carry him, but when I reached the regiment I reported his whereabouts as nearly as I could describe. He afterwards told me, however, that he lay all day and the following night before being carried off the field, and he told me also that as night closed in it was surprising what a number of apparently dead Egyptians rose all over the field, and ran away apparently quite undamaged. The recovery of Gunn, who after having been wounded fought on and did great execution before he fell from sheer loss of blood, was long extremely doubtful; but he is now alive with the Distinguished Conduct medal on his breast, and holding the honourable position of one of her Majesty's gate-keepers. Soon after leaving Gunn, I was lucky enough to find a horse tied to a stake; mounting the beast, I rode him into camp, and later in the day sold him to an officer for 5*l*. I now had my wounded shoulder properly dressed, and was glad to know that I need not go into hospital because of it. My comrades had gone out foraging and came in laden with poultry, which were promptly plucked and consigned to the camp-kettles: we were all sharp set, for we had eaten nothing but biscuit since leaving Kassassin. 'My contribution to the fare was not very successful. When in the Egyptian camp, I came across some little tin boxes labelled with a word which I hurriedly read as 'potage.' Some of the tins I brought in, and promising my comrades a treat, I had a kettleful of water boiled, and emptied into it the contents of the

tins. After a good stirring the supposed soup was served out. The first comment was that it was curiously black. When it was cool enough to be tasted, the wry faces made over it were a caution, and there was a roar of 'Blacking, by ——!' Blacking it was; the label which I had read 'potage' was actually 'cirage.'

The total casualties of the British army engaged at Tel-el-Kebir amounted to 339, of which 243 occurred in the Highland Brigade, leaving 96 to represent the losses of the rest of the force. The 79th was the first regiment across the outer entrenchment, because it fixed bayonets on the march, whereas the other regiments of the brigade halted to do this; but the advantage in time was only that of a few seconds. The defenders of Tel-el-Kebir cannot be said to have been taken by surprise, although no doubt they had little idea we were so close as we were when our approach was detected. They slept in the fighting positions, and were alert on the first alarm. We were under their fire for 300 yards, and a very heavy fire it was; but that nine-tenths of it was aimed too high—if indeed it was aimed at all—it must have wrought great havoc in our ranks.

ARTHUR V. PALMER.
(*Late Sergeant, 79th Highlanders.*)

WALLACE ON 'DARWINISM.'

I HAVE read with deep interest, as, doubtless, have many other persons, Mr. Wallace's volume entitled *Darwinism*, which appeared in the month of March last year. No one has a higher right to teach the world on this recondite subject; and when it is borne in mind that Mr. Wallace was himself an independent discoverer of the principle associated with the name of Darwin, and that, nevertheless, no sentence indicative of rivalry or jealousy—in fact, no sentence laying claim to original discovery—occurs throughout the book, it is impossible not to be struck with a feeling of reverence towards a writer who combines such remarkable ability with no less remarkable modesty. Reference is made to this point in an article in the *Contemporary Review* (August, 1889) by Professor Romanes, who writes thus:—

> It was in the highest degree dramatic that the great idea of natural selection should have occurred independently and in precisely the same form to two working naturalists; that these naturalists should have been countrymen; that they should have agreed to publish their theory on the same day; and last, but not least, that, through the many years of strife and turmoil which followed, these two English naturalists consistently maintained towards each other such feelings of magnanimous recognition that it is hard to say whether we should most admire the intellectual or the moral qualities which, in relation to their common labours, they have displayed.

Professor Romanes further lays stress upon the fact, that whereas opinion has lately tended, as between the two naturalists, towards Wallace and away from Darwin, there is no sign of triumph in the book.

> If ever there was an occasion (writes Professor Romanes) when a man of science might have felt himself justified in expressing a personal gratification at the turning of a tide of scientific opinion, assuredly such an occasion is the present; and, in whichever direction the truth may eventually be found to lie, historians of science should not omit to notice that in the very hour when his lifelong belief is gaining so large a measure of support, Mr Wallace quietly accepts the fact without one word of triumph.

It is very pleasant to read this record of forgetfulness of self in the feeling of complete devotion to the cause of science and of truth: possibly instances of such self-forgetfulness are not so uncommon as they are sometimes supposed to be.

But Mr. Wallace needs no compliments from me, and it is not for the purpose of paying them that I have taken pen in hand. My purpose is rather to commit to paper certain thoughts which have occurred to me during the reading of his most interesting volume, and which it may perhaps be worth while to record. It seems to me that the publication of Mr. Wallace's work affords an occasion for taking stock, as it were, of that which the author describes as 'Darwinism.' It is needless to say that in the author's use of the word there is nothing vague, much less disparaging, in this term. The term is used in a certain definite sense, and is intended to express, not evolution in general, but evolution by those special processes to which Mr. Darwin believed evolution to be due. It is, I think, manifest that much advantage may accrue even from a declaration at the hands of such an authority as Mr. Wallace of what 'Darwinism' is; but besides this, it is specially advantageous, now that a quarter of a century has passed since the great revolution in thought on this class of subject commenced, that we should know what is the real position of the controversy; there has been sufficient time for the smoke and din of the battle to pass away, and we can now form a better estimate than was possible in earlier days of the actual result of the engagement. I propose, therefore, to offer some remarks upon Mr. Wallace's volume, chiefly from the point of view just indicated; observing in general that the conclusion which seems to me to be of chief importance is this—that while Mr. Wallace holds to Darwin's views in the most important particulars, he does not regard 'Darwinism' as any explanation of some of the most important phenomena which the living world presents.

This observation, however, must stand on one side for the present. The point which must occupy us just now is the actual meaning of 'Darwinism,' upon which possibly not a few persons have somewhat hazy notions. Let me quote Mr. Wallace:[1]—

> In order to show the view Darwin took of his own work, and what it was that he alone claimed to have done, the concluding passage of the introduction to the *Origin of Species* should be carefully considered. It is as follows: 'Although much remains obscure, and will long remain obscure, I can entertain no doubt, after the most deliberate and dispassionate judgment of which I am capable, that the view which most naturalists until recently entertained, and which I formerly entertained—namely, that each species has been independently created—is erroneous. I am fully convinced that species are not immutable; but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are the lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same manner as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species. Furthermore, I am convinced that Natural Selection has been the most important, but not the exclusive, means of modification.' It should be especially noted, adds Mr. Wallace, that all which is here claimed is now almost universally admitted, while the criticisms of Darwin's works refer almost exclusively to those numerous questions which, as he himself says, *will long remain obscure.*

[1] Page 9.

Mr. Wallace then proceeds to explain precisely what is meant by *natural selection*, and what therefore the Darwinian theory really is.

The theory of natural selection rests on two main classes of facts, which apply to all organised beings without exception, and which thus take rank as fundamental principles or laws. The first is the power of rapid multiplication in a geometrical progression; the second, that the offspring always vary slightly from the parents, though generally very closely resembling them. From the first fact or law there follows, necessarily, a constant struggle for existence; because, while the offspring always exceed the parents in number, generally to an enormous extent, yet the total number of living organisms in the world does not, and cannot, increase year by year. Consequently, every year, on the average, as many die as are born, plants as well as animals: and the majority die premature deaths. They kill each other in a thousand different ways; they starve each other by some consuming the food that others want; they are destroyed largely by the powers of nature—by cold and heat, by rain and storm, by flood and fire. There is thus a perpetual struggle among them which shall live and which shall die: and this struggle is tremendously severe, because so few can possibly remain alive—one in five, one in ten, often only one in a hundred or one in a thousand.

Then comes the question, Why do some live rather than others? If all the individuals of each species were exactly alike in every respect, we could only say it is a matter of chance. But they are not alike. We find that they vary in many different ways. Some are stronger, some swifter, some hardier in constitution, some more cunning. An obscure colour may render concealment more easy for some, keener sight may enable others to discover prey or escape from an enemy better than their fellows. Among plants the smallest differences may be useful or the reverse. The earliest and strongest shoots may escape the slug: their greater vigour may enable them to flower and seed earlier in a wet autumn; plants best armed with spines or hairs may escape being devoured; those whose flowers are most conspicuous may be soonest fertilised by insects. We cannot doubt that, on the whole, any beneficial variation will give the possessors of it a greater probability of living through the tremendous ordeal they have to undergo. There may be something left to chance, but on the whole *the fittest will survive*.[2]

Upon this statement of what 'Darwinism' is, coming to us as it does from the highest authority, certain observations suggest themselves.

In the first place, objection may be taken to the phrase, *the fittest will survive*. The phrase, if I am not mistaken, was not originally devised by Mr. Darwin, and seems open to criticism. For fitness implies something of moral superiority; you cannot measure it in respect of length, or breadth, or strength, or any other quality capable of being tested by strictly physical conditions. Moreover, there is some danger of being betrayed by the phrase into the error of arguing in a circle; for, in the case of not a few creatures which have survived, it is difficult to give any good reason for their survival except upon the assumption of their fitness as proved by the very fact of their survival. Thus their fitness leads to their survival, and this survival leads to the conclusion that they must have been the fittest. Which is arguing in a circle. Still further, it is not difficult to suggest examples in which the expression, *survival of the*

[2] Pp. 10, 11.

fittest, manifestly breaks down. Sir Isaac Newton was, as is well known, a very delicate child, difficult to rear. Suppose that Newton and a powerful navvy, or coal porter, or grenadier, had been compelled to rough it as children at Dotheboys Hall or some similar establishment, which would have survived? Not Newton; and yet it may be fairly argued that in many respects he would have been the fittest. Nor is this imaginary case an altogether unfair test of the propriety of the phrase; for it is impossible to give any true definition of fitness which shall exclude all moral and intellectual qualities, all qualities in fact which are of the highest value, and which shall simply include those elements of toughness and wiriness, and strength of sinew or stomach, which are chiefly calculated to prolong life in trying circumstances.

Putting out of consideration, however, the propriety of the language by which survival in the struggle for life, whether amongst vegetables or animals, is expressed, it is to be admitted that the principle indicated is a true one. That is to say, it may be regarded as admitted by all persons whose studies and natural powers render their opinion of any real value, that modification by natural selection is an element in that evolution of living forms of which the evidence appears to be irresistible. Natural selection is a *vera causa*; the question is, What is the extent of its action? how much can it do?

Darwin considered it necessary to supplement *natural* by that which he termed *sexual* selection; in doing which he was quite consistent, because he speaks (as we have already seen) of natural selection as 'the most important, but not the exclusive means of modification' of species. This supplemental hypothesis, however, does not commend itself to Mr. Wallace's judgment.

> Mr. Darwin (he writes), as is well known, imputed most of the colours and varied patterns of butterflies' wings to sexual selection—that is, to a constant preference, by female butterflies, for the more brilliant males; the colours thus produced being sometimes transmitted to the males alone, sometimes to both sexes. *This view has always seemed to me unsupported by evidence, while it is also quite inadequate to account for the facts.*

Again, after explaining his own views on the subject of ornamental appendages of birds and other animals, he writes:—

> The various facts and arguments now briefly set forth afford an explanation of the phenomena of male ornament as being due to the general laws of growth and development, and make it *unnecessary to call to our aid so hypothetical a cause as the cumulative action of female preference.*

Whether the views put forward by Mr. Wallace do in reality render unnecessary the Darwinian hypothesis of sexual selection will not be here discussed; it is sufficient to note that the conclusions of Mr. Darwin in this not unimportant matter have, after abundant time for examination and reflection, been rejected by the naturalist who more perhaps than any other has a right to criticise him.

But Mr. Wallace rejects also the evolutionist views of another very competent naturalist, Professor Romanes; and it will aid in the development of the purpose of this paper if I refer in passing to this rejection. The theory of Professor Romanes is described by him under the phrase *physiological selection*: it is not necessary in this place to explain what the theory is; it is sufficient to say it is regarded as highly important by Professor Romanes, and as utterly unfounded by Mr. Wallace. It would be impertinent on my part to offer any opinion as between these two authorities; but the conclusion may be fairly drawn, that there is probably much at present unknown in the subject of evolution, as well as not a little doubt with regard to some fields of inquiry into which our knowledge is supposed to extend.

But the most striking and interesting feature of Mr. Wallace's book, from what I may describe as the *human* point of view, is to be found in that part of his work in which he denies, and (as he believes) proves himself to be justified in denying, the application of the principle of natural selection to the evolution of the human faculties. This denial is a fact of the first order of magnitude; and I confess that I can see no ground for the language of strong depreciation in which Professor Romanes, in the article already referred to, describes this portion of Mr. Wallace's book. He speaks of the substance of the concluding chapters as being 'sadly like the feet of clay in a figure of iron, marring by its manifest weakness what would otherwise have been a completed and self-consistent monument of strength.' No argument in the article justifies this condemnation; and it is, perhaps, not too much to say, that many of his readers will find in the condemned portion of Mr. Wallace's book that which has the deepest interest for themselves, while it must not be forgotten that the views put forward are alleged by Mr. Wallace to rest upon proofs which he formally submits for examination. Let us see then what this clay formation contains.

Mr. Wallace fully accepts 'Mr. Darwin's conclusion as to the essential identity of man's bodily structure with that of the higher mammalia, and his descent from some ancestral form common to men and to the anthropoid apes.' But he observes that, 'although perhaps nowhere distinctly formulated, his (Mr. Darwin's) whole argument tends to the conclusion that man's entire nature and all his faculties, whether moral, intellectual, or spiritual, have been derived from their rudiments in the lower animals, in the same manner and by the action of the same general laws as his physical structure has been derived.' This conclusion Mr. Wallace considers to be not 'supported by adequate evidence, and to be directly opposed to many well-ascertained facts.'

I will not endeavour to reproduce the whole of Mr. Wallace's argument on this subject, but will present what appears to me to be

the pith of it; and I do this with the greater satisfaction, because what is here advanced seems to harmonise with what I have already written in criticising the phrase, *survival of the fittest.*

Let us confine ourselves, for simplicity's sake, to one human faculty, namely, the mathematical. The problem is, how to produce a mathematician by the process of natural selection. The reader must bear in mind clearly, what the theory of natural selection is, as already expounded. It is the survival in the struggle for life of those individuals which possess variations from their fellows favourable to their preservation. In order, therefore, that the mathematical faculty should be evolved by the process of natural selection, it is necessary to suppose that those individuals, which have an advantage in the possession of rudimentary mathematical faculties somewhat in excess of their fellows, should be the survivors in the struggle for life. The mere possession of this rudimentary advantage must be an aid towards life preservation. This in itself is hard to understand; but it becomes harder still when we bear in mind the rareness of the mathematical gift. In our own time it would be perhaps an over-estimate to say, that the mathematical faculty existed in any marked degree in one per cent. of the population; assume such a proportion to have generally held in human history, then it would be necessary to suppose that these rare specimens of rudimentary mathematical ability had some very decided advantage in the struggle for life; but what ground is there for such a supposition? Grant that ten men in a tribe of a thousand had discovered how to count upon their fingers, or suppose them to have discovered some elementary geometrical theorem, how would this help them when a neighbouring tribe attacked them, or when famine and pestilence were abundant? It is difficult or impossible to say.

And the same argument would seem to apply to other human faculties, music and all forms of art, writing, even speech. Consider speech for a moment as the most universal and most distinctive of human faculties. Here the problem is just the reverse of that which occurred in the case of mathematics: in that the favourable variation to be preserved is rare, in this the variation scarcely exists; the faculty of speech is universal; how then can there be a survival of the fittest, where all are equally fit?

It seems difficult to resist this kind of argument, and I should not be surprised to find the opinion gain ground, and ultimately become established, that while the human faculties have undoubtedly been developed gradually, the development cannot in any way be traced to the process of natural selection.

But if it be once admitted that the principle of natural selection is inadequate to explain the development of specially human qualities, there is a temptation to go back to the consideration of the powers and instincts of some of the inferior creatures, and to inquire whether

natural selection may not be inadequate also in their case, as in that of man. I confess that I have never been able to perceive how the principle can be brought to bear upon such phenomena as the architecture of insects—for example, that of bees and wasps. What, I suppose, ought to have happened is this, that some variation of an ancient form of bee made a rough approximation to a modern honeycomb, that they who made the best honeycomb were the fittest to survive, and that in this way by slow degrees and by natural selection a race of bees was produced capable of performing the geometrical wonders which modern bees perform. But there are two difficulties. First, in conceiving the original start of insects in the direction of architecture; and secondly, in perceiving the connection between good architects and survival in the struggle for life. Certain bees might make their wax go further than other bees, and our actual bees use their wax with absolutely mathematical economy; but it is difficult to perceive how this economy is helpful in the struggle for life. Can we get over these difficulties? If it were a case of some device for self-preservation, the conclusion might be different. For example, if we can imagine some variation of a race of spiders devising, in ever so rough a form, those curious houses which have attained such perfection in the hands of the trap-door spider, we can also easily believe that this variation would be likely to survive, and that while less ingenious spiders became the prey of their enemies, those which were concealed in their cunning castles would escape. But there is nothing parallel to this in the case of wasps and bees; here we have a beautiful geometrical problem somehow solved, apparently without connection between the solution and the preservation of life. One of two conclusions seems inevitable—either the geometrical skill has belonged in its perfection to bees and wasps ever since those insects existed; or else the geometrical skill has been developed by some internal law of growth, independently of all questions of natural selection.

There is another class of natural phenomena upon which Mr. Wallace writes much that is deeply interesting, but to which it may possibly be questioned whether the principle of survival by natural selection is applicable—namely, the phenomena of mimicry. Of course it is quite intelligible, to take an instance, that a living creature which is very much like a leaf will excape many enemies, and even have such an advantage in the struggle for life that many other living creatures would be like leaves if they could. But when we endeavour to go back in imagination to the commencement of the mimicking process, we must conceive of a creature not at all like a leaf, but amongst whose offspring there are certain individuals which have a slightly leaflike appearance, and that these survive in preference to others not having the appearance in question. This conception involves two difficulties. First, the notion of certain

individuals having a slightly leaflike appearance is eccentric and hard to accept. It is different from that of individuals varying by length of leg, or strength of wing, or what not. It is a variation, so to speak, not of degree but of kind. And, secondly, it is difficult to see why a resemblance to a leaf, admitted to be slight, and therefore one would imagine not easily perceived, should be any substantial protection from enemies, and so an appreciable advantage in the struggle for life.

Similar difficulties occur with regard to other cases of mimicry. My space does not permit me to examine them in detail; but I have come to the conclusion that, while mimicry may probably be always connected with some advantage which it confers on the animal, it is difficult to conceive of the mimicking transformation being originally brought into operation by any process of natural selection.

This failure of the principle of natural selection to explain much that is connected with the evolution both of men and of inferior creatures may lead us to inquire, to what extent the principle satisfies aetiological requirements even in those cases in which its application appears most complete. The modification and multiplication of species requires three conditions to be postulated: (1) an original species; (2) the power of multiplying that species by reproduction; and (3) the occurrence of variations in the successive generations.

Now (1) the existence of the original living germ or germs must, I suppose, be left by universal consent in mystery. Mr. Darwin treated of the *Origin of 'Species,'* not the *Origin of 'living things.'* This latter question is not likely ever to come within the reach of human science; certainly it has not done so yet. Given the existence of the material universe, or the existence of living things, and there is abundance of opening for discovery with respect to the laws of matter and the laws of life; but matter and life must first be given. This is sufficiently obvious; but it is worth noting, because there is sometimes a tendency to make a confusion between creation and the laws of created things; whereas it is obvious that creation is one thing, and the law governing created things is quite another. But (2) as the original existence of living things is a mystery, so also is the reproduction of them. The continuity of life on the earth's surface, ensured in various ways more or less resembling each other, and all agreeing in this, that there is apparently no tendency in vital power to degenerate or wear itself out in the course of ages, is, as it were, a standing mystery of creation. The scientific man has nothing to do with this mystery; to him it is simply a fact or phenomenon; but he who tries to go beyond phenomena and to get at the cause behind them will recognise reproduction as being aetiologically equivalent to continuous creation. The great feature, however, of the principle of natural selection is (3) the occurrence of variations. Mr. Wallace lays great stress on the abundance of the

variations which occur in nature, and the corresponding importance of this element in the Darwinian theory; and he is obviously wise in doing so. But it is well to observe that it is impossible to regard variations either on the one hand as a necessary feature of reproduction, or on the other as simply fortuitous. With regard to the latter supposition, it is, certainly, difficult to conceive of chance as being a principal factor, say, in the production of a horse, to say nothing of a man. But even the former supposition is not quite an easy one; it is difficult to see why variations capable of being made permanent should occur, and why (if there be offspring at all) the offspring should not be exactly like the parent; in not a few cases this seems to be the law of living things. What I wish to point out, however, is this, that from the ætiological point of view there ought to be a *cause* for variations as well for other phenomena; and that, therefore, when we use the phenomenon of variations as a part of the machinery of natural selection, we do not get rid of the task of inquiring, as philosophers, why those useful variations occurred. In fact, in this as in many other instances, what is done is to shift the process one stage backward, but to leave the question of the primary cause very much where it was. Variations are abundant, says the student of natural history, and advantageous variations are preserved and made permanent by the process of natural selection: let it be granted. But the philosopher may still say, How comes it that advantageous variations should occur? Must not this occurrence be the result of some pre-established principle or law of development?

Take the case of the horse, which Mr. Wallace has dwelt upon at some length, and has illustrated by a diagram. The evolution of the horse of historical times and of the present day from the *orohippus* of the Eocene period, as exhibited to the eye by Mr. Wallace's diagram, is as interesting a presentation of a physical pedigree as can well be conceived. We see, as it were, the progress of Nature's work: the transformation from several toes to one toe, which was, in reality, the operation of thousands of years, is visible as a connected continuous process from beginning to end. But what the diagram does not, and cannot, put in evidence is this—namely, the marvellous beauty of the horse in his ultimate condition. So far as any conclusions can be drawn from the diagram, the top and the bottom of the page stand upon an equal footing; there would seem to be no reason why *orohippus* should not have been derived from *equus* by expansion, as easily as *equus* has been derived from *orohippus* by contraction. When, however, we look, not at the *equus* of science, but at the *horse* of the hunting-field or the racecourse, or at our own stable friend, who has carried us safely for hundreds of miles, we perceive that, somehow or other, we have, in these modern days, an animal of the most perfect kind with regard to speed, beauty, and mechanical perfection. We feel convinced that it would be in every

way a mistake that he should develop toes and become *orohippus*; we are sure that *orohippus* has rightly been improved off the face of the earth in order to make room for *equus*. All this is, in the best sense of the phrase, in accordance with the principle of the survival of the fittest; but I confess that I find it difficult to realise the transformation of *orohippus* into *equus* upon the pure and simple notion of advantageous variations in the struggle for life; for, in truth, if the question be one of mere survival, it is difficult to say, when the earth was inhabited by wild creatures, in what manner the possession of one toe instead of three or four should give *equus* any advantage over *orohippus*. One can quite understand that a jury of Newmarket jockeys would decide that *equus* was fittest to survive; but in the absence of human judgment the conclusion is not so easy to reach. At all events, it seems more probable that the transformation was originally ideally contained in the conception of this class of creature, and that *equus* may be regarded as bearing to *orohippus* something of the same kind of relation as is borne by a frog to a tadpole, or by a moth to a caterpillar.

May it not well be that predetermined transformation has as real a place in the genesis of species as it certainly has in that of individual creatures? Nothing, perhaps, strikes most minds as more surprising than insect and reptile transformation. That a crawling animal should, by a complicated process, involving a condition of motionless helplessness, be ultimately transformed into a creature of active life spent in flying through the air, or that toads and frogs should find it necessary to pass through the fish-like life of tadpoles —this class of facts may well puzzle the thinking mind; but the advantage of them is that they *are* facts; no one can dispute them; and taking our stand upon them we may guess that the processes of Nature are analogous, in cases in which we cannot distinctly prove that they are so. May it not be, then, that the Eocene period of creation presented a condition of things out of which a higher condition was evolved, not simply by the perpetuation of advantageous variations, but much more by virtue of an internal principle of growth, similar to, or at least comparable with, the principle which developes the fœtus or which transforms tadpoles and caterpillars? Adopting this view, we should have in both cases a limit towards which transformations tended; as the butterfly is the ultimate form of the caterpillar, and the caterpillar was the forerunner and necessary ancestor of the butterfly, so *equus* may perhaps be regarded as the ultimate form of *orohippus*, and *orohippus* as the forerunner and necessary ancestor of *equus*. At all events, this view of the facts seems to be tenable, and it is free from certain difficulties by which the hypothesis of natural selection pure and simple is undoubtedly beset.

The question of growth, evolution, development, by an internal power similar to, and comparable with, that which we see daily and

hourly at work all round about us, leads to the discussion of another and very interesting question—namely, whether man can perfectly be described as 'derived from the lower animals.' The expression is Mr. Wallace's. He speaks of 'man in his bodily structure' as having been 'derived from the lower animals, of which he is the culminating development.'[3] I venture to question whether this is a correct statement of the facts of the case. I am not venturing to throw doubt upon Mr. Wallace's scientific deductions; on the other hand, their correctness shall for the sake of argument, if on no other ground, be fully granted; all the more readily in consideration of the important limitations of the principle of natural selection made in the case of man, as already noticed and discussed. What I venture to doubt is, whether the process of human evolution, as accepted by Mr. Wallace, can be rightly described by the terms which he applies to it. Certainly there is something in the conception of such derivation from which the feelings of most of us not unnaturally shrink, and from which they would gladly be free, if freedom can be had consistently with scientific truth. There is something in it of that 'letting the house of a brute to the soul of a man,' of which Lord Tennyson sings in his most recent volume. It may be worth while, therefore, to consider whether the phrase, 'derivation from the lower animals,' is one which can be maintained as rightly expressing the truth, which it is intended to express, concerning the physical history of our race.

Now it is manifest that if we look back, so far as is possible, into the remote past, when the first germ of animal life appeared upon the globe, two conditions of things, and two only, are conceivable. Either (A) there was a single germ of life, from which all subsequent living forms have been evolved or developed; or (B) there were several or many germs of life, from which in separate streams, so to speak, the evolution of living creatures took place. Mr. Darwin inclined, I think, to the latter supposition; but either A or B must be accepted by all evolutionists of all schools. Let us consider them successively.

A. If we make the supposition that living forms commenced upon the globe from a single germ, then it follows that all living creatures now existing—insects, fishes, birds, beasts, man—have been evolved by some process or processes from one and the same origin: whether the process of variation and natural selection be sufficient to account for the development, it is not necessary for the purpose of this argument to decide; it is sufficient to say, and this can scarcely be denied, that by some process or processes the development has taken place. Therefore, ascending to the hypothesis now under consideration, it will be true that the lower animals and man had a common origin; but this is manifestly a different thing from assert-

[3] Page 454.

ing that man is 'derived from the lower animals.' If we go up to the hypothetical origin of life, or the single germ, this latter assertion is obviously untrue, because, as by hypothesis there was then only one germ, there could be no distinction of superior or inferior; but if we stop short of the origin and observe the condition of things at any period subsequent to the hypothetical beginning, we shall find progress being made towards the development of man and simultaneous progress being made towards the development of the lower animals. But it does not follow that, because this simultaneous development is taking place, therefore we can say that one form of life is developed from the other; it might be as correct to say that the inferior animals were developed from man, as man from the inferior animals. Take an illustration from that which is possible in the case of rivers. Conceive of two rivers running into the sea: trace their course, and suppose that ultimately you come to the same source in the distant mountains; it would not be correct to say that one of these rivers was derived from the other. The correct statement would be that they sprang from one and the same source, that they had different histories, and that they terminated in different streams.

When we speak of the lower animals, do we not in fact postulate the existence of man? Lower than what? Surely lower than man: therefore inferiority cannot be predicated until man's existence has been assumed, or has become a fact; and therefore to speak of man being derived from the lower animals in the remote past, when, if you only go far enough, there is no higher or lower, would seem to be a confusing use of language.

If it be urged that the objection now made to the phraseology used by Mr. Wallace is merely a verbal quibble, I venture to argue on the other hand that there is not a little importance in the objection. I quite admit that if the creation of man be a merely fortuitous fact, a lucky hit, so to speak, in the infinite variety of living forms developed from a single original living germ—if, in fact, creation be without the high purpose which human life, as distinguished from all other forms of life, seems to make manifest—it is scarcely worth while to argue the question whether man was derived from the inferior animals or not. But if man be the intended crown of creation, existing in the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God from the beginning, then it does seem to be worth while to argue that the derivation of man and beast from the same living germ is not the same thing as the derivation of one from the other. A sane man may have the misfortune to have an idiot brother; the sane man and the idiot are derived from the same parents, but it would be incorrect to say that one was derived from the other. May there not be some analogy between a case of this kind, and the case of man and beast?

B. So much, then, for the hypothesis of one original germ of life; the argument becomes perhaps more simple if we adopt the second hypothesis, namely, that of several or many germs.

For in this case it is not unreasonable to suppose that specific differences existed amongst the original germs. I confess that the notion of the development of all forms of life from one original germ offers to my own mind an almost insuperable difficulty. The arguments drawn from the experimental facts of variation and natural selection, from the observed progression of animal forms in successive geological strata, and the like, seem to me quite inadequate to explain the development of insects, fishes, birds, mammals, from one stock. Consequently, to my own mind it is a relief to be able to think of several, and if of several then possibly of any number, of original germs. The hypothesis is not opposed to, but quite in accordance with, Mr. Darwin's own views; in fact, he was far too cautious a man to dogmatise concerning the unity of the origin of living forms, when all attempt at the examination of the question of origin would necessarily carry him far beyond the limits of possible experiment. Let us then adopt provisionally the hypothesis of a multiplicity of germs of life; and if we do this, there is nothing wild or strange in the supposition that the germ of man was different from other germs. It would be beyond all that scientific caution would justify to assume that, given a number of original germs of life, it is matter of chance into what each will develop. It is contrary, I think, to the whole analogy of Nature to suppose that a living germ, which is to all intents and purposes an ovum or egg, may ultimately develop into an oak, or a fish, or a man, according to its surroundings or according to mere chance. At all events, it is much more probable, much more according to analogy, that each germ should have its specific character, and that so man should have been man in intention and preparation from the very beginning of things. It may have been—in fact, according to the supposition of evolution it must have been—that in the early condition of life upon the globe there was no man (in the full and proper sense of the word) in existence, but his progenitors would be there; and what is submitted is this, that those progenitors were undeveloped men, and not 'lower animals.' What they visibly were scientific discovery has not yet put in evidence; it is admitted that there is a 'missing link' between the present and the past. Some scientific men hope that the link may be found, some think that it is hidden under the sea; but, whatever the truth may be with regard to this point, what is maintained is this, that, on the hypothesis of a multiplicity of original germs of life, it is more probable than otherwise that certain germs contained the promise of men, others of 'lower animals;' and that, if so, it is incorrect to speak of the lower animals as the progenitors of men.

This view of the case, though founded upon a criticism of Mr.

Wallace's language, would seem nevertheless to be consistent with his real views concerning the origin of man. In the last chapter of his work, entitled 'Darwinism Applied to Man,' to which reference has been already made, it is contended, as we have seen, that the principle of natural selection will not account for the development of the human faculties. I recur to that chapter chiefly for the purpose of making two extracts, which will, I think, tend to strengthen the arguments which have been already advanced. After rehearsing three stages of progress in creation—the change from the inorganic to the organic; the introduction of sensation or consciousness, constituting the fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties, those which raise him above the brutes and open up possibilities of almost indefinite advancement—Mr. Wallace writes thus:—

> These three distinct stages of progress from the inorganic world of matter and motion up to man, point clearly to an unseen universe—to a world of spirit, to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate.[1]

And again:

> Those who admit my interpretation of the evidence now adduced—strictly scientific evidence in its appeal to facts which are clearly what ought *not* to be on the materialistic theory—will be able to accept the spiritual nature of man, as not in any way inconsistent with the theory of evolution, but as dependent upon those fundamental laws and causes which furnish the very materials for evolution to work with.[2]

Declarations such as these, coming from such an authority, must doubtless be very comforting to those minds which feel themselves compelled to receive the evidence for evolution but shrink from materialism, which feel convinced that materialism cannot be true and yet have an uneasy suspicion that evolution points to it as a logical conclusion. But if we admit with Mr. Wallace that variation and natural selection are not adequate to explain the evolution of man's higher qualities and faculties, we are not merely delivered from the acceptance of materialism, we are invited and even compelled (as has been urged in a former part of this paper) to review the whole question of the extent of the application of Mr. Darwin's great principle. He would be a rash man who, in the face of Mr. Darwin, Mr. Wallace, and the whole generation of naturalists who have followed in their steps, should deny that natural selection was a *vera causa* in creative work; but there is no rashness or audacity in maintaining what Mr. Darwin did not deny, and what Mr. Wallace emphatically affirms, namely, that there is needed for the explanation of phenomena something beyond, and essentially different from, the process of natural selection. All seems to point beyond matter into the region of mind, beyond mechanical sequence to purpose,

[1] Page 476. [2] *Ibid.*

beyond all *veræ causæ* to the *causa causarum*, beyond Nature to God.

I will close this paper by recording an incident which was communicated to me some years ago in the course of conversation by Dr. Thompson, the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Dr. Thompson was walking, in his college days, with two companions, one of whom was Alfred Tennyson; of the name of the other I am not sure. The path by which they went was one which all Cambridge men know, namely, that which leads from the backs of the colleges through the fields towards Coton. After passing the brook, which used to be crossed (and perhaps is now) by a rude wooden bridge, it was perceived that Tennyson had lagged behind. He had paused by the side of the brook, brought his eyes as near as he could to the surface of the water, and was examining with intense interest the subaqueous life which the little stream contained. After a time he rejoined his companions, and this was his utterance when he joined them: 'What an imagination God has!' The words must have made a deep impression upon my informant's mind; otherwise he would not have retained them in memory, and would not have thought it worth while to repeat them to me. They made a similar impression upon myself when so repeated; and I cannot but regard them as containing a true philosophy of Nature. Whatever may be the power of natural selection, and whatever causes may be at work to produce the varied scene of life which the world contains, you need some underlying cause, both of life itself and of reproduction and variation, and of all natural phenomena; and if causally the existence of the universe may be attributed to God's will and purpose, so the endless variety of vital manifestations may be attributed to that which in the case of man we should call imagination.

In reality, whatever may be the actual historical genesis of Nature, we seem to need a quasi-Platonic doctrine of antecedent ideas in the divine mind as the basis, the underlying condition, of the existence of things as we see them. It is matter for fair discussion amongst naturalists how much may be attributed to natural selection, how much to sexual, how much to physiological, and so forth. But such discussions cannot go to the root of things; they do not reach the original thought out of which the works of Nature, as we call them, originally spring. Michael Angelo, as we are told, used to sit with his hammer and chisel before his marble block, and shape it without any previous modelling process into the figure which he intended to produce; other sculptors, I believe, with only this one grand exception, make their model in clay, and thence proceed by semi-mechanical steps to the finished work; but Michael Angelo and all other sculptors have alike the seminal idea in their minds, and the manner of its evolution is comparatively a matter of detail. Something of the same kind may be said of the production of natural things. It may

be possible for naturalists to discover some of the steps by which the finished work comes to be what it is; but the actual origin of natural things—the wonders of life, the varied beauties of the universe, above all, the mind of man, which is capable of understanding, appreciating, and discussing the problems to which natural things give rise—is to be sought in no region lower than that which may, with all reverence, be described as the mind, or as the imagination of God.

H. CARLISLE.

A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PRELATE.[1]

'THE chief friend and protector of these unhappy men (victims of the "Bloody Assize") was one who abhorred their religious and political opinions, one whose order they hated, and to whom they had done unprovoked wrong Bishop Ken. That good prelate used all his influence to soften the gaolers, and retrenched from his own episcopal estate that he might be able to make some addition to the coarse and scanty fare of those who had defaced his beloved cathedral. His conduct on this occasion was of a piece with his whole life. His intellect was indeed darkened by many superstitions and prejudices; but his moral character, when impartially reviewed, sustains a comparison with any in ecclesiastical history, and seems to approach as near as human infirmity permits to the ideal perfection of Christian virtue.'

Such is Macaulay's estimate of Bishop Ken. When we remember that Ken was a non-juror and a Tory, the historian's judgment strikes us as startlingly eulogistic. With the Bishop's 'superstitions and prejudices' Macaulay must have had the faintest possible sympathy. His appreciation is consequently of singular value.

Dean Plumptre did well in bringing his scholarly research to bear upon the life of one who is the bright particular star of a gloomy hour of English history.

The last two years have witnessed a remarkable revival of the slumbering interest which has always existed in the story of one who was certainly among the greatest the Church of England has ever produced. At the close of the year before last, Dean Plumptre gave to the world his admirable monograph, upon which this paper will mainly be based. In the spring of last year Ken's prose works were issued in the admirable series Messrs. Griffith & Farran are publishing at popular prices under the collective title of *Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature*,[2] and at the present time a proposal is on foot to establish a memorial of the great apostle of

[1] *The Life of Thomas Ken, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells*, by E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Dean of Wells. 2 vols. (Isbister).

[2] *The Prose Works of the Right Reverend Thomas Ken, D.D., sometime Bishop of Bath and Wells* (Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1889).

the seventeenth century in the cathedral which will for ever be connected with his name.

Thomas Ken was born at Great (or Little) Berkhampstead in July 1637, the date of the beginning of the strife between King and Parliament, with the impost of Ship-money and the trial of Hampden. The boy was therefore at the most impressionable age—between eleven and twelve years—when the fierce struggle for the supremacy between King and Parliament culminated in the execution of the former, on the 30th of January, 1649. The Dean's reference to the fact probably hardly does justice to the wide and far-reaching effect which this event must have had on Ken's political faith and after-life. Had Ken been born a few years later, it is more than probable he would never have ended his days as the greatest of the non-jurors. The national blood-stain affected what Macaulay calls 'the prejudices' of Ken's whole after-life.

Both the boy's parents died early, and Thomas was left to the wise and tender care of Izaak Walton, who, much older than himself, had married Ken's sister. The aspect of the Angler presented in the Dean's pages will probably be new to many readers.

On the 30th of January, 1652, Ken was admitted to Winchester, which bore a very different aspect during the Commonwealth from that which it presented at any previous or subsequent period.

Services in the Cathedral and school chapel were either suspended or strangely altered. The Westminster Directory had everywhere suppressed the Prayer Book. Dean Plumptre thinks, not without reason, that here a boy of Ken's training and instincts would pass through his 'baptism of fire.' It may have been in the dormitory at Winchester that Ken learned the first use of that moral courage which enabled him long afterwards to play the courageous part among the Seven when the tyranny of James the Second was at its height.

Here, at any rate, commenced his lifelong friendship with another of the same heroic band, Francis Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

At Winchester 'Thomas Ken, 1656' may still be read on a stone buttress of the south-east corner of the cloister. The inscription of his name was Ken's legacy to the school; for the same year he entered Oxford, as a member of Hart Hall (afterwards Hertford College). Here he remained only a few months; for in 1657 Ken was elected to a fellowship on the foundation of New College.

Among Ken's contemporaries were Turner, Christopher Wren, John Fitzwilliam, and Williams, afterwards Bishop of Chester. Of this Oxford period little is known. Ken undoubtedly came under two influences—the ascetic Puritanism, which obtained at New especially, of the Commonwealth; and the wave of free license which accompanied the Restoration.

Dr. Plumptre conjectures, from 'some passages in Ken's *Hymno-*

theo, that the latter not less than the former had its share in influencing for a time the character of the future bishop. Whether this view be correct or not—and the evidence seems to us somewhat slender—the traces of any darkening of the pellucid stream of Ken's life soon entirely disappeared.

It is probable that, even if we regard the *Hymnotheo* as largely autobiographical, any tendency towards either license or doubt may have existed rather in the morbid self-communing of the young Fellow than in any actual phase of his moral and intellectual life.

Ordained in 1661, two years later Ken was appointed by Lord Maynard to the rectory of Little Easton, in Essex.

Lord and Lady Maynard lived in the parish. Both were friends a man like the new rector could thoroughly appreciate: the former the best type of a country gentleman, the latter a woman of rare character and piety; 'the highest ideal of saintly womanhood, such as Ken had read of in Proba and Monica, seemed to be reproduced in her.'

Ken was after all only human, and it is possible that reasons other than ecclesiastical made him think it advisable after two short years that he should leave Little Easton to take up more active work at Winchester.

On page 72 of the Life there is an excellent vignette of Lady Maynard in the dress of the Restoration. The chapter which tells of this saintly woman, and gives a description of Ken's life at Little Easton, is one of the best in the earlier part of the book.

Nearly twenty years later Ken preached a funeral sermon on Lady Maynard, which was printed at the special request of her husband.[1]

In 1665 Ken took up his residence at Winchester, and in the following year he was elected to a fellowship on the College foundation, necessarily resigning at the same time his connexion with New.

It may be well to mention here that Ken remained a celibate to the end of his career. His own lines, perhaps, best express his feeling on the subject:—

> A virgin priest the altar best attends;
> Our Lord that state commands not, but commends.

Dr. Plumptre remarks: 'That may have been the starting-point of what was afterwards a matter of mild pleasantry among the bishop's friends, that he made a vow every morning as he rose "that he wouldn't be married that day."'

At Winchester Ken came under the strongest and the most abiding influence of his life, that of Bishop Morley, the life-long friend of Izaak Walton. With the good bishop Ken remained on terms of the closest intimacy, until his death opened a way for his chaplain's own preferment to the bishopric of Bath and Wells.

[1] For this sermon and the one mentioned on p. 430 see Ken's *Prose Works*.

In 1667 Ken was appointed by Morley to the living of Brightstone, in the Isle of Wight, a place which is connected with the names of many men famous in ecclesiastical history, from Ken and Fitzwilliam to Wilberforce, Trench, and Burrows.

A yew hedge at the bottom of the Rectory garden is still traditionally known as Ken's Walk, in which, according to local belief, he composed his Morning and Evening Hymns, dividing the historical interest of the place with a pear-tree, under which Bishop Wilberforce, when he was rector, wrote the whole of *Agathos*.

It is probable that 'Glory to Thee, my God, this night' will hold a cherished place in English hymnology long after the very name of Wilberforce's allegory has been forgotten.

Ken was already making a mark as divine and preacher far beyond the narrow circle in which he had hitherto worked.

The diary of Lady Warwick . . . records her visits to the old church at Chelsea in 1667 68, and the impressions which Ken's sermons made on her. They moved 'her heart to long after the blessed feast' of the Holy Communion; to 'weep bitterly,' 'to bless God and have sweet communion with Him.'

Ken was at this time thirty years of age.

In 1669 he returned, as prebendary and rector of East Woodhay, to the nearer neighbourhood of Bishop Morley, to whom he still acted as private chaplain. In 1672 Ken resigned the living in favour of Dr. George Hooper, one of the foremost scholars of the age, and a life-long friend, and himself returned to the cathedral city.

In Chapter VII. Dr. Plumptre gives us a highly attractive sketch of Ken at this period, etched with fine lines, which present a striking and probably accurate description of the divine in the prime of his life and powers.

One point may be noted as presenting Ken under a different aspect. 'So lively and cheerful was his temper,' says his great nephew, 'that he would be very facetious and entertaining to his friends in the evening, even when it was perceived that with difficulty he kept his eyes open.'

Of the next period of Ken's life, spent partly in foreign travel, 'doing the grand tour,' with his nephew the young Izaak Walton, and partly at Winchester, no memorials remain.

In 1679 Ken leaps at a bound, as it were, into the history of Europe, as chaplain to Mary of Orange at the Hague. What led to the appointment is mainly matter of conjecture. Both Charles and James were frequent visitors at Farnham Castle, when they went to hunt in the New Forest. So much so that Bishop Morley complained that they 'turned Farnham Castle into an inn.' In return they seem to have looked to Winchester, if not for their own, at any rate for their relative's spiritual direction.

It was characteristic of Ken that at this time, when advancement was opening up before him, he should have inscribed in the fly-leaf

of a favourite manual, now preserved in the Cathedral library at Wells, the words, 'Et tu quæris tibi grandia? Noli quærere.'

Readers who take their history and estimate of William the Third from Macaulay must be startled at the picture Dr. Plumptre presents, from undoubted sources, of that Prince during his early married life.

> His (Hooper's) report of domestic matters in William's household gives a somewhat (*sic*) unpleasant picture.
>
> The indifference of his conduct before marriage had passed into harshness. . . . There was no chapel in the Prince's house, and as he never dined with the Princess, she gave up her dining-room to be fitted up for the purpose. The Prince came in to see the altered room, and kicked contemptuously at the steps on which the Communion-table stood, asking, 'What was the use of them?'

Covell, another chaplain, writes: 'The Princess's heart is ready to break, and yet she counterfeits the greatest joy.'

It is perhaps as well to remark that there seems to have been something more than slackness in the payment of these gentlemen's salaries, a fact which may not have tended to make them more liberal towards William.

Ken acted a courageous part in dealing with infidelities in the highest places. The office must have been singularly uncongenial to a man of Ken's temperament. Nevertheless the latter records, in one of his letters to Compton, that he is 'in much favour with the Prince, and obligingly treated by Mr. Benting and all here.'

This letter was one of a series dealing with a movement in which Ken took a prominent part for the drawing together of Protestant Christendom. In this the divine would have the full sympathy of a man like William, with whose political aims the spiritual project exactly coincided.

On his return from Holland, Ken became a royal chaplain. His next experience of life differed widely from anything that had gone before. He accepted the appointment of chaplain-general to the fleet, and went out with Lord Dartmouth, who was afterwards commissioned to oppose the landing of William of Orange, to Tangier. Kirke, of 'lamb' notoriety, had made the seat of his government 'a hell upon earth.' His licentiousness was that of the time, tenfold accentuated. His views of religion may be gleaned from the ironical answer he made to the King, that 'if he changed his religion at all, he had promised the Sultan of Morocco to become a Mahometan.'

Lord Dartmouth was a man of very different stamp. With him Ken formed a lasting friendship; but the iron of that period of trial entered into the chaplain's soul.

In the following year Bishop Morley died at Farnham Castle. Dr. Mews was transferred from Bath and Wells to Winchester, and Ken was appointed to the See thus left vacant. Charles's expression,

announcing his decision, was sufficiently characteristic of the man. 'Odds fish! Who shall have Bath and Wells but the little black fellow who would not give poor Nell a lodging?'

So a new and chequered period in Ken's life had begun. He had not sought greatness for himself, but it had come unsought. Possibly, had he known all that was to follow, ready as Ken had proved himself to face anything in the pathway of duty, the *nolo episcopari* might have been strengthened into absolute refusal.

The poet expressed his own feelings at the time:—

> Among the herdsmen I, a common swain,
> Liv'd pleased with my low cottage on the plain;
> Till up, like Amos, on a sudden caught,
> I to the past'ral chair was trembling brought.

Burnet's estimate of Ken's appointment was not altogether favourable; but for the ascetic High Churchman 'the Dissenter in a surplice' can have had very little sympathy. 'Ken succeeded Mews in Bath and Wells, a man of an ascetic course of life, and yet of a very lively temper; but too hot and sudden. He had a very edifying way of preaching, but it was more apt to move the passions than to instruct, so that his sermons were rather beautiful than solid, yet his way in them was very taking. The King seemed fond of him, and by him and Turner the Papists hoped that great progress would be made in gaining, or at least deluding, the clergy.'

Hardly had Ken been consecrated before he was summoned to attend the death-bed of the King. On the 2nd of February Charles was seized with an apoplectic fit. For three days and nights the junior bishop watched, consecutively, by the bedside. Charles seemed to be willing to let 'little Ken tell him of his faults.' Burnet says he 'applied himself much to the awakening the King's conscience,' and 'spoke with great elevation both of thought and expression, like a man inspired.'

The Duchess of Portsmouth says that 'Ken sat on the King's bed taking care of him, as a wife of a husband.'

The scene in the royal chamber, the dying bed of the impenitent penitent, the oscillations of faith during the time that he was 'so unconscionable time a-dying,' and the final acceptance into the Roman Catholic Church, must have been one of the most painful in Ken's life.

No sooner had Ken settled in his diocese than Monmouth's rebellion stirred the whole countryside to its depths. The bishop appears to have been absent in London during the actual insurrection. At the request of James, Ken, amongst others, ministered to Monmouth's last hours, and accompanied him to the scaffold, after remaining with the condemned man all night.

Many people who read the State paper which Ken, at the King's command, afterwards drew up, and which the Dean quotes at length,

will be disposed to agree with Burnet, that the bishops showed, on the whole, more zeal than discretion, or, at any rate, consideration, in their dealings with the conscience of 'the Absalom of English history.'

Ken hastened back to his diocese only to find it harried by Faversham and Kirke. The bishop employed himself in two ways, partly in remonstrating with the Government at the barbarities of 'Kirke's lambs,' and afterwards of the Bloody Assize, and partly in ministering out of his private revenue to the wants of the rebels in prison and gaol.

The years between 1685 and 1688, among the most eventful in English history, were among the quietest of Ken's episcopate. But the time of action was drawing on fast.

On Passion Sunday, 1688, Ken was down, probably, if Dr. Plumptre's suggestion be correct, by James's own choice, to preach at Whitehall. Events were fast culminating. The King's hand had been heavily laid on church and university. Compton was suspended. The air was full of anxiety and perplexity. Justice and legality were at an end.

The announcement that Ken was to preach attracted immense attention. In those days a sermon was frequently transformed into a manifesto.[4] Stillingfleet, the morning preacher, was constantly interrupted by people flocking in to secure places for the afternoon.

Ken's utterance was worthy of the historic occasion, clear and bold in delivery, weighty in substance. The preacher was summoned for reprimand into the royal presence. Within a month the famous Declaration of Indulgence had been issued, and the command had gone forth that it should be read from every pulpit. Everyone knows what followed—the interval of breathless suspense, the protest of the Seven Bishops, the scene in the King's chamber, their imprisonment in the Tower, where the very gaolers asked their prisoners' blessing, the trial in the Court of King's Bench, and the acquittal after the night of doubt and anxiety. In all this Ken played an important and courageous part.

Dr. Plumptre's remarks on Ken's attitude towards William at the close of the eighteenth chapter are especially valuable. Few men owe more to an historian than does William to Macaulay. This Life tends towards placing matters in a more balanced light.

The morals of the Court of Hague were not one whit better than those of the Court of Whitehall under Charles the Second. There also was the reign of harlots and, in the homely language of Dr. Covell, the chaplain who succeeded Ken, 'pimps

[4] Evelyn gives the following account of the delivery of this sermon (i. 647): '1st April in the morning, the first sermon was preached by Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, at Whitehall. . . . The Holy Communion followed, but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes, zealous to hear the second sermon to be preached by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble.'

and panders' were the only people who won the Prince's favour. William had frowned on Ken, had almost dismissed him, because he had prevailed on Zulestein to make to the English lady whom he had wronged the reparation which James, under like circumstances, had made to Clarendon's daughter.

His religion, too, was of the type most alien to Ken's mind. His Calvinism was not like that of Morley, whom Ken had loved; nor like that of the Huguenots, whom he honoured and helped; nor like that of Leighton and Bunyan, one which tends to closer communion with God, and greater holiness of life; nor even that of the decrees of Dort, repellent as that form would have been to Ken's more catholic belief. William's faith in the dogma had more affinity with the belief of the Bonapartes in their star, and may have seemed to Ken simply that kind of fatalism which narcotises conscience.

No part of Dr. Plumptre's narrative is worthy of greater attention than the story of Ken's action, from the time of the landing of William of Orange, up to his final departure from Wells in 1691. The account itself, with Ken's letters, enables us to judge with sufficient accuracy the aspect which the question of the royal title and the oath of allegiance bore to the minds of the non-jurors. It may safely be affirmed that their case has never been presented so clearly, and yet so temperately, before.

That they erred from over-scrupulosity cannot for a moment be doubted. Our difficulty after two centuries is to grasp how deeply doctrines of non-resistance and Divine right had eaten into the hearts of the clergy, especially those who could go back in memory and feeling to the episode of the royal murder and to the tyranny of the Commonwealth.

To Ken the situation must have been doubly painful. He had been the private chaplain of Mary, and was on terms of friendship with her leading counsellors. Under the pressure that was brought to bear upon him he wavered: but it was only for a time.

In 1691 Ken left Wells.

It seems probable that that memorable day on which Ken read his protest from his throne in the cathedral was his last appearance in the church which he loved so dearly until, many years afterwards, he perhaps appeared there in another character, and with very different feelings. It was followed soon afterwards, we must believe, by his departure from his palace. There must have been partings, of which we have no record, from the cathedral clergy, with whom, though they did not follow his example, he had always been on the friendliest terms; from the poor, who had been his Sunday guests; from the boys, whom he had catechised and confirmed, and to whom he had administered their first Communion. And now all was over. Those six happy years—happy as far as his work in his diocese was concerned—had come to an end; and he left his home, not knowing what the future had in store for him, full of anxious forebodings for himself, for his flock, and for the Church at large.

With Ken's departure from Wells the political interest of his life closes. From henceforward Longleat, the seat of his friend Lord Weymouth, became his principal home, diversified by visits to other friends, and at the last by pilgrimages in search of health.

What Macaulay says somewhere of Madame de Maintenon may with equal accuracy be applied to Ken: 'It would be hard to name anyone who had so little romance in his temper, who had so much in his life.'

A story which Dr. Plumptre quotes from Mr. Anderdon, a former historian of Ken, illustrates at once 'the mean habit' in which Ken was wont to appear, and against which his friends humorously protested, and also the esteem in which the divine was generally held:—

Bishop Ken was staying in Gloucestershire, near Badminton, the seat of the Duke of Beaufort, with whom he was acquainted. The bishop, being an early riser, called one morning to pay his respects to the duke. The duke was not stirring: but Ken was received by the chaplain who, believing him to be a clergyman from the neighbourhood, invited him to breakfast. Whilst they were so engaged the duke entered, and immediately, on seeing the bishop, fell on his knees and asked his blessing. The chaplain, surprised when he found the distinction of his visitor, began to apologise for the manner in which he had received him, but was stopped by the bishop declaring the obligation to be entirely on his side, who had been so hospitably entertained.

This was probably in the autumn of 1704.

Ken survived his deprivation twenty-one years; and died at Longleat in the year 1711. At the last he made two characteristic preparations for the event he knew was close at hand. On the evening of the day he arrived at Longleat he put on his shroud, which for many years had travelled about with him. He also provided for his burial. He desired that 'wherever he should die he should be buried "in the churchyard of the nearest parish within his diocese, under the east window of the chancel, just at sunrising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony besides that of the Order for Burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England."'

In accordance with his wishes, the bishop was buried in the parish churchyard of Frome Selwood, the nearest parish of his diocese to Longleat, at sunrise, a little after 5 A.M., on the morning of March 21, 1711.

Ken lived long enough to see Queen Anne on the throne, and the breach of the non-jurors healed over, in spite of the effort at perpetuation which Sancroft supported, but Ken consistently opposed.

Even nearer still to Ken's heart, he lived to see his *Manual of Devotion* securely established, as a lasting institution, in the school to which his heart, even in extreme old age, ever went back, and his Morning and Evening Hymns take the foremost place in the hymnology of the nation.

How strongly he felt on this latter subject is clearly shown by two lines Dr. Plumptre quotes from his own writings (p. 201):—

'Twill heighten ev'n the joys of Heaven to know
That in my verse the saints hymn God below.

After the lapse of two centuries 'Awake, my Soul, and with the Sun,' and 'Glory to Thee, my God, this night' are as dear to the religious heart of the nation as they were when Ken entered into 'the perfect consummation of Blisse.'

For an analysis of Ken's poems, and for the evidence of the breadth and depth of his influence on the religious thought of the nation up to the present time, we must refer the reader to Dr. Plumptre's most interesting and instructive Life.

No tribute is perhaps more remarkable than that which Lord Beaconsfield received from a Frenchman, whom he eulogises as "'the most astonishing littérateur I ever encountered." He says that Bishop Ken was the Fénelon of England, and that the Oxford Tracts are a mere revival of his works.'

In conclusion, we have only space to quote Ken's own picture of a prelate, and the lines which Lord Houghton composed after a pilgrimage to his tomb :--

Bishops are Priests sublim'd, are Angels stil'd,
And they should live, like Angels, undefil'd;
In an enlighten'd Love should spend their Days,
In pure Intention, Joy, Obedience, Praise:
Should here on Earth be Guardians to the Fold,
And God by contemplation still behold.
High Priests had, on the Plate fix'd on their Breast,
For a memorial, the Tribes' name imprest;
Thus every Bishop on his Breast should grave
The names of those whom he is charg'd to save,
That he may lead and warn them Day and Night,
And in His Prayers their ghostly Wants recite;
That he may ever lodge them near His Heart,
And in their sorrows bear Paternal Part.
We, the more Spirits we from Dross refine,
In higher Thrones and brighter Rays shall shine.

Not many of us live as near to our ideals as Ken did to his. Lord Houghton's lines are as follows :—

Let other thoughts, where'er I roam,
Ne'er from my memory cancel
The coffin-fashioned tomb at Frome,
That lies behind the chancel:
A basket-work where bars are bent,
Iron in place of ozier,
And shapes above that represent
A mitre and a crozier.

These signs of him that slumbers there
The dignity betoken;
These iron bars a heart declare
Hard bent, but never broken;
This form portrays how souls like his
Their pride and passion quelling,
Preferred to earth's high palaces
This calm and narrow dwelling.

There with the churchyard's common dust
He loved his own to mingle;
The faith in which he placed his trust
Was nothing rare or single.
Yet lay he to the sacred wall
As close as he was able.
The blessed crumbs might almost fall
Upon him from God's table.

Who was this father of the Church,
So secret in his glory?
In vain might antiquarians search
For record of his story;
But preciously tradition keeps
The fame of holy men,
So there the Christian smiles or weeps
For love of Bishop Ken.

A name his country once forsook,
But now with joy inherits,
Confessor in the Church's book,
And martyr in the spirit's!
That dared with royal power to cope,
In peaceful faith persisting,
A braver Becket who could hope
To conquer unresisting.

In conclusion we cannot help remarking that no one who studies the life of Bishop Ken, as presented to us by the Dean of Wells, and reads between the lines of his writings, can fail to be struck with the resemblance, in learning, spirituality and devotion, of the great prelate of the seventeenth century to one who, at the commencement of the present year, was called to rest from the great work he was doing for the Church of our own day: we refer, of course, to Bishop Lightfoot.

The one lived in the darkest period of English story, the other when the national life was brightest and most prosperous; but, looking at the two men, apart from their accidental surroundings, it may well be doubted whether so exact a resemblance in character, mode of thought, and catholicity of sympathy can be found elsewhere between any other two, in the history of either Church or State.

It is to be hoped that some one will be found to do for the Ken of the nineteenth century what Dr. Plumptre has done for the great prelate of the seventeenth, and that the Church will not have to wait two hundred years for an equally worthy memorial.

It may be truly said of both men that they themselves were greater than even the great legacy of their writings which they have left behind to the Church they loved so well.

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ON JUSTICE.

[In the January number of this Review (page 126), I made the incidental statement that 'should I be able to complete Part IV. of the *Principles of Ethics*, treating of "Justice," of which the first chapters only are at present written, I hope to deal adequately with these relations between the ethics of the progressive condition and the ethics of that condition which is the goal of progress—a goal ever to be recognised, though it cannot be actually reached.' These chapters were written nearly a year ago: the fourth, not quite finished, having been untouched since May last. In view of the possibility that the division of which they form part may never be completed, or otherwise that its completion may be long delayed, it has occurred to me that as the topic dealt with is now being discussed, these first chapters may, perhaps with advantage, be published forthwith. The editor having kindly assented to my proposal to issue them in this Review, I here append the first three: reserving two others, conveniently separable in subject-matter, for another article.]

I. Animal-Ethics.

Those who have not read the first division of this work[1] will be surprised by the above title. But the chapters on 'Conduct in General' and 'The Evolution of Conduct' will have shown to those who have read them that something which may be regarded as animal-ethics is implied.

It was there shown that the conduct which Ethics treats of is not separable from conduct at large; that the highest conduct is that which conduces to the greatest length, breadth, and completeness of life; and that by implication there is a conduct proper to each species of animal, which is the relatively good conduct—a conduct which stands towards that species as the conduct we morally approve stands towards the human species.

Most people regard the subject-matter of Ethics as being conduct considered as calling forth approbation or reprobation. But the primary subject-matter of Ethics is conduct considered objectively as producing good or bad results to self or others or both.

[1] Reference is here made to the *Data of Ethics*.

Even those who think of Ethics as concerned only with conduct which deserves praise or blame, tacitly recognise an animal-ethics; for certain acts of animals excite in them antipathy or sympathy. A bird which feeds its mate while she is sitting is regarded with a sentiment of approval. For a hen which refuses to sit upon her eggs there is a feeling of aversion; while one which fights in defence of her chickens is admired.

Egoistic acts, as well as altruistic acts, in animals are classed as good or bad. A squirrel which lays up a store of food for the winter is thought of as doing that which a squirrel ought to do; and, contrariwise, one which idly makes no provision and dies of starvation, is thought of as properly paying the penalty of improvidence. A dog which surrenders its bone to another without a struggle, and runs away, we call a coward—a word of reprobation.

Thus then it is clear that acts which are conducive to preservation of offspring or of the individual we consider as good relatively to the species, and conversely.

The two classes of cases of altruistic and egoistic acts of animals just given, exemplify the two cardinal and opposed principles of animal-ethics.

During immaturity benefits received must be inversely proportionate to capacities possessed. Within the family-group most must be given where least is deserved, if desert is measured by worth. Contrariwise, after maturity is reached, benefits must vary directly as worth: worth being measured by fitness to the conditions of existence. The ill fitted must suffer the evils of unfitness, and the well fitted profit by their fitness.

These are the two laws which a species must conform to if it is to be preserved. Limiting the proposition to the higher types (for in the lower types, parents give to offspring no other aid than that of laying up a small amount of nutriment with the germ: the result being that an enormous mortality has to be balanced by an enormous fertility)—thus limiting the proposition, I say, it is clear that if, among the young, benefit were proportioned to efficiency, the species would disappear forthwith; and if, among adults, benefit were proportioned to inefficiency the species would disappear by decay in a few generations (see *Principles of Sociology*, § 322).

What is the ethical aspect of these principles? In the first place, animal life of all but the lowest kinds has been maintained by virtue of them. Excluding the *Protozoa*, among which their operation is scarcely discernible, we see that without *gratis* benefits to offspring, and earned benefits to adults, life could not have continued.

In the second place, by virtue of them life has gradually evolved

into higher forms. By care of offspring which has become greater with advancing organisation, and by survival of the fittest in the competition among adults which has become keener with advancing organisation, superiority has been perpetually fostered, and further advances caused.

On the other hand, it is true that to this self-sacrificing care for the young and this struggle for existence among adults, has been due the carnage and the death by starvation which have characterised the evolution of life from the beginning. It is also true that the processes consequent on conformity to these principles are responsible for the production of torturing parasites, which out-number in their kinds all other creatures.

To those who take a pessimist view of animal-life in general, contemplation of these principles can of course yield only dissatisfaction. But to those who take an optimist view, or a meliorist view, of life in general, and who accept the postulate of hedonism, contemplation of these principles must yield greater or less satisfaction, and fulfilment of them must be ethically approved.

Otherwise considered, these principles are either, according to the current belief, expressions of the Divine will, or, according to the agnostic belief, indicate the mode in which works the Unknowable Power throughout the Universe; and in either case they have the warrant hence derived.

But here, leaving aside the ultimate controversy of pessimism *versus* optimism, it will suffice for present purposes to set out with a hypothetical postulate, and to limit it to a single species. If the preservation and prosperity of such species is to be desired, there inevitably emerge one most general conclusion and from it three less general conclusions.

The most general conclusion is that, in order of obligation, the preservation of the species takes precedence of the preservation of the individual. It is true that the species has no existence save as an aggregate of individuals; and it is true that, therefore, the welfare of the species is an end to be subserved only as subserving the welfares of individuals. But since disappearance of the species, implying disappearance of all individuals, involves absolute failure in achieving the end, whereas disappearance of individuals, though carried to a great extent, may leave outstanding such number as can, by continuance of the species, make subsequent fulfilment of the end possible; the preservation of the individual must, in a variable degree according to circumstances, be subordinated to the preservation of the species, where the two conflict. The resulting corollaries are these:—

First, that among adults there must be conformity to the law that benefits received shall be directly proportionate to merits

possessed: merits being measured by power of self-sustentation. For, otherwise, the species must suffer in two ways. It must suffer immediately by sacrifice of superior to inferior, which entails a general diminution of welfare; and it must suffer remotely by furthering increase of the inferior and, by implication, hindering increase of the superior, and by a consequent general deterioration which, if continued, must end in extinction.

Second, that during early life, before self-sustentation has become possible, and also while it can be but partial, the aid given must be the greatest where the worth shown is the smallest—benefits received must be inversely proportionate to merits possessed: merits being measured by power of self-sustentation. Unless there are *gratis* benefits to offspring, unqualified at first and afterwards qualified by decrease as maturity is approached, the species must disappear by extinction of its young. There is, of course, necessitated a proportionate self-subordination of adults.

Third, to this self-subordination entailed by parenthood has, in certain cases, to be added a further self-subordination. If the constitution of the species and its conditions of existence are such that sacrifices, partial or complete, of some of its individuals, so subserve the welfare of the species that its numbers are better maintained than they would otherwise be, then there results a justification for such sacrifices.

Such are the laws by conformity to which a species is maintained; and if we assume that the preservation of a particular species is a *desideratum*, there arises in it an obligation to conform to these laws, which we may call, according to the case in question, quasi-ethical or ethical.

II. Sub-Human Justice.

Of the two essential but opposed principles of action by pursuance of which each species is preserved, we are here concerned only with the second. Passing over the law of the family as composed of adults and young, we have now to consider exclusively the law of the species as composed of adults only.

This law we have seen to be that individuals of most worth, as measured by their fitness to the conditions of existence, shall have the greatest benefits, and that inferior individuals shall receive smaller benefits, or suffer greater evils, or both results—a law which, under its biological aspect, has for its implication the survival of the fittest. Interpreted in ethical terms it is that each individual ought to be subject to the effects of its own nature and resulting conduct. Throughout sub-human life this law holds without qualification; for there exists no agency by which, among adults, the relations between conduct and consequence can be interfered with.

Fully to appreciate the import of this law we may with advantage

pause a moment to contemplate an analogous law; or, rather, the same law as exhibited in another sphere. Besides being displayed in the relations among members of the species, as respectively well or ill sustained according to their well-adapted activities or ill-adapted activities, it is displayed in the relations of parts of each organism to one another.

Every muscle, every viscus, every gland, receives blood in proportion to function. If it does little it is ill-fed and dwindles; if it does much it is well-fed and grows. By this balancing of expenditure in action and payment in nutriment, there is, at the same time, a balancing of the relative powers of the parts of the organism; so that the organism as a whole is fitted to its existence by having the proportions of its parts continuously adjusted to the requirements. And clearly this principle of self-adjustment within each individual is parallel to that principle of self-adjustment by which the species as a whole keeps itself fitted to its environment. For by the better nutrition and greater power of propagation which come to members of the species that have faculties and consequent activities best adapted to the needs, joined with the lower sustentation of self and offspring which accompany less adapted faculties and activities, there is caused such special growth of the species as most conduces to its survival in face of surrounding conditions.

This, then, is the law of sub-human justice, that each individual shall receive the benefits and the evils of its own nature and its consequent conduct.

But sub-human justice is extremely imperfect, alike in general and in detail.

In general, it is imperfect in the sense that there exist multitudinous species the sustentation of which depends on the wholesale destruction of other species; and this wholesale destruction implies that the species serving as prey have the relations between conduct and consequence so habitually broken that in but very few individuals are they long maintained. It is true that in such cases the premature loss of life suffered from enemies by nearly all members of the species, must be considered as resulting from their natures—their inability to contend with the destructive agencies they are exposed to. But we may fitly recognise the truth that this violent ending of the immense majority of its lives, implies that the species is one in which justice, as above conceived, is displayed in but small measure.

Sub-human justice is extremely imperfect in detail, in the sense that the relation between conduct and consequence is in such an immense proportion of cases broken by accidents—accidents of kinds which fall indiscriminately upon inferior and superior individuals. There are the multitudinous deaths caused by inclemencies of

weather, which, in the great majority of cases, the best members of the species are liable to like the worst. There are other multitudinous deaths caused by scarcity of food, which, if not wholly, still in large measure, carries off good and bad alike. Among low types, too, enemies are causes of death which so operate that superior as well as inferior are sacrificed. And the like holds with invasions by parasites, often widely fatal. These attack, and frequently destroy, the most perfect individuals as readily as the least perfect.

The high rate of multiplication required to balance the immense mortality among low animals, at once shows us that among them long survival is not insured by superiority; and that thus the sub-human justice, which consists in continued receipt of the results of conduct, holds individually in but few cases.

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And here we come upon a truth of great significance—the truth that sub-human justice becomes more decided as organisation becomes higher.

Whether this or that fly is taken by a swallow, whether among a brood of caterpillars an ichneumon settles on this or that, whether out of a shoal of herrings this or that is swallowed by a cetacean, is an event quite independent of individual peculiarity: good and bad samples fare alike. With high types of creatures it is otherwise. Keen senses, sagacity, agility, give a particular carnivore special power to secure prey. In a herd of herbivorous creatures, the one with quickest hearing, clearest vision, most sensitive nostril, or greatest speed, is the one most likely to save itself.

Evidently, in proportion as the endowments, mental and bodily, of a species are high, and as, consequently, its ability to deal with the incidents of the environment is great, the continued life of each individual is less dependent on accidents against which it cannot guard. And, evidently, in proportion as this result of general superiority becomes marked, the results of special superiorities are felt. Individual differences of faculty play larger parts in determining individual fates. Now deficiency of a power shortens life, and now a large endowment prolongs it. That is to say, individuals experience more fully the results of their own natures—the justice is more decided.

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With creatures which lead solitary lives, the nature of sub-human justice is thus sufficiently expressed; but on passing to gregarious creatures, there enters into it a new element.

Simple association, as of sheep or deer, profits the individual and the species only by that more efficient safeguarding which results from the superiority of a multitude of eyes, ears, and noses over the eyes, ears, and nose of a single individual. Through the alarms more quickly given, all benefit by the senses of the most acute.

Where this, which we may call passive co-operation, rises into active co-operation, as among rooks where one of the flock keeps watch while the rest feed, or as among beavers where a number work together in making dams, or as among wolves where, by a plan of attack in which the individuals play different parts, prey is caught which would otherwise not be caught; there is still greater advantage to the individuals and to the species. And, speaking generally, we may say that gregariousness, and co-operation more or less active establish themselves in a species only because they are profitable to it; since, otherwise, survival of the fittest must prevent establishment of them.

But now mark that this profitable association is made possible only by observance of certain conditions. The acts directed to self-sustentation which each performs, are performed more or less in presence of others performing like acts; and there tends to result more or less interference. If the interference is great, it may render the association unprofitable. For the association to be profitable the acts must be restrained to such extent as to leave a balance of advantage. Survival of the fittest will else exterminate that variety of the species in which association begins.

Here, then, we find a further factor in sub-human justice. Each individual, receiving the benefits and the injuries due to its own nature and consequent conduct, has to carry on that conduct subject to the restriction that it shall not in any large measure impede the conduct by which each other individual achieves benefits or brings on itself injuries. The average conduct must not involve aggressions of such amounts as to cause evils which out-balance the good obtained by co-operation. Thus, to the positive element in sub-human justice has to be added, among gregarious creatures, a negative element.

The necessity for observance of the condition that each member of the group while carrying on the pursuit of self-sustentation and sustentation of offspring, shall not seriously impede the like pursuits of others, makes itself so felt, where association is established, as to mould the species to it. The mischiefs from time to time experienced when the limits are transgressed, continually discipline all in such ways as to produce regard for the limits; so that such regard becomes, in course of time, a natural trait of the species. For, manifestly, regardlessness of the limits, if great and general, causes dissolution of the group. Those varieties only can survive as gregarious varieties in which there is an inherited tendency to maintain the limits.

Yet, further, there arises such general consciousness of the need for maintaining the limits, that punishments are inflicted on transgressors—not only by aggrieved members of the group, but by the group as a whole. A 'rogue' elephant (always distinguished as

till they died, like rats in their holes; and then they were tumbled into their graves, sometimes two or three at a time, the sexton taking care not to go too deep, for decent burial couldn't be done at the money. Ah! my masters, you must live in *an open parish* where there hasn't been a gentleman's house for centuries, where the land is owned by eighty or ninety propr etors, and where the parson was looked at askance as an intruder 'arter no good' had he dared to show his face on any day except a Sunday, if you want to know what was going on in some favoured spots in merry England less than a hundred years ago.

Happily it was not as bad as this everywhere. God never leaves himself without witnesses even in the worst times. To be sure, the labouring classes never had the heart to try and help themselves again for many and many a long day. Poor wretches! They had lost all heart, as the phrase is. There was only a sore where a heart ought to have been. The guilds had gone, and no man had uttered a word. Even historians held their peace, and up to this hour have said almost nothing. But as for the almshouses, they were no sooner gone than they began to rise up again. They who had lived for years among their tenantry and dependents, were saddened and shocked at the sight of poor old people, who could no longer earn their daily bread, being reduced to something like beggary in their old age, with no means of subsistence but the pittance grudgingly awarded them out of the parish allowance; and here and there kindly and pitiful people made provision in their wills, or were beforehand with death, and did their work while they were alive. These kind people soon began to build new almshouses as refuges for the poor battered old folk who had few friends now, had no longer the power of earning their own living, had seldom had the chance of laying up in store for the evil days 'in which thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them,' and had not where to lay their heads. The new almshouses were not as the old ones had been. For the most part they were very unpretentious and unambitious institutions; a row of three or four tiny cottages by the wayside, such as we see them now. Half a dozen old creatures housed and little more; the endowment provided just enough, and sometimes barely enough, to keep the dwellings in repair and to find the aged inmates in food, fuel, and bare necessaries. The hospitals 'of the older foundation' had grown up under very different conditions, and had been, almost always, started on a much grander scale: they were in many cases affiliated to some religious house, or, when this was not the case, the poor people who were provided for were put under the guardianship of some warder and a chaplain or two; whose duty it was to look after the other inmates, and far the larger share of the endowment went to support the governors of the house, not the governed. In a large number of cases, as the income declined—and somehow it almost always did decline—the poor

the species being the ultimate end, it results that where an occasional mortality of individuals in defence of the species furthers this preservation in a greater degree than would pursuit of exclusive benefit by each individual, that which we recognise as sub-human justice may rightly have this second limitation.

It remains only to point out the order of priority, and the respective ranges, of these principles. The law of relation between conduct and consequence, which, throughout the animal kingdom at large, brings prosperity to those individuals which are structurally best adapted to their conditions of existence, and which, under its ethical aspect, is expressed in the principle that each individual ought to receive the good and the evil which arises from its own nature, is the primary law holding of all creatures; and is applicable without qualification to creatures which lead solitary lives, save in that self-subordination needed among the higher of them for the rearing of offspring.

Among gregarious creatures, and in an increasing degree a they co-operate more, there comes into play a law, second in order of time and authority, that those actions through which, in fulfilment of its nature, the individual achieves benefits and avoids evils, shall be restrained by the need for non-interference with the like actions of associated individuals. A substantial respect for this law in the average of cases being the condition under which alone gregariousness can continue, it becomes an imperative law for creatures to which gregariousness is a benefit. But, obviously, this secondary law is simply a specification of that form which the primary law takes under the conditions of gregarious life; since, by asserting that in each individual the inter-actions of conduct and consequence must be restricted in the specified way, it tacitly re-asserts that these inter-actions must be maintained in all other individuals.

Later in origin, and narrower in range, is the third law, that under conditions such that, by the occasional sacrifices of some members of a species, the species as a whole prospers, there arises a sanction for such sacrifices, and a consequent qualification of the law that each individual shall receive the benefits and evils of its own nature.

Finally, it should be observed that whereas the first law is absolute for animals in general, and whereas the second law is absolute for gregarious animals, the third law is relative to the existence of enemies of such kinds that, in contending with them, the species gains more than it loses by the sacrifice of a few members; and in the absence of such enemies this qualification imposed by the third law disappears.

III. Human Justice.

The contents of the last chapter foreshadow the contents of this. As, from the evolution point of view, human life must be regarded as a further development of sub-human life, it follows that from this same point of view, human justice must be a further development of sub-human justice. For convenience the two are here separately treated, but they are essentially of the same nature, and form parts of a continuous whole.

Of man, as of all inferior creatures, the law by conformity to which the species is preserved is that among adults the individuals best adapted to the conditions of their existence shall prosper most, and that individuals least adapted to the conditions of their existence shall prosper least—a law which, if uninterfered with, entails survival of the fittest, and spread of the most adapted varieties. And as before so here, we see that, ethically considered, this law implies that each individual ought to receive the benefits and the evils of his own nature and consequent conduct: neither being prevented from having whatever good his actions normally bring to him, nor allowed to shoulder off on to other persons whatever ill is brought to him by his actions.

To what extent such ill, naturally following from his actions, may be voluntarily borne by other persons, it does not concern us now to inquire. The qualifying effects of pity, mercy, and generosity, will be considered hereafter in the parts dealing with 'Negative Beneficence' and 'Positive Beneficence.' Here we are concerned only with pure justice.

The law thus originating, and thus ethically expressed, is obviously that which commends itself to the common apprehension as just. Sayings and criticisms daily heard imply a perception that conduct and consequence ought not to be dissociated. When, of some one who suffers a disaster, it is said—'He has no one to blame but himself,' there is implied the belief that he has not any ground for complaint. The comment on one whose mis-judgment or misbehaviour has entailed evil upon him, that 'he has made his own bed, and now he must lie in it,' has behind it the conviction that this connection of cause and effect is proper. Similarly with the remark—'He got no more than he deserved.' A kindred conviction is implied when, conversely, there results good instead of evil. 'He has fairly earned his reward;' 'He has not received due recompense;' are remarks indicating the consciousness that there should be a proportion between effort put forth and advantage achieved.

The truth that justice becomes more pronounced as organisation becomes higher, which we contemplated in the last chapter, is further exemplified on passing from sub-human justice to human justice.

The degree of justice and the degree of organisation simultaneously make advances. These are shown alike by the entire human race, and by its superior varieties as contrasted with its inferior.

We saw that a high species of animals is distinguished from a low species in the respect that since its aggregate suffers less mortality from destructive agencies, each of its members continues on the average for a longer time subject to the normal relation between conduct and consequence; and here we see that the human race as a whole, far lower in its rate of mortality than nearly all races of inferior kinds, usually subjects its members for much longer periods to the good and evil results of well-adapted and ill-adapted conduct. We also saw that as, among the higher animals, a greater average longevity makes it possible for individual differences to show their effects for longer periods, it results that the unlike fates of different individuals are to a greater extent determined by that normal relation between conduct and consequence which constitutes justice; and we here see that in mankind unlikenesses of faculty in still greater degrees, and for still longer periods, work out their effects in advantaging the superior and disadvantaging the inferior in the continuous play of conduct and consequence.

Similarly is it with the civilized varieties of mankind as compared with the savage varieties. A still further diminished rate of mortality implies that there is a relatively still larger proportion, the members of which, during long lives, gain good from well-adapted acts, and suffer evil from ill-adapted ones. While also it is manifest that both the greater differences of longevity among individuals, and the greater differences of social position, imply that in civilised societies more than in savage societies, differences of endowment and consequent differences of conduct are enabled to cause their appropriate differences of results, good or evil: the justice is greater.

More clearly in the human race than in lower races are we shown that gregariousness establishes itself because it profits the variety in which it arises, partly by furthering general safety and partly by facilitating sustentation. And we are shown that the degree of gregariousness is determined by the degree in which it thus subserves the interests of the variety. For where the variety is one of which the members live on wild food, they associate only in small groups: game and fruits widely distributed can support these only. But greater gregariousness arises where agriculture makes possible the support of a large number on a small area; and where the accompanying development of industries introduces many and various co-operations.

But that which was faintly indicated among lower beings is conspicuously displayed among human beings—that the advantages of co-operation can be had only by conformity to certain requirements

which association imposes. The mutual hindrances liable to arise during the pursuit of their ends by individuals living in proximity, must be kept within such limits as to leave a surplus of advantage obtained by associated life. Some types of men, as the Abors, lead solitary lives, because their aggressiveness is such that they cannot live together. And in view of this extreme case it is clear that though, in many primitive groups, individual antagonisms often cause quarrels, yet the groups are maintained because their members derive a balance of benefit—chiefly in greater safety. It is also clear that in proportion as communities become developed and their division of labour complex, the advantages of co-operation can be gained only by a still better maintenance of those limits to each man's activities necessitated by the simultaneous activities of others. This truth is illustrated by the unprosperous or decaying state of communities in which the aggressions of individuals on one another are so numerous and great as to prevent them from severally receiving the normal results of their actions.

The requirement that individual activities must be mutually restrained, which we saw is so felt among certain inferior gregarious creatures that they inflict punishments on those who do not duly restrain them, is a requirement which, more imperative among men, and more distinctly felt by them to be a requirement, causes a still more marked habit of inflicting punishments on offenders. Though in primitive groups it is commonly left to any one who is injured to revenge himself on the injurer, and though even in the societies of feudal Europe, the defending and enforcing of his claims was in many cases held to be each man's personal concern; yet there has ever tended to grow up such perception of the need for internal order, and such sentiment accompanying the perception, that infliction of punishments by the community as a whole, or by its established agents, has become habitual. And that a system of laws enacting restrictions on conduct, and punishments for breaking them, is a natural product of human life carried on under social conditions, is shown by the fact that among multitudinous nations composed of various types of mankind, similar actions, similarly regarded as trespasses, have been similarly forbidden.

Through all which sets of facts is manifested the truth, recognised practically if not theoretically, that each individual carrying on the actions which subserve his life, and not prevented from receiving their normal results good and bad, shall carry on these actions under such restraints as are imposed by the carrying on of kindred actions by other individuals, who have similarly to receive such normal results good and bad. And vaguely, if not definitely, this is seen to constitute what is called justice.

We saw that among inferior gregarious creatures, justice in its

universal simple form, besides being qualified by the self-subordination which parenthood implies, and in some measure by the self-restraint necessitated by association, is in a few cases further qualified in a small degree by the partial or complete sacrifice of individuals made in defence of the species. And now in the highest gregarious creature we see that this further qualification of primitive justice assumes large proportions.

No longer as among inferior beings demanded only by the need for defence against enemies of other kinds, this further self-subordination is, among human beings, also demanded by the need for defence against enemies of the same kind. Having become the predominant inhabitants of the Earth, and having spread wherever there is food, men have come to be everywhere in one another's way; and the mutual enmities hence resulting, have made the sacrifices entailed by wars between groups, far greater than the sacrifices made in defence of the groups against inferior animals. It is doubtless true with the human race, as with lower races, that destruction of the group or the variety does not imply destruction of the species; and it therefore follows that such obligation as exists for self-subordination in the interests of the group or the variety, is an obligation of lower degree than is that of sustentation of offspring, without fulfilment of which the species must disappear, and of lower degree than the obligation to restrain actions within the limits imposed by social conditions, without fulfilment of which the group will dissolve. Still, it must be regarded as an obligation to the extent to which the maintenance of the species is subserved by the maintenance of each of its groups.

But the self-subordination thus justified, and in a sense rendered obligatory, is limited to that which is required for defensive war. Only because the preservation of the group as a whole conduces to preservation of its members' lives and their ability to pursue the objects of life, is there a reason for the sacrifice of some of its members; and this reason no longer exists when war is offensive instead of defensive.

It may, indeed, be contended that since offensive wars initiate those struggles between groups which end in the destruction of the weaker, offensive wars, furthering the peopling of the Earth by the stronger, subserve the interests of the race. But even supposing that the conquered groups always consisted of men having smaller mental or bodily fitness for war (which they do not; for it is in part a question of numbers, and the smaller groups may consist of the more capable warriors), there would still be an adequate answer. It is only during the earlier stages of human progress that the development of strength, courage, and cunning, are of chief importance. After societies of considerable size have been formed and the subordination needed for organising them produced, other and

higher faculties become those of chief importance; and the struggle for existence carried on by force, does not always further the survival of the fittest. The fact that but for a mere accident Persia would have conquered Greece, and the fact that the Tartar hordes very nearly overwhelmed European civilisation, show that offensive war can be trusted to subserve the interests of the race only when the capacity for a high social life does not exist, and that in proportion as this capacity develops, offensive war tends more and more to hinder, rather than to further, human welfare. In brief we may say that the arrival at a stage in which ethical considerations come to be entertained, is the arrival at a stage in which offensive war, by no means certain to further predominance of races fitted for a high social life, and certain to cause injurious moral reactions on the conquering as well as on the conquered, ceases to be justifiable; and only defensive war retains a quasi-ethical justification.

And here it is to be remarked that the self-subordination which defensive war involves, and the need for such qualification of the abstract principle of justice as it implies, belong to that transitional state necessitated by the physical-force-conflict of races; and that they must disappear when there is reached a peaceful state. That is to say, all questions concerning the extent of such qualifications pertain to what we distinguished as relative ethics; and are not recognised by that absolute ethics which is concerned with the principles of right conduct in a society formed of human beings fully adapted to social life.

This distinction I emphasize here because throughout succeeding chapters we shall find that recognition of it helps us to disentangle the involved problems of political ethics.

HERBERT SPENCER.

PROPERTY.

THIS word has two meanings: it means the thing owned, and also its ownership. Thus, we say among A's property is a horse; he has the whole property in that horse. I shall not attempt a definition of property, or of ownership—I doubt if they are capable of a strict definition. Elaborate and exhaustive definitions are generally needless. I shall address myself to these questions: Should private property be allowed? If so, in what things and to what extent?

Now one would think that it would be a reasonable and the only answer to say, It ought to exist, if for the good of the community, in such things and to such extent as would be for the good of the community. Otherwise not. For I confess if it could be shown that the existence of private property was not for the good of the community the institution ought to be abolished. I dare say there are many to whom such an opinion may seem shocking. Whether I could bring myself to say it if I was not, as I am, most firmly convinced without a doubt that the existence of private property is for the common good, may be doubtful; I hope I should say so, for I think so. It would be intolerable that for all time an institution should exist prejudicial to those among whom it existed. What ought to be done with property-owners if private property were abolished need not be considered—till we find a community so insensible to reason as to intend to abolish it.

Surely the question is that which I have stated: Is the existence of private property an institution for the good of the community—the particular community spoken of? For it might be good in one and not in another. Will anyone, however crazy, say that, though for the general good, it ought not to exist? That something else ought though not so good, therefore comparatively bad? What possible reason can be given for what would give mankind less happiness, or, perhaps I ought to say, more misery?

However, though no one ventures to say directly that a thing for the general good ought not to exist, there are unfortunately many who, not seeing the consequence of their argument, not seeing that it passes by the real question, say that private property ought not to be permitted.

I think their reasons are wholly wrong—their speculations too futile to be called academic even; the notion at the bottom of most of them being that there is some natural right which is violated by the law of private property. I own, for my own part, that I can give no meaning to the word 'right,' except that it is something given by a pact between two parties, or given by the law of a society. Let us suppose a state of nature (I know I shall borrow from and imitate Mr. Huxley)—I say, let us suppose it, though it never existed. To interrupt myself, it is remarkable that good Christians can hardly suppose it, or argue from its sometime existence. For they must start with the party that left the ark. However, there are plenty who are not good or bad Christians, and for them and anyhow we may try to suppose mankind in a state of nature. That is to say, not united in any society, not under any agreement any one with any other. What right has any one against any other? I do not say that each has a *right* to take from the other what he possesses. But I am wholly at a loss to see what *right* the other has to complain. Observe, the taker would undergo the same treatment from the person from whom he took, if that person were the stronger or possessed of some other sufficient advantage. I know that they would be *wise* to agree not to take from or injure each other. Then rights would exist, but not the state of nature. There would be a society; and if half-a-dozen came to that agreement, and that anyone should be punished that broke that agreement, there would be a society with laws.

I know also, at least I believe, though how futile are these speculations, that it might trouble the taker to see the pain he would cause to the man from whom he could take, and so he might refrain from taking. But that is not in consequence of a right.

It is said that everyone has a right to the product of his own labour. Suppose the state of nature, and a man who had caught a fish objecting to its being taken from him because it was the product of his labour. Would not the strong man laugh at him, and say, You will do the same with me and the produce of my labour when you have the chance?

But then it is said that a moral sentiment would prevent the taking. Does it exist in a state of nature? Where is the evidence that it would exist in a state of nature, or as near thereto as one can conceive? A moral sentiment exists in men living in society. They feel they are parties to a pact that forbids taking from others. But do we see its existence otherwise? Does the strong civilised man hesitate to take the land of the savage—if he can? Did our Saxon or Scandinavian ancestors have any scruple of conscience in invading and plundering these islands? Did we think it wrong to practise piracy in the Pacific 300 years ago? Would anyone call Drake a thief or robber? It would be difficult to say, having lived all one's

life in an artificial state, what would be one's feelings in a state of nature. No doubt the thought of taking from another by force or fraud is shocking to one; but is not that because one has been taught to think and feel it wrong, and because it is wrong in a social state? But then it will be said, 'Thou shalt not steal.' I think the answer to that is, that the command is addressed to those living not in a state of nature, but in a state of society—that it supposes a *right* of property. Suppose the law gave no right of property in something, say mushrooms—would taking them be stealing? *Roba dei campi è di Dio e dei Santi.*

Then we have that stupid—I know not what to call it—argument, assertion, that God has given some things, land in particular, to mankind at large. As Mr. Huxley says, one would think Mr. George drew the conveyance. These people are wonderfully familiar with, and speak most jauntily of, God and His intention. I draw a totally different conclusion. I say, if God meant a general and not particular ownership, He would cause it. What? Would He not? Is He not able? Are the landowners too much for Him? Certainly the Israelites did not think it prohibited their taking the lands and goods of the Canaanites, and indeed of the Egyptians. Should it be said that God gave them these lands, then, if the commandment applied to such a case, He would be doing that which He had forbidden them to do.

Let it not be supposed I think there are no qualities inducing good conduct in men. I think the pain we feel in the pain of others, the pleasure we feel in their pleasure, are strong to make us good. The love of wife, children, parents, friends, neighbours, makes us desire their happiness. What greater delight than to see it? What pleasure equal to that of promoting it? Then there is the strong feeling that law and its observance are for our own good. I think these are much more powerful than fantastical notions of natural rights.

There is another argument I must deal with. It has been said by one of the profoundest thinkers of our times that all property in land originated in fraud or force. I am glad to know that he does not say so now. But others do, and will cite the old opinion. I think Mr. Huxley has shown clearly that it is not so. For my own part, I am satisfied it is not. Let us divide the world into Christian and non-Christian. The former, who are satisfied with the Bible, can hardly say that Noah's vineyard was obtained by fraud or force. What can those who reject this say? What do they, what can they, know of the origin of property in land? They do not, and cannot, know the origin of mankind, whether from a single pair or otherwise—whether we are developed from an inferior condition—when or how private property first came into existence. But let us take a possible and probable case. Several families are living in

an immense tract of unoccupied land—or one is. Those families take, or that one takes, a piece of land, builds a hut, encloses the land, cultivates it; nobody objects—nobody could, there is perhaps nobody else, or, if there is, there is plenty for him. Where is the fraud? where is the force?[1]

There is still a matter which I must notice. Mr. George says: 'The puniest infant that comes wailing into the world in the squalidest room of the most miserable tenement house, becomes at that moment seised of an equal right with the millionaire, and it is robbed if the right is denied.' This is what Mr. Huxley calls 'oratorical confectionery,' fit for the stump. He effectually disposes of it. But I have a word to say about it. How does Mr. George make out his case. He says: 'The Almighty, who created the earth for man and man for the earth, has entailed it upon all the generations of the children of men by a decree written upon the constitution of things,' &c. 'Prave orts,' as Mr. Huxley says. I should like it put into plain English. What is a writing on the constitution of things? Does it mean that the Almighty meant something different from the things that exist? I deny it for the reason I have given. These men, I repeat, pretend to a great familiarity with the plans and wishes of the Almighty, and drive one to a similar and equally objectionable use of the word.

But I deny the title of the 'puniest infant.' Some curious questions would arise. If he, and indeed she, has the right Mr. George alleges, where is the share to be got? Surely not taken from the share of the man who had nothing to do with the existence of the puny infant. But let us avoid the ridiculous as far as possible. If the young gentleman or lady made its claim, I think society might well answer, 'We have used you very handsomely. We have fed, clothed, lodged, and taught you how to get your living. We think the law of private property in land a good one for you, and us. Show us we are wrong, and wewill alter it. Leave us and go elsewhere if you like; meanwhile obey the law, or, if you attempt to redress the robbery you have suffered, we shall treat you as the robber.'

I think I have now disposed of the fanciful objections to the existence of private property, and may go to the questions—those which ought to be the only questions. But suppose I have not. Suppose the case of the 'puny infant' is a good one, or that there is some other fantastical right in a state of nature. Do we not, ought we not, when we enter into a state of society to give up those rights which are inconsistent with its welfare, and take in exchange those which are for, its and our good? Will anyone dare to say

[1] In a letter I wrote to the *Times* I unfortunately so expressed myself as to seem to some to be differing from Mr Huxley So far from it, I intended to cite him as my authority for what I said I agree with him entirely on this matter and on every other.

that there is any other question on this subject—that though the institution of private property is for that good, it ought not to exist—that something else ought? What, and why?

I turn, then, to what must be the only questions. Is the institution of private property a good thing for the community? If so, then in what things should it exist, and to what extent? I think and say with doubt or misgiving that the institution of private property is good for the community, and should exist in everything that is the product of labour, and in everything which is capable of improvement. In truth, the reason is the same for the one and for the other. That reason is, that if a man is entitled to the result of his labour he will work harder and better, and be happier at his work, than if he works for the community. And that if he is entitled to the benefit of his improvements by having the right of property in the thing improved, that thing will assuredly be more improved than it would otherwise be. What, would you allow private property in the sun and air? Yes, if they could be improved. The law does so now. If a man has ancient lights he has a property in the light and air that come to them—a property beneficial to him and the community.

Can anyone doubt that, if a man's work is for his own benefit, he will work harder and better and with more goodwill and pleasure than if he is working for a number of persons of whom he indeed is one? Can anyone doubt that the sum of their work, their total produce, will be more if each works for himself than if each works for the whole? Suppose they *mean* to be honest, is it not certain that when we are working for ourselves we have often to make an effort to overcome laziness or a desire for some amusement or pleasure? and would there not be more of this if we worked for others?

Another consideration. If ever there was an utter untruth confidently stated, it is that all men are equal. They are as unequal as nature can make them. One man is strong, healthy, of an active disposition, industrious, and frugal. Another is weakly, sickly, lazy, idle, and improvident. The good and bad qualities are distributed. Take the man with the good—what is to happen to him? Is he not to avail himself of them? The society must work. Are tasks to be allotted? Is the strong man to do twice the work of the weak, or are they to have each the same task and the strong man idle half his time? Talk of justice and natural right and the inheritance of the puniest infant, could anything be more unjust than this? could anything be worse for the society?

Then, again, how would its produce be distributed? Would there be daily rations? Wives attending with baskets and mugs? What a legion of distributors would be wanted! What jobbery and favouritism! The idea of such a thing is intolerable. Englishmen could not endure it.

It may be said I am attacking what nobody advances. I should

be glad to think so, but I cannot. I know that the great attack is on the land. It is said that land is limited in quantity, and not the result of labour, and so should not be separately owned. But, as Mr. Huxley has shown, that is true of everything. Man creates nothing: he shapes, changes, and improves it, but he can neither create nor destroy. If the reason given against private property in land is good, it is good therefore against all private property.

But it is proposed that land should be nationalised, whatever that may mean. I suppose it means that land should be the property of the nation. I say again, so be it, if it would be for the good of the nation. Mr. George says it would be, and that, inasmuch as private property in land has always been wrong 'robbery,' the landowners are either robbers themselves, or claim title through them, and should not be compensated.[2]

How any man can bring himself to think so, or to say so if he thinks so, I cannot understand. It would be the most grievous cruelty. One man would have toiled hard, and saved, and bought a piece of land, quite innocent of the speculations which Mr. George puts forth; another would have invested his savings in railways or chattels—the former would be a robber to be plundered; the latter would keep his property. I have put railways, but perhaps these and houses, and everything else, would go with the land. All improvements are to go. Why, I know not. For if the product of labour ought to belong to labour, why not all improvements of land? Why should the State have more than the prairie value? What else did the first robber steal when he stole the land?

But the thing is absurd. Suppose the land nationalised—that is, that the community becomes the owner—is the community itself to cultivate, to farm? What an intolerable mess! What an army of bailiffs, what jobbery, what favouritism, what shuffling out of work! Well, then, the State would let the land. What, from year to year? It could not be for a less time. But then you have a landowner; and suppose he offered a larger annual rent if he had a lease for ten years, would it not be absurd to refuse him and a still larger rent for a lease in perpetuity? Might not the 'puniest infant' think this a good use of his inheritance?

It is idle to talk of land being limited in quantity. That determines nothing. There is no limit to its improvement, and none to its detriment. The whole experience of mankind everywhere is in favour of private and separate ownership. Of course, I admit that the community should have a right of expropriation or giving compensation for public purposes; not on the nonsensical ground that land is held of the Crown, but on principles that exist where that technical rule does

[2] I have reviewed Mr. George before. I dare say what I said would be new, or as good as new, to my readers, but I ask leave to refer to the paper. It was published by the Liberty and Property Defence League.

not—I say that is not the ground. A man's property in his land in this country is the same as in his horse or his watch. He may do as he pleases with it. If he dies without heirs and intestate, the Crown is entitled to his land. So it is to his horse and watch.

I say, then, that the institution of private property is good for the community; that it should exist in everything which is the product of or procured by labour; that it should be absolute and entire, subject to the State's right of expropriation for public purposes; that whether the institution is good is the sole question, and that the trash about the rights of puny infants and all other matters may be disregarded with a good conscience and regard for good sense and reason.

BRAMWELL.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the last number of the *Quarterly Review* is a vigorous article, which quotes a passage from Mr. Phelps' *Law of the Land*, that may be appropriately repeated here. Mr. Phelps says:—

> The right of property has been brought into question. As civilisation has advanced, inequalities in the possession of wealth have become more numerous, and the line between the rich and the poor has been more sharply drawn that was plain enough before. That this disparity should be removed by legislation, that it should become the office of the law to secure in some way a more equal distribution, and to enrich poverty by diminishing wealth, that the labourer should somehow come to receive more than his hire, and that the unfortunate, the idle, and the profligate should share the prosperity they have not created, are specious propositions. They afford very facile material to philosophers who are more gifted in speech than in clear understanding, and to demagogues who wish to excite the multitude rather than instruct them.

This distinguished gentleman, Mr. Phelps, is a countryman of Mr. George, and probably had him in mind when he spoke the above. I heartily recommend the reading of the entire address. I also recommend Mr. George and his followers to read an excellent treatise on 'Property' in the fourth chapter of Mr. Wordsworth Donnithorpe's *Individualism*.

BRAIN WORK AND MANUAL WORK.

In olden times, men of science, and especially those who have done most to forward the growth of natural philosophy, did not despise manual work and handicraft. Galileo made his telescopes with his own hands. Newton learned in his boyhood the art of managing tools; he exercised his young mind in contriving most ingenious machines, and when he began his researches in optics he was able himself to grind the lenses for his instruments and himself to make the well-known telescope which, for its time, was a fine piece of workmanship. Leibnitz was fond of inventing machines: windmills and carriages to be moved without horses preoccupied his mind as much as mathematical and philosophical speculations. Linnæus became a botanist while helping his father—a practical gardener—in his daily work. In short, with our great geniuses handicraft was no obstacle to abstract researches—it rather favoured them. On the other hand, if the workers of old found but few opportunities for mastering science, many of them had, at least, their intelligences stimulated by the very variety of work which was performed in the then unspecialised workshops; and some of them had the benefit of familiar intercourse with men of science. Watt and Rennie were friends with Professor Robison; Brindley, the road-maker, despite his fourteen-pence-a-day wages, enjoyed intercourse with educated society, and thus developed his remarkable engineering faculties; the son of a well-to-do family could 'idle' at a wheelwright's shop, so as to become later on a Smeaton or a Stephenson.

We have changed all that. Under the pretext of division of labour, we have sharply separated the brain worker from the manual worker. The masses of the workmen do not receive more scientific education than their grandfathers did; but they have been deprived of the education of even the small workshop, while their boys and girls are driven into a mine, or a factory, from the age of thirteen, and there they soon forget the little they may have learned at school. As to the scientists, they despise manual labour. How few of them would be able to make a telescope, or even a plainer instrument? Most of them are not capable of even designing a scientific instrument, and when they have given a vague suggestion to the instrument-maker they leave it with him to invent the apparatus

they need. Nay, they have raised the contempt of manual labour to the height of a theory. 'The scientist,' they say, 'must discover the laws of Nature, the civil engineer must apply them, and the worker must execute in steel or wood, in iron or stone, the patterns devised by the engineer. He must work with machines invented for him not by him. No matter if he does not understand them and cannot improve them: the scientist and the scientific engineer will take care of the progress of science and industry.'

It may be objected that nevertheless there is a class of men who belong to none of the above three divisions. When young, they have been manual workers, and some of them continue to be; but, owing to some happy circumstances, they have succeeded in acquiring some scientific knowledge, and thus they have combined science with handicraft. Surely there are such men; happily enough there is a nucleus of men who have escaped the so-much-advocated specialisation of labour, and it is precisely to them that industry owes its chief recent inventions. But they are the exceptions; they are the irregulars – the Cossacks who have broken the ranks and pierced the screens so carefully erected between the classes. And they are so few, in comparison with the ever-growing requirements of industry—and of science as well, as I am about to prove—that all over the world we hear complaints about the scarcity of precisely such men.

What is the meaning, in fact, of the outcry for technical education which has been raised at one and the same time in this country, in France, in Germany, in the States, and in Russia, if it does not express a general dissatisfaction with the present division into scientists, scientific engineers, and workers? Listen to those who know industry, and you will see that the substance of their complaints is this: 'The worker whose task has been specialised by the permanent division of labour has lost the intellectual interest in his labour, and it is especially so in the great industries: he has lost his inventive powers. Formerly, he invented very much. Manual workers—not scientists nor trained engineers—have invented, or brought to perfection, the prime motors and all that mass of machinery which has revolutionised industry for the last hundred years. But since the great factory has prevailed, the worker, depressed by the monotony of his work, invents no more. What can a weaver invent who merely supervises four looms, without knowing anything either about their complicated movements or how the machines grew to be what they are? What can a man invent who is condemned for life to bind together the ends of two threads with the greatest celerity, and knows nothing beyond making a knot? At the outset of modern industry, three generations of workers *have* invented; now they cease to do so. As to the inventions of the engineers, specially trained for devising machines, they

are either devoid of genius or not practical enough. Those 'nearly to nothings' of which Sir Frederick Bramwell spoke recently at Bath are missing in their inventions—those nothings which can be learned in the workshop only, and which permitted a Murdoch and the Soho workers to make a practical engine of Watt's schemes. None but he who knows the machine—not in its drawings and models only, but in its breathing and throbbings—who unconsciously thinks of it while standing by it, can really improve it. Smeaton and Newcomen surely were excellent engineers; but in their engines a boy had to open the steam valve at each stroke of the piston; and it was one of those boys who once managed to connect the valve with the remainder of the machine, so as to make it open automatically, while he ran away to play with other boys. But in the modern machinery there is no room left for naive improvements of that kind. Scientific education on a wide scale has become necessary for further inventions, and that education is refused to the workers. So that there is no issue out of the difficulty unless scientific education and handicraft are combined together—unless integration of knowledge takes the place of the present divisions. Such is the real substance of the present movement in favour of technical education. But, instead of bringing to public consciousness the, perhaps, unconscious motives of the present discontent, instead of widening the views of the discontented and discussing the problem to its full extent, the mouthpieces of the movement do not mostly rise above the shopkeeper's view of the question. Some of them indulge in jingo talk about crushing all foreign industries out of competition, while the others see in technical education nothing but a means of somewhat improving the flesh-machine of the factory and of transferring a few workers into the upper class of trained engineers.

Such an ideal may satisfy them, but it cannot satisfy those who keep in view the combined interests of science and industry, and consider both as a means for raising humanity to a higher level. We maintain that in the interests of both science and industry, as well as of society as a whole, every human being, without distinction of birth, ought to receive such an education as would enable him, or her, to combine a thorough knowledge of science with a thorough knowledge of handicraft. We fully recognise the necessity of specialisation of knowledge, but we maintain that specialisation must follow general education, and that general education must be given in science and handicraft alike. To the division of society into brain-workers and manual workers we oppose the combination of both kinds of activities; and instead of 'technical education,' which means the maintenance of the present division between brain work and manual work, we advocate the *éducation intégrale*, or complete education, which means the disappearance of that pernicious distinction. Plainly stated, the aims of the school under this system

ought to be the following: To give such an education that, on leaving school at the age of eighteen or twenty, each boy and each girl should be endowed with a thorough knowledge of science—such a knowledge as might enable them to be useful workers in science—and, at the same time, to give them a general knowledge of what constitutes the bases of technical training, and such a skill in some special trade as would enable each of them to take his or her place in the grand world of the manual production of wealth. I know that many will find that aim too large, or even impossible to attain, but I hope that if they have the patience to read the following pages, they will see that we require nothing beyond what can be easily attained. In fact, *it has been attained*; and what has been done on a small scale could be done on a wider scale, were it not for the economical and social causes which prevent any serious reform from being accomplished in our miserably organised society.

The experiment has been made at the Moscow Technical School for twenty consecutive years, with many hundreds of boys; and the testimonies of the most competent judges at the exhibitions of Brussels, Philadelphia, Vienna, and Paris are to the effect that the experiment has been a success. The Moscow school admits boys not older than fifteen, and it requires from boys of that age nothing but a substantial knowledge of geometry and algebra, together with the usual knowledge of their mother tongue; younger pupils are received in the preparatory classes. The school is divided into two sections—the mechanical and the chemical; but as I personally know the former only (it is also the more important in our case), so I shall limit my remarks to the education given in the mechanical section. Well, after a five or six years' stay at the school, the students leave it with a thorough knowledge of higher mathematics, physics, mechanics, and connected sciences so thorough, indeed, that it is not second to that acquired in the best mathematical faculties of the best European universities. When myself a student of the mathematical faculty of the St. Petersburg University, I had the opportunity of comparing their knowledge with our own. I saw the courses of higher geometry compiled by some students of the technical school for the use of their comrades; I admired the facility with which they applied the integral calculus to dynamical problems; and I came to the conclusion that while we, university students, had more knowledge of a general character (for instance, in mathematical astronomy), they, the students of the school, were much more advanced in higher geometry, and especially in the applications of higher mathematics to the most intricate problems of dynamics, the theories of heat and elasticity. But while we, the students of the university, hardly knew the use of our hands, the students of the school fabricated *with their own hands*, and without the help of professional workmen, fine steam-engines, from the heavy boiler to the last finely

turned screw, agricultural machinery, and scientific apparatus—all for the trade—and they received the highest awards for the work of their hands at the international exhibitions. They were scientifically educated skilled workers—workers with university education—highly appreciated even by the Russian manufacturers who so much distrust science.

Now, the methods by which these wonderful results were achieved were these: In science, learning from memory was not in honour, while independent research was favoured by all means. Science was taught hand in hand with its applications, and what was learned in the schoolroom was applied in the workshop. Great attention was paid to the highest abstractions of geometry as a means for developing imagination and research. As to the teaching of handicraft, the methods were quite different from those which proved a failure at the Cornell University, and differed, in fact, from those used in most technical schools. The student was not sent to a workshop to learn some special handicraft and to earn his existence as soon as possible, but the teaching of technical skill was prosecuted—according to a scheme elaborated by the founder of the school, M. Dellavos, and now applied also at Chicago—in the same systematical way as laboratory work is taught in the modern universities. It is evident that drawing was considered as the first step in technical education. Then the student was brought, first, to the carpenter's workshop, or rather laboratory, and there he was thoroughly taught to execute all kinds of carpentry and joinery. No efforts were spared in order to bring the pupil to a certain perfection in that branch—the real basis of all trades. Later on, he was transferred to the turner's workshop, where he was taught to make in wood the patterns of those things which he would have to make in metal in the following workshops. The foundry followed, and there he was taught to cast those parts of machines which he had prepared in wood; and it was only after he had gone through the first three stages that he was admitted to the smith's and engineering workshops. Such was the system which English readers will find described in full in a recent work by Mr. Ham,[1] and which has been introduced, in its technical part, in the Chicago Manual Training School. As for the perfection of the mechanical work of the students, I cannot do better than to refer to the reports of the juries at the above-named exhibitions.

The Moscow Technical School surely is not an ideal school. It totally neglects the humanitarian education of the young men.

[1] *Manual Training: the Solution of Social and Industrial Problems.* By Ch. H. Ham. London: Blackie & Son. 1886. I can add that like results have been achieved again at the Krasnoufimsk *Realschule*, in the province of Orenburg, especially with regard to agriculture and agricultural machinery. The achievements of the school, however, are so interesting that they deserve more than a short mention.

But we must recognise that the Moscow experiment—not to speak of hundreds of other partial experiments—has perfectly well proved the possibility of combining a scientific education of a very high standard with the education which is necessary for becoming an excellent skilled labourer. It has proved, moreover, that the best means for producing really good skilled labourers is to seize the bull by the horns—to grasp the educational problem in its great features, instead of trying to give some special skill in some handicraft, together with some scraps of knowledge in some branch of some science. And it has shown also what can be obtained, without over-pressure, if a rational economy of the scholar's time is always kept in view, and theory goes hand in hand with practice. Viewed in this light, the Moscow results do not seem extraordinary at all, and still better results may be expected if the same principles are applied from the earliest years of education. Waste of time is the leading feature of our present education. Not only are we taught a mass of rubbish, but what is not rubbish is taught so as to make us waste as much time as possible. Our present methods of teaching originate from a time when the accomplishments required from an educated person were extremely limited; and they have been maintained, notwithstanding the immense increase of knowledge which must be conveyed to the scholar's mind since science has so much widened its former limits. Hence the over-pressure in schools, and hence, also, the urgent necessity of totally revising both the subjects and the methods of teaching, according to the new wants and to the examples already given here and there, by separate schools and separate teachers.

It is evident that the years of childhood ought not to be spent so uselessly as they are now. German teachers have shown how the very plays of children can be made instrumental in conveying to the childish mind some concrete knowledge in both geometry and mathematics. The children who have made the squares of the theorem of Pythagoras out of pieces of coloured cardboard, will not look at the theorem, when it comes in geometry, as on a mere instrument of torture devised by the teachers; and the less so if they apply it as the carpenters do. Complicated problems of arithmetic, which so much harassed us in our boyhood, are easily solved by children seven and eight years old, if they are put in the shape of interesting puzzles. And if the *Kindergarten*—German teachers often make of it a kind of barrack in which each movement of the child is regulated beforehand—has often become a small prison for the little ones, the idea which presided at its foundation is nevertheless true. In fact, it is almost impossible to imagine, without having tried it, how many sound notions of nature, habits of classification, and taste for natural sciences can be conveyed to the children's minds; and, if a series

of concentric courses adapted to the various phases of development of the human being were generally accepted in education, the first series in all sciences, save sociology, could be taught before the age of ten or twelve, so as to give a general idea of the universe, the earth and its inhabitants, the chief physical, chemical, zoological, and botanical phenomena, leaving the discovery of the *laws* of those phenomena to the next series of deeper and more specialised studies. On the other side, we all know how children like to make toys themselves, how they gladly imitate the work of full-grown people if they see them at work in the workshop or the building-yard. But the parents either stupidly paralyse that passion, or do not know how to utilise it. Most of them despise manual work and prefer sending their children to the study of Roman history, or of Franklin's teachings about saving money, to seeing them at a work which is good for the 'lower classes only.' They thus do their best to render subsequent learning the more difficult.

And then come the school years, and time is wasted again to an incredible extent. Take, for instance, mathematics, which everyone ought to know, because it is the basis of all subsequent education, and which so few really learn in our schools. In geometry, time is foolishly wasted by using a method which merely consists in committing geometry to memory. In most cases, the boy reads again and again the proof of a theorem till his memory has retained the succession of reasonings. Therefore, nine boys out of ten, if asked to prove an elementary theorem two years after having left the school, will be unable to do it, unless mathematics is their specialty. They will forget which auxiliary lines to draw, and they never have been taught to *discover* the proofs by themselves. No wonder that later on they find such difficulties in applying geometry to physics, that their progress is despairingly sluggish, and that so few master higher mathematics. There is, however, the other method which permits progress, as a whole, at a much speedier rate, and under which he who once has learned geometry will know it all his life long. Under this system, each theorem is put as a problem; its solution is never given beforehand, and the pupil is induced to find it by himself. Thus, if some preliminary exercises with the rule and the compass have been made, there is not one boy or girl, out of twenty or more, who will not be able to find the means of drawing an angle which is equal to a given angle, and to prove their equality, after a few suggestions from the teacher; and if the subsequent problems are given in a systematic succession (there are excellent text-books for the purpose), and the teacher does not press his pupils to go faster than they can go at the beginning, they advance from one problem to the next with an astonishing facility, the only difficulty being to bring the pupil to solve the first problem

and thus to acquire confidence in his own reasoning. Moreover, each abstract geometrical truth must be impressed on the mind in its concrete form as well. As soon as the pupils have solved a few problems on paper, they must solve them on the playing-ground with a few sticks and a string, and they must apply their knowledge in the workshop. Only then will the geometrical lines acquire a concrete meaning in the children's minds; only then will they see that the teacher is playing no tricks when he asks them to solve problems with the rule and the compass, without resorting to the protractor; only then will they *know* geometry. 'Through the eyes *and* the hand to the brain'—that is the true principle of economy of time in teaching. I remember as if it were yesterday, how geometry suddenly acquired for me a new meaning, and how this new meaning facilitated all ulterior studies. It was as we were mastering a Montgolfier balloon, and I remarked that the angles at the summits of each of the twenty strips of paper out of which the balloon was going to be made must cover less than the fifth part of a right angle each. I remember, next, how the sines and the tangents ceased to be mere cabalistic signs when they permitted us to calculate the length of a stick in a working profile of a fortification; and how geometry in space became plain when we began to make on a small scale a bastion with embrasures and barbettes – an occupation which obviously was soon prohibited on account of the state into which we brought our clothes. 'You look like navvies,' was the reproach addressed to us by our intelligent educators, while we were proud precisely of being navvies—and of discovering the use of geometry.

By compelling our children to study real things from mere graphical representations, instead of *making* those things themselves, we compel them to waste the most precious time; we uselessly worry their minds; we accustom them to the worst methods of learning; we kill independent thought in the bud; and very seldom we succeed in conveying a real knowledge of what we are teaching. Superficiality, parrot-like repetition, slavishness and inertia of mind are the results of our education. We do not teach our children how to learn. The very beginnings of science are taught on the same pernicious system. In most schools, even arithmetic is taught in the abstract way, and mere rules are stuffed into the poor little heads. The idea of a unit, which is arbitrary and can be changed at will in our measurement (the match, the box of matches, the dozen of boxes, or the gross; the metre, the centimetre, the kilometre, and so on), is not impressed on the mind, and therefore, when the children come to the decimal fractions they are at a loss to understand them; whereas in France, where the decimal system of measures and money is a matter of daily life, even those workers who have received the plainest elementary education are quite familiar with decimals. To

represent twenty-five centimes, or twenty-five centimetres, they write 'zero twenty-five,' while most of my readers surely remember how this same zero at the head of a row of figures puzzled them in their boyhood. We do also what we can to render algebra unintelligible, and our children spend one year before they have learned what is not algebra at all, but a mere system of abbreviations, which can be learned by the way, if it is taught together with arithmetic.

The waste of time in physics is merely revolting. While young people very easily understand the principles of chemistry and its formulæ, as soon as they themselves make the first experiments with a few glasses and tubes, they mostly find the greatest difficulties in grasping the mechanical introduction into physics, partly because they do not know geometry, and especially because they are merely shown costly machines instead of being induced to make themselves plain apparatus for illustrating the phenomena they study. Instead of learning the laws of force with plain instruments which a boy of ten can easily make, they learn them from mere drawings, in a purely abstract fashion. Instead of making themselves an Atwood's machine with a broomstick and the wheel of an old clock, or verifying the laws of falling bodies with a key gliding on an inclined string, they are shown a complicated apparatus, and in most cases the teacher himself does not know how to explain to them the principle of the apparatus, and indulges in irrelevant details. And so it goes on from the beginning to the end, with but a few honourable exceptions.[2]

If waste of time is characteristic of our methods of teaching science, it is characteristic as well of the methods used for teaching handicraft. We know how years are wasted when a boy serves his apprenticeship in a workshop; but the same reproach can be addressed, to a great extent, to those technical schools which endeavour at once

[2] Take, for instance, the description of Atwood's machine in any course of elementary physics. You will find very great attention paid to the wheels on which the axle of the pulley is made to lie, hollow boxes, plates and rings, the clock, and other accessories will be mentioned before one word is said upon the leading idea of the machine, which is to slacken the motion of a falling body by making a falling body of small weight move a heavier body which is in the state of inertia, gravity acting on it in two opposite directions. That was the inventor's idea; and if it is made clear, the pupils see at once that to suspend two bodies of equal weight over a pulley, and to make them move by adding a small weight to one of them, is one of the means (and a good one) for slackening the motion during the falling; they see that the friction of the pulley must be reduced to a minimum, either by using the two pairs of wheels, which so much puzzle the text-book makers, or by any other means; that the clock is a luxury, and the 'plates and rings' are mere accessories: in short, that Atwood's idea can be realised with the wheel of a clock fastened, as a pulley, to a wall, or on the top of a broomstick secured in a vertical position. In this case, the pupils will understand the *idea* of the machine and of its inventor, and they will accustom themselves to separate the leading idea from the accessories; while in the other case they merely look with curiosity at the tricks performed by the teacher with a complicated machine, and the few who finally understand it spend a quantity of time in the effort.

to teach some special handicraft, instead of resorting to the broader and surer methods of systematical teaching. Just as there are in science some notions and methods which are preparatory to the study of all sciences, so there are also some fundamental notions and methods preparatory to the special study of any handicraft. Reuleaux has shown in that delightful book, the *Theoretische Kinematik*, that there is, so to say, a philosophy of all possible machinery. Each machine, however complicated, can be reduced to a few elements—plates, cylinders, discs, cones, and so on—as well as to a few tools—chisels, saws, rollers, hammers, &c.; and, however complicated its movements, they can be decomposed into a few modifications of motion, such as the transformation of circular motion into a rectilinear, and the like, with a number of intermediate links. So also each handicraft can be decomposed into a number of elements. In each trade one must know how to make a plate with parallel surfaces, a cylinder, a disc, a square and a round hole; how to manage a limited number of tools, all tools being mere modifications of less than a dozen types; and how to transform one kind of motion into another. This is the foundation of all mechanical handicrafts; so that the knowledge of how to make in wood those primary elements, how to manage the chief tools in wood-work, and how to transform various kinds of motion, ought to be considered as the very basis for the subsequent teaching of all possible kinds of mechanical handicraft. The pupil who has acquired that skill already knows one good half of all possible trades. Besides, none can be a good worker in science unless he is in possession of good methods of scientific research; unless he has learned to observe, to describe with exactitude, to discover mutual relations between facts seemingly disconnected, to make hypotheses and to verify them, to reason upon cause and effect, and so on. And none can be a good manual worker unless he has been accustomed to the good methods of handicraft altogether. He must grow accustomed to conceive the subject of his thoughts in a concrete form, to draw it, or to model, to hate badly kept tools and bad methods of work, to give to everything a fine touch of finish, to derive artistic enjoyment from the contemplation of gracious forms and combinations of colours, and dissatisfaction from what is ugly. Be it handicraft, science, or art, the chief aim of the school is not to make a specialist from a beginner, but to teach him the elements of knowledge and the good methods of work, and, above all, to give him that general inspiration which will induce him, later on, to put in whatever he does a sincere longing for truth, to like what is beautiful both as to form and contents; to feel the necessity of being a useful unit amidst other human units, and thus to feel his heart at unison with the rest of humanity.

As for avoiding the monotony of work which would result from the pupil always making mere cylinders and discs, and never making

full machines or other useful things, there are thousands of means for avoiding that want of interest, and one of them, in use at Moscow, is worthy of notice. It is not to give work for mere exercise, but to utilise everything which the pupil makes, from his very first steps. Do you remember how you were delighted, in your childhood, if your work was utilised, be it only as a part of something useful? So they do at Moscow. Each plank planed by the pupils is utilised as a part of some machine in some of the other workshops. When a pupil comes to the engineering workshop, and he is set to make a quadrangular block of iron with parallel and perpendicular surfaces, the block has an interest in his eyes, because, when he has finished it, verified its angles and surfaces, and corrected its defects, the block is not thrown under the bank—it is given to a more advanced pupil, who makes a handle to it, paints the whole, and sends it to the shop of the school as a *presse-papier*. The systematical teaching thus receives the necessary attractiveness.[1]

It is evident that celerity of work is a most important factor in production. So it might be asked if, under the above system, the necessary speed of work could be obtained. But there are two kinds of celerity. There is the celerity which we see in a lace-manufactory; full-grown men, with shivering hands and heads, are feverishly binding together the ends of two threads from the remnants of cotton-yarn in the bobbins; you hardly can follow their movements. But the very fact of requiring such kind of rapid work is the condemnation of the factory system. What has remained of the human being in those shivering bodies? What will be their outcome? Why this waste of human force, when it could produce ten times the value of the odd rests of yarn? This kind of celerity is required exclusively because of the cheapness of the factory slaves; so let us hope that no school will ever aim at this kind of quickness in work. But there is also the time-saving celerity of the well-trained worker, and this is surely achieved best by the kind of education which we advocate. However plain his work, the educated worker makes it better and quicker than the uneducated. Observe, for instance, how a good worker proceeds in cutting anything—say a piece of cardboard—and compare his movements with those of an improperly trained worker. The latter seizes the cardboard, takes the tool as it is, traces a line in a haphazard way, and begins to cut; half-way he is tired, and when he has finished his work is worth nothing; whereas, the former will examine his tool and improve it if

[1] The sale of the pupils' work is not insignificant, especially when they reach the higher classes, and make steam-engines. Therefore the Moscow school, when I knew it, was one of the cheapest in the world. It gave boarding and education at a very low fee. But imagine such a school connected with a farm school, which grows food and thus arranges it at its cost price. What will be the cost of education then? I understand it so.

necessary; he will trace the line with exactitude, secure both cardboard and rule, keep the tool in the right way, cut quite easily, and give you a piece of good work. That is the true time-saving celerity, the most appropriate for economising human labour; and the best means for attaining it is an education of the most superior kind. The great masters painted with an astonishing rapidity; but their rapid work was the result of a great development of intelligence and imagination, of a keen sense of beauty, of a fine perception of colours. And that is the kind of rapid work which humanity is in need of.

Much more ought to be said as regards the duties of the school, but I hasten to say a few words more as to the desirability of the kind of education briefly sketched in the preceding pages. Certainly, I do not cherish the illusion that a thorough reform in education, or in any of the issues indicated in my preceding papers, will be made as long as the civilised nations remain under the present narrowly egotistic system of production and consumption. All we can expect, as long as the present conditions last, is to have some microscopical attempts at reforming here and there on a small scale —attempts which necessarily will prove to be far below the expected results, because of the impossibility of reforming on a small scale when so intimate a connection exists between the manifold functions of a civilised nation. But the energy of the reconstructive genius of society depends precisely upon the depths of its conception as to what ought to be done, and how; and the necessity of recasting education is one of those necessities which are most comprehensible to all, and are most appropriate for inspiring society with those ideals, without which stagnation or even decay are unavoidable. So let us suppose that a community—a city, or a territory which has, at least, a few millions of inhabitants—gives the above-sketched education to all its children, without distinction of birth (and we *are* rich enough to permit us the luxury of such an education), without asking anything in return from the children but what they will give when they have become producers of wealth. Suppose such an education is given, and analyse its probable consequences. I will not insist upon the increase of wealth which would result from having a young army of educated and well-trained producers; nor shall I insist upon the social benefits which would be derived from erasing the present distinction between the brain workers and the manual workers, and from thus reaching the concordance of interest and harmony so much wanted in our times of social struggles. I shall not dwell upon the fulness of life which would result for each separate individual, if he were enabled to enjoy the use of both his mental and bodily powers; nor upon the advantages of raising manual labour to the place of honour it ought to occupy in society, instead of being a stamp of inferiority, as it is

now. Nor shall I insist upon the disappearance of the present misery and degradation, with all their consequences—vice, crime, prisons, price of blood, denunciation, and the like—which necessarily would follow. In short, I will not touch now the great social question, upon which so much has been written and so much remains to be written yet. I merely intend to point out in these pages the benefits which science itself would derive from the change.

Some will say, of course, that to reduce the scientists to the *rôle* of manual workers would mean the decay of science and genius. But those who will take into account the following considerations probably will agree that the result ought to be the reverse—namely, such a revival of science and art, and such a progress in industry, as we only can faintly foresee from what we know about the times of the Renaissance. It has become a commonplace to speak with emphasis about the progress of science during the nineteenth century; and it is evident that our century, if compared with centuries past, has much to be proud of. But, if we take into account that most of the problems which our century has solved already had been indicated, and their solutions foreseen, a hundred years ago, we must admit that the progress was not so rapid as might have been expected, and that something hampered it. The mechanical theory of heat was very well foreseen in the last century by Rumford and Humphry Davy, and even in Russia it was advocated by Lomonosoff.[1] However, much more than half a century elapsed before the theory reappeared in science. Lamarck, and even Linnæus, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Erasmus Darwin, and several others were fully aware of the variability of species; they were opening the way for the construction of biology on the principles of variation; but here, again, half a century was wasted before the variability of species was brought again to the front; and we all remember how Darwin's ideas were carried on and forced on the attention of university people, chiefly by persons who were not professional scientists themselves; and yet in Darwin's hands the theory of evolution surely was narrowed, owing to the overwhelming importance given to only one factor of evolution. For many years past, astronomy has been needing a careful revision of the Kant and Laplace's hypothesis; but no theory is yet forthcoming which would compel general acceptance. Geology surely has made wonderful progress in the reconstitution of the palæontological record, but dynamical geology progresses at a despairingly slow rate; the theory of the igneous origin of granite and other unstratified crystalline rocks is still taught in the universities, although the field geologists cannot reconcile it with the contradictory facts, and they are abandoning it in Germany and Russia; while all future progress in the great question as to the laws of distribution

[1] In an otherwise also remarkable memoir on the Arctic Regions.

of living organisms on the surface of the earth is hampered by the want of knowledge as to the extension of glaciation during the Quaternary epoch.[5] In short, in each branch of science a revision of the current theories as well as new wide generalisations are wanted. And if the revision requires some of that inspiration of genius which moved Galileo and Newton, and which depends in its appearance upon general causes of human development, it requires also an increase in the number of scientific workers. When facts contradictory to current theories become numerous, the theories must be revised (we saw it in Darwin's case), and simple intelligent workers in science are required to accumulate them.

Immense regions of the earth still remain unexplored; the study of the geographical distribution of animals and plants meets with stumbling-blocks at every step. Travellers cross continents, and do not know even how to determine the latitude nor how to manage a barometer. Physiology, both of plants and animals, psycho-physiology, and the psychological faculties of man and animals are so many branches of knowledge requiring more data of the simplest description. History remains a *fable convenue* chiefly because it wants fresh ideas, but also because it wants scientifically thinking workers to reconstitute the life of past centuries in the same way as Thorold Rogers or Augustin Thierry have done it for separate epochs. In short, there is not one single science which does not suffer in its development from a want of men and women endowed with a philosophical conception of the universe, ready to apply their forces of investigation in a given field, however limited, and having leisure for devoting themselves to scientific pursuits. In a community such as we suppose, thousands of workers would be ready to answer any appeal for exploration. Darwin spent almost thirty years in gathering and analysing facts for the elaboration of the

[5] The rate of progress in the recently so popular Glacial Period question was strikingly slow. Already Venetz in 1821 and Esmarck in 1823, had explained the erratic phenomena by the glaciation of Europe. Agassiz came forth with the theory of glaciation of the Alps, the Jura mountains, and Scotland, about 1840; and five years later, Guyot had published his maps of the routes followed by Alpine boulders. But forty-two years elapsed after Venetz wrote, before one geologist of mark (Lyell) dared timidly to accept his theory, even to a limited extent—the most interesting fact being that Guyot's maps, considered as irrelevant in 1845, were recognised as conclusive after 1863. Even now—half a century after Agassiz's first work—Agassiz's views are not yet either refuted or generally accepted. So also Forbes's views upon the plasticity of ice. Let me add, by the way, that the whole polemics as to the viscosity of ice is a striking instance of how facts, scientific terms, and experimental methods quite familiar to building engineers, were ignored by the scientists who took part in the polemics. If these facts, terms and methods were taken into account, the polemics would not have raged for years with no result. Like instances, to show how science suffers from a want of acquaintance with facts and methods of experimenting well known to engineers, florists, cattle-breeders, and so on, could be produced in numbers.

theory of the origin of species. Had he lived in such a society as we suppose, he simply would have made an appeal to volunteers for facts and partial exploration, and thousands of explorers would have answered his appeal. Scores of societies would have come to life to debate and to solve each of the partial problems involved in the theory, and in ten years the theory would have been verified; all those factors of evolution which only now begin to receive due attention would have appeared in their full light. The rate of scientific progress would have been tenfold; and if the individual would not have the same claims on posterity's gratitude as he has now, the unknown mass would have done the work with more speed and with more prospect for ulterior advance than the individual could do in his lifetime. Mr. Murray's dictionary is an illustration of that kind of work—the work of the future.

However, there is another feature of modern science which speaks more strongly yet in favour of the change we advocate. While industry, especially by the end of the last century and during the first part of the present, has been inventing on such a scale as to revolutionise the very face of the earth, science has been losing its inventive powers. Scientists invent no more, or very little. Is it not striking, indeed, that the steam-engine, even in its leading principles, the railway-engine, the steamboat, the telephone, the phonograph, the weaving-machine, the lace-machine, the lighthouse, the macadamised road, photography in black and in colours, and thousands of less important things, have *not* been invented by professional scientists, although none of them would have refused to associate his name with any of the named inventions? Men who hardly had received any education at school, who had merely stolen the crumbs of knowledge from the tables of the rich; men who made their experiments with the most primitive means—the attorney-clerk Smeaton, the instrument-maker Watt, the engine-brakesman Stephenson, the jeweller's apprentice Fulton, the millwright Rennie, the mason Telford, and hundreds of others whose very names remain unknown, were, as Mr. Smiles justly says, 'the real makers of modern civilisation;' while the professional scientists, provided with all means for acquiring knowledge and experimenting, have invented little in the formidable array of implements, machines, and prime-motors which has shown to humanity how to utilise and to manage the forces of nature.* The fact is striking, but its explanation is very simple: those men—the Watts and the Stephensons—knew something which the *savants* do not know—they knew the use of their hands; their surroundings stimulated their inventive powers; they knew machines, their leading principles, and their work; they

* Chemistry is, to a great extent, an exception to the rule. Is it not because the chemist is so much of the manual worker?

had breathed the atmosphere of the workshop and the building-yard.

We know how the scientists will meet the reproach. They will say: 'We discover the laws of Nature, let others apply them; it is a simple division of labour.' But such a rejoinder would be utterly untrue. The march of progress is quite the reverse, because in a hundred cases against one the mechanical invention comes before the discovery of the scientific law. It was not the dynamical theory of heat which came before the steam-engine—it followed it. When thousands of engines already were transforming heat into motion under the eyes of thousands of scientists, and when they had done so for half a century, or more; when thousands of trains, stopped by powerful brakes, were disengaging heat and spreading thousands of sparks on the rails at their approach to the stations; when all over the civilised world heavy hammers and perforators were rendering burning hot the masses of iron they were hammering and perforating—then, and then only, a doctor, Mayer, ventured to bring out the mechanical theory of heat with all its consequences; and yet the scientists almost drove him to madness by obstinately clinging to their mysterious caloric fluid. When every engine was illustrating the impossibility of utilising all the heat disengaged by a given amount of burnt fuel, then came the law of Clausius. When all over the world industry already was transforming motion into heat, sound, light, and electricity, and each one into each other, then only came Grove's theory of the 'correlation of physical forces.' It was not the theory of electricity which gave us the telegraph. When the telegraph was invented, all we knew about electricity was but a few facts more or less badly arranged in our books; the theory of electricity is not ready yet; it still waits for its Newton, notwithstanding the brilliant attempts of late years. Even the empirical knowledge of the laws of electrical currents was in its infancy when a few bold men laid a cable at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, despite the warnings of the authorised men of science.

The name of 'applied science' is quite misleading, because, in the great majority of cases, invention, far from being an application of science, on the contrary creates a new branch of science. The American bridges were no application of the theory of elasticity; they came before the theory, and all we can say in favour of science is, that in this special branch, theory and practice developed in a parallel way, helping one another. It was not the theory of the explosives which led to the discovery of gunpowder; gunpowder was in use for centuries before the action of the gases in a gun was submitted to scientific analysis. And so on. The great processes of metallurgy; the alloys and the properties they acquire from the addition of very small amounts of some metals or metalloids; the

recent revival of electric lighting; nay, even the weather forecasts which truly deserved the reproach of being 'unscientific' when they were started by an old Jack tar, Fitzroy—all these could be mentioned as instances in point. Of course, we have a number of cases in which the discovery, or the invention, was a mere application of a scientific law (cases like the discovery of the planet Neptune), but in the immense majority of cases the discovery, or the invention, is unscientific to begin with. It belongs much more to the domain of art—art taking the precedence over science, as Helmholtz has so well shown in one of his popular lectures—and only after the invention has been made, science comes to interpret it. It is obvious that each invention avails itself of the previously accumulated knowledge and modes of thought; but in most cases it makes a start in advance upon what is known; it makes a leap in the unknown, and thus opens a quite new series of facts for investigation. This character of invention, which is to make a start in advance of former knowledge, instead of merely applying a law, makes it identical, as to the processes of mind, with discovery; and, therefore, people who are slow in invention are also slow in discovery.

In most cases, the inventor, however inspired by the general state of science at a given moment, starts with a very few settled facts at his disposal. The scientific facts taken into account for inventing the steam-engine, or the telegraph, or the phonograph were strikingly elementary. So that we can affirm that what we presently know is already sufficient for resolving any of the great problems which stand in the order of the day—prime-motors without the use of steam, the storage of energy, the transmission of force, or the flying-machine. If these problems are not yet solved, it is merely because of the want of inventive genius, the scarcity of educated men endowed with it, and the present divorce between science and industry. On the one side, we have men who are endowed with capacities for invention, but have neither the necessary scientific knowledge nor the means for experimenting during long years; and, on the other side, we have men endowed with knowledge and facilities for experimenting, but devoid of inventive genius, owing to their education and to the surroundings they live in—not to speak of the patent system, which divides and scatters the efforts of the inventors instead of combining them.

The flight of genius which has characterised the workers at the outset of modern industry has been missing in our professional scientists. And they will not recover it as long as they remain strangers to the world, amidst their dusty bookshelves; as long as they are not workers themselves, amidst other workers, at the blaze of the iron furnace, at the machine in the factory, at the turning-lathe in the engineering workshop; sailors amidst sailors on the sea,

and fishers in the fishing boat, wood-cutters in the forest, tillers of the soil in the field. Our teachers in art have repeatedly told us of late that we must not expect a revival of art as long as handicraft remains what it is; they have shown how Greek and mediæval art were daughters of handicraft, how one was feeding the other. The same is true with regard to handicraft and science; their separation is the decay of both. As to the grand inspirations which unhappily have been so much neglected in most of the recent discussions about art—and which are missing in science as well—these can be expected only when humanity, breaking its present bonds, shall make a new start in the higher principles of human solidarity, doing away with the present duality of moral sense and philosophy.

It is evident, however, that all men and women cannot equally enjoy the pursuit of scientific work. The variety of inclinations is such that some will find more pleasure in science, some others in art, and others again in some of the numberless branches of the production of wealth. But, whatever the occupations preferred by everyone, everyone will be the more useful in his own branch if he is in possession of a serious scientific knowledge. And, whosoever he might be—scientist or artist, physicist or surgeon, chemist or sociologist, historian or poet—he would be the gainer if he spent a part of his life in the workshop or the farm (the workshop *and* the farm), if he were in contact with humanity in its daily work, and had the satisfaction of knowing that he himself discharges his duties as an unprivileged producer of wealth. How much better the historian and the sociologist would understand humanity if they knew it, not in books only, not in a few of its representatives, but as a whole, in its daily life, daily work, and daily affairs! How much more medicine would trust to hygiene, and how much less to prescriptions, if the young doctors were the nurses of the sick and the nurses received the education of the doctors of our time! And how would gain the poet in his feeling of the beauties of nature, how much better would he know the human heart, if he met the rising sun amidst the tillers of the soil, himself tiller; if he fought against the storm with the sailors on board ship; if he knew the poetry of labour and rest, sorrow and joy, struggle and conquest! *Greift nur hinein in's volle Menschenleben!* Goethe said; *Ein jeder lebt's—nicht vielen ist's bekannt.* But how few poets follow his advice!

The so-called division of labour has grown under a system which condemned the masses to toil all the day long, and all the life long, at the same wearisome kind of labour. But if we take into account how few are the real producers of wealth in our present society, and how squandered is their labour, we must recognise that Franklin was right in saying that to work five hours a day would generally do for

supplying each member of a civilised nation with the comfort now accessible for the few only, provided everybody took his due share in production. But we have made some progress since Franklin's times, not to say a word of further progress. More than one-half of the working day would thus remain to everyone for the pursuit of art, science, or any hobby he might choose to like; and his work in those fields would be the more profitable if he spent the other half of the day in productive work—if art and science were followed from mere inclination, not for mercantile purposes. Moreover, a community organised on the principles of all being workers would be rich enough to consider that every man and woman, after having reached a certain age—say, of forty or more—ought to be relieved from the moral obligation of taking a direct part in the performance of the necessary manual work, so as to be able entirely to devote himself or herself to whatever he or she chooses in the domain of art, or science, or any kind of work. Free pursuit in new branches of art and knowledge, free creation, and free development thus might be fully guaranteed. And such a community would not know misery amidst wealth; it would not know the duality of conscience which permeates our life and stifles every noble effort. It would freely take its flight towards the highest regions of progress compatible with human nature. But it is not by resorting to such poor means as some training of the hand in a handicraft school, or some teaching of husbandry under the name of Slojd, that great things are achieved. Great problems must be faced in their full greatness.

P. KROPOTKIN.

POST-CRIPT.

Since the above was written I have had the pleasure of visiting the Gordon College at Aberdeen. There I found the system described in the preceding pages had been applied with full success, for some years, under the direction of Dr. Ogilvie. It is the Moscow, or Chicago, system on a limited scale.

While receiving substantial scientific education, the pupils are also trained in the workshops—but not for one special trade, as it unhappily too often is the case. They pass through the carpenters' workshop, the casting in metals, and the engineering workshop; and in each of these they learn the foundations of each of the three trades, sufficiently well for supplying the school itself with a number of useful things. Besides, as far as I could ascertain from what I saw in the geographical and physical classes, as also in the chemical laboratory, the system of 'through the hand to the brain,' and *vice-versa*, is in full swing, and it is attended with the best success. The boys *work* with the physical instruments, and they study geography in the

field, instruments in hands, as well as in the class-room. Some of their surveys filled with joy my geographer's heart. It is evident that the Gordon College's industrial department is not a mere copy of any foreign school; on the contrary, I should permit myself to suggest that if Aberdeen has made that excellent move towards combining science with handicraft, the move was a natural outcome of what has been practised long since, on a smaller scale, in the Aberdeen daily schools.

A WORKING MAN'S REPLY TO PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

WATCHING the pages of this Review as I do most regularly, I cannot help noticing that very many of its articles are devoted to the discussion of questions and subjects which are of specially vital importance to toiling millions of what are not unusually termed the masses; yet I very rarely see any production avowedly written by one of themselves, attempting to give their views expression in print. Many speak for them, of them, and at them, with or without any special knowledge or authority, but the workers as a rule remain silent, or the next thing to it, when we take into account their vast numbers when compared with the classes. Whether this comparative silence arises through want of opportunity, owing to the monopoly of the press by the well-to-do, who of course have the power of selection in their own hands, and may object to any views but their own being ventilated, which is quite natural, or whether it arises from the diffidence which is the outcome of limited education, is not for me to say. All the same surely that silence is to be regretted when account is taken of the fact that the working-class votes now outnumber all the others combined, and consequently to a very great extent the fate of the Empire depends upon the line of thought and action which they adopt. Surely, then, direct and accurate information concerning the prevailing currents of thought and opinion amongst them is as essential in politics and sociology as a knowledge of the rocks, shoals, sand-banks, and ocean currents is in navigation, and account must be taken not only of the highest intellectual power but also of the lowest, seeing that both can use their influence on terms of equality when they arrive at the ballot box.

Now a very great authority has stated that the people of this kingdom are mostly fools. So a vast number of fools have now the power to put their folly into practice, and it comes about that the actions of even the greatest of fools demand attention from the very wisest, though it be but to know what form their folly is likely to take. Being but a humble worker myself, I do not dare to put

myself on a level as a thinker with such a man as Professor Huxley; still I can see from the article he contributed to your last number that he does not see everything any more than his neighbours, and that there is another way of looking at the doctrine of natural rights of which the Professor knows nothing, simply because he is placed too high up in the social scale. He and his bosom friend the Duke of Argyll look down as from some high place, or even a balloon, to which they have had the good fortune to be raised, I will not say by means of *gas*, but luck in the one case and a mixture of luck and desert in the other. But theirs is not the best point from which to examine the foundations of a structure; they are too high-placed.

Now take Henry George's doctrine, based on 'the natural rights of man.' The Professor cannot for the life of him see any good in it. It is based, he says, on *a priori* methods of reasoning, which means on falsehood and fudge. On the contrary, millions of thoughtful working men see a great deal in that doctrine, and it gives them great hopes for the future, and hope is one of the most effective safety valves or lightning-conductors that society possesses at the present day. What but the want of such a safety valve brought about the French Revolution, with its Robespierre, Marat, and Reign of Terror?

Louis the Sixteenth and his nobles did not see the want of it, as they, like the Tory privileged class of to-day, were very well satisfied with the then existing order of things; but they suffered for their blindness, and out of their folly comes wisdom for us.

Surely the Professor admits that we have not arrived at perfection, seeing the amount of misery that exists in our midst. Then that misery, which is an undoubted evil, must be dealt with; its existence demonstrates some maladjustment in the social organism. Mr. George's theory seems to the minds of millions well calculated to solve the social problem, and, whether it be the cure for the evil or not, there it is, and until a better scheme is brought to light there it must remain, for even the Professor admits that there is no killing of it; or at least he says that 'it won't die when it is killed.' (Is this an Irish bull?) I wonder in the face of this fact that the Professor does not perceive the possibility of the killing being, to use his own adopted word, 'fudge.'

The Professor says that Mr. George's

> political philosophy is identical with Rousseauism, the same *a priori* method, starting from highly questionable axioms which are assumed to represent truth, and asking us [Who is meant by 'us'?] to upset the existing arrangements of society on the faith of those axioms.

These are very good phrases, yet to me they just seem to describe the position the Professor himself takes up, and are worth just as much consideration as his sneer at the money bequest some one has left to

forward propagandism of the natural rights of man. Were there no foundations or bequests attached to the schools and colleges where the Professor was taught? Does he desire to monopolise bequests along with the land, for his own class?

The Professor objects to the doctrine of natural right being used as a fulcrum on which to rest the lever which is to change the basis of society. Well, then, let him show us a better one, for changed it must be.

The Professor says—

> There are rules of action the observance of which brings about prosperity, while their neglect entails ruin, which have nothing to do with the laws of morality or with the ordinances of religion; and the wicked who follow these rules will not beg their bread, while the pious who neglect them will.

This seems to me rather vague. Under which head, pious or wicked, does he classify dukes, earls, professors, ministers, lawyers, soldiers? These produce next to nothing, yet they are all well housed, clothed, and fed. These people seem to have got hold of the Professor's rules. Would he kindly show how these rules can be applied, so as to secure prosperity to the aged toilers when their employer rejects their services, or to the miserable waif whose only birthright is the gutter? It is very easy for well-fed dukes and professors to philosophise over abstract principles regarding the limit of natural rights, &c.

But set them to apply their fine rules to work out their own social salvation on, say, 20*s.* per week of sixty or seventy hours' hard labour, and give them a wife and four or five children to provide for out of that magnificent income. Just give them five years of this life—as a very interesting experiment, you know - and when they are in the thick of it, give them as an aid and encouragement this very lucid extract from the Professor's own paper:—

> The contemporaneous and contiguous existence of many such individuals, all of whom assert their natural rights, must also necessarily end in the Hobbesian state of war of each against all, unless they agree to conventions which shall allow to each his natural right to things enjoyable, or, in other words, his freedom to profit by the advantages which he is competent to obtain from the order of nature.

How would the Duke of Argyll or Westminster, or even the Professor himself, look under such an ordeal? They would not become most interesting psychological studies at all. Oh no, not they.

May I never make another jam puff or sausage roll if I would not give a day's wage to see the swells as they listened to such an extract. They would at once perceive the beauty and utility of philosophy, and learning, and genius combined in one compact whole (*multum in parvo*). What a solace it would be to them! Does the Professor remember a certain person named 'Foulon,'

who, in ridicule of the starving people of Paris, remarked that they might eat grass? Does he remember the fate of that man? Yet was it worse to utter 'let them eat grass' than to give vent to the above language in discussing a life and death matter? Does the Professor forget that he is speaking of his fellow-men—his brethren, but for whose labour the upper classes, as they are called, might starve of hunger and go naked?

There is no use of his telling us about Quesnay, Dupont de Nemours, or of going back 130 years; it is of now and the future we have to think. When we have succeeded in dealing with them, then we may take a look back. If the Professor was as hard pushed for a living as the majority of workers, he, like them, would have less time on his hands to nurse his pet scientific hobbies. Working men have to do their own thinking during overtime. Yet the result will compare favourably with the outcome of the thinking which Louis the Fifteenth had to get a genius to do for him. And a fine mess the pair of them made.

I have a difficulty in finding words wherewith to thank the Professor for his remarks regarding Dr. Watts, and for his delightfully graphic tigress story: it is so natural, and deserves imitation, which is said to be the highest form of praise.

A tigress carried off a villager, just as a cat does a mouse; but she doesn't quite kill him. The brute was seen to lay down the disabled captive before her cubs, who commenced mumbling and mauling to the best of their infantile ability, while the tender mother looked on complacently; but if the man, driven desperate, succeeds for a moment in driving off his tormentors, a judiciously administered grip of her strong jaws, or a cuff from her heavy and sharp-clawed paw, at once reduces the victim to a state in which they can safely resume their worrying and scratching of him.

A capitalist seizes a fellow-creature and carries him to his sweater's den, just as a cat does a mouse; but he does not kill him at once, because that wouldn't pay. He puts him among many other victims, all of whom he by slow degrees, through over-work and starvation combined, reduces to complete skeletons, while with the outcome of their labour he and his idle offspring thrive and grow fat. But should any of the victims, driven to despair, attempt to resist his avaricious demands, he at once applies the iron rod of supply and demand, and reduces them to immediate subjection; or, should they attempt to recover any of the just reward of their labour which has been stolen from them, they are struck down and conveyed to prison, or perhaps to their graves.

Yes, Professor, you and Dr. Watts in his immortal production—

Let dogs delight to bark and bite—

have succeeded, as you say, in putting the whole matter in a nutshell—oh! so nicely to suit your purpose—but neither Dr. Watts's 'pious doggerel' (thank you for the words) nor your own verbose gyrations will pass unchallenged at this time of day. The ruling motto now is, Test all things, and hold fast to that which is good. So your tigress won't pass; besides the analogy is defective. Tigers don't eat each other, nor do they, as far as I know, claim private property in each other; and, oh dear, you argue further, 'It is the nature of the tiger to prey upon man. Tigers have a natural right to a man; consequently they have a right of property in all men,' and so it's all right. Men cannot have fewer rights than tigers and other animals, so we may eat each other if we can do so with impunity. I admire the Professor's outspokenness.

Socialists are often heard declaring that the upper ten are a set of wolves and devour their fellow-men. There must be something in it after all; muzzles may soon be in demand, or we may see something of this sort:—

Professeur rôti à la jardiniere;
Cotelettes de baba, sauce tomates;
Les croquettes des femmes:
Gigot de cordonnier aux pommes de terre.

Again, the Professor goes on—

It is true that man, like the tiger or any other animal, has a natural right to freedom as an individual yet amongst us man has not the freedom of the tiger!. If, on the other hand, the champion of freedom means, as he usually does mean, that the natural right to freedom affords in itself a ground for objecting to this or that restraint upon the liberty of men to form a polity, the argument appears to me to be as sophistical as it is mischievous, for, as we have seen, it is a necessary condition of social existence that men should renounce some of their freedom of action, and the question of how much is one that cannot be determined *a priori*.

Quite so, Professor; that is just what the workers want—an equal renouncement of freedom of action all round for the good of the whole polity, and not, as at present, a yielding up by six-sevenths of the people of their freedom to the unrestrained selfish will of the other fraction. We are coming to an understanding, only working men have not usually so extensive a vocabulary with which to hide their meaning.

Then you ask—

In the case of invasion or rebellion threatening the social person—the polity—with destruction, has the composite man not as natural a right to take any measure essential to self-preservation as any single man?

Let us look at this for a moment. Does it mean that a minority who have by hook or by crook got the power into their hands to oppress and rob their weaker neighbours (as in Ireland at present) are quite entitled to use bâtons, bayonets, bullets, and battering rams to keep the power to rob from slipping from their hands?

I say no, most emphatically NO. Then what need workers care for invasion? Has their native land not been taken from them as it is? What have they to fight for? Let the thieves in possession fight the invaders; then the honest inhabitants may very possibly come to their own again. The nationalising of the land would give the masses something to fight or even die for, would make genuine patriots of them; at present they have to pay their fellow-worms for liberty even to bury their dead.

There is only one more delusion, 'quo the Professor,' which is out of many worth my attention at present. That is the extraordinary notion that the logical consequence of the natural right of all men to any given thing is the sharing of the right of property in that thing equally among all claimants. Let us suppose two boys, John and Peter. I take an apple out of my pocket, and I say, 'This apple is entirely yours, John,' and to Peter, 'It is also entirely yours. Each of you have a right to it all.' Now common sense plus appetite would say, 'Divide it;' but I say, No, nor you must not fight for it, for if the conqueror took it there would be a breach of principle; so neither can get the apple.' Now what has this silly 'fudge' to do with the land question? There is no analogy. Apples are perishable and are renewed every year out of the land; but the land is limited and practically lasts for ever. We creatures spring from the earth, draw our subsistence from it; then after a brief span we return to it. We belong to the land in a greater degree than it belongs to us. It is permanent; we are only temporary; we cannot escape or separate ourselves from the land, and nature gives no man a better claim on the land than his neighbour. All such claims are man-made, and therefore temporary, like himself, and no one can monopolise the land without depriving his fellow of his right to live and labour for himself as nature arranged.

Then again we are told 'that a man has but a small right of property even in himself. Most of him belongs to his mother;' and I presume by the same line or method of reasoning he and his mother belong to his mother's mother and to her mother's mother, if such a person could possibly be alive. 'Fudge' again! Any little spark of logic in all this stuff goes for nationalisation, as does also the next statement, which is that man belongs to the State. Of course he does, along with the land; but the State must be understood to mean the whole nation, not a few privileged monopolists.

Again, 'man cannot make flints, iron, or coal.' Of course not, for there they are all ready-made; but let us look at this.

A man takes up a piece of flint and throws it at a pigeon and knocks it down; another man picks up the flint and does the very same thing, and a third also follows suit: three men get a pigeon each through using one stone, and the stone might be so used for generations and generations, nature sending a fresh supply of men and pigeons, they being perishable. But one of the men claims property in the flint, and only allows the others to throw it on condition that they give him two out of every three pigeons they knock down. Here you have an illustration of the origin of land monopoly. Observe the monopolist, or rather the grabber, does not even require to throw the stone, yet gets fourfold return. That may suit him very well, but it is against nature, who gave no one a prior or better claim than another, and even possession (which is said to be nine parts of the law of man) ceases at death.

Shakespeare makes one of his characters compare the empire to the human body, with its various parts working for the common good, to show how silly it is for inferior persons to complain against their superiors. This is a very popular illustration with the aristocrats, and many of them think or pretend to think (perhaps by *a priori* methods) it final and complete, forgetting that the belly, the only part they can be said to represent, does for the being about the hardest work of all, while they do nothing but absorb substance, for no practical end so far as the common weal is concerned—nay, they cause many useful members to be starved and so disabled.

Again, a beehive is used to show that drones are allowable, but drones are essential to the continuance of the race of bees, and as soon as they have fulfilled their mission they are killed off; and did anyone ever hear of a few of the bees claiming proprietary rights in all the flowers, and without gathering any honey themselves compelling those bees who did gather honey to pay them tribute for permission to gather honey from the flowers? Suppose we took a lesson from the bees and killed off all the useless drones? I rather think it would put an end to emigration and knock the Malthusian theory out of shape.

With regard to the hasty Englishman who stole the man's watch at Rome, well, we have too many of his kind, but not among the working classes: they dont steal; they earn.

As for the lamentable twaddle about the 550,000,000 of Chinamen and Hindoostanees, by the time they understand land nationalisation sufficiently well to think of coming over here, they will have sense enough to apply the principle at home.

In conclusion I must give expression to my belief that Professor

Huxley has got out of his groove in taking up politics, which can neither be measured, nor weighed, nor boxed in at any particular time and made an end of. Political principles are growths moulded by their environments, ever changing and advancing as men's minds change and advance towards a knowledge of the truth. For man and politics there is no stopping by the way; ever onward and upward, in spite of all that Professor Huxley, who seems to have fallen heir to Mrs. Partington's broom, will be able to do to prevent it.

J. D. CHRISTIE
(*Pastrycook*).

OUR MERCHANT SERVICE.

ITS CONDITION, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT.

THE heavy gales of the present winter have afforded to our merchant officers and seamen new opportunities for the display of their fine qualities of courageous conduct. The safety of life and property at sea, and the condition and efficiency of our seamen, are questions of never-failing interest to Englishmen. They were brought before the public under new aspects at the first representative assembly of the Seamen and Firemen of the British Merchant Service, recently gathered together at Cardiff. Having had the honour of a special invitation to the Congress, an opportunity was afforded me of comparing notes with a large body of men who have served before the mast.

The character, conduct, and efficiency of the British seamen of the present day will be the first subject with which I shall endeavour to deal. It is not going too far to say that some prime elements of our national greatness are in the keeping of our merchant seamen. We have won our position at sea by their skill and courage. We shall lose it if they deteriorate. A few years ago complaints were rife of the falling-off in the quality of British seamen. The subject was brought prominently under the consideration of the Royal Commission on Unseaworthy Ships. Then, as now, conflicting statements were put forward by the most competent authorities. As a specimen of the less favourable opinions, I quote from a correspondent who has made personal efforts to befriend the sailor.

> There is a slowly increasing number of good seamen and of steady well-conducted men. There is a large number of drunken, dissolute, mutinous, foul-mouthed, grumbling men, who are the cause of loss to the ship-owner, who render the captains' lives a burden, and often endanger the lives of all on board. Pained as I am to hear it, I am not surprised when a master says 'No Englishman for me. Give me Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Germans. They are better educated and more pleasant and more tractable.' It is not a question of pay; the foreigner receives the same wages as the Englishman. The subject is far too long and complex to treat in a letter. Many persons and things are to blame—the seaman for his misconduct, the Government for having done so little to improve and foster his qualifications, the magistrates for having leaned too much to the men as against the captains. For want, partly, of a Consular Convention, which the United States Government have been anxious to make with us for more than

twenty years past, large numbers of men have been brutalised and become literally the slaves of the boarding-house keepers on both sides of the Atlantic. Yet another cause of mischief is the injudicious advice of many would-be friends of the seamen, who speak mainly of their hardships and scarcely at all of their grave faults. The question is a serious one, from whatever point of view we may look at it; and although I recognise that much is to be said in favour of our seamen, who have a right to expect protection and care for their interests, there are moments when, through their obstinacy and folly, and frequently through their ingratitude, I feel thoroughly disheartened.

From this gloomy picture let us turn to those who adopt a more cheerful tone. The late Mr. W. S. Lindsay had worked his way up from a cabin-boy to an honoured position in Parliament. In his great work on British shipping and commerce he wrote as follows:—

It is not the case that either our ships, or the officers by whom they are navigated, have deteriorated. On the contrary, they have within the last quarter of a century vastly improved in almost every respect. It may be that our seamen do not 'hand, reef, and steer' with the same alacrity as they did in the days of our forefathers, simply because such duties are less required now than they were then; but our masters and mates are infinitely superior to what they were a short time since, and in our regular lines of steamers and packet-ships there is to be found a class of seamen much more sober and steady than could be found in any merchant service twenty-five years ago. Men now exist who are quite as competent for the duties required of them as any seamen of the days of Duncan or Nelson, and far more to be depended on for the performance of their duties on board merchant ships than was the case in my own boyhood, although there are still far too many who are inefficient, drunken, and worthless.

Mr. Gray, of the Board of Trade, in giving evidence before the Commission on the Loss of Life at Sea, said—

There can be no possible doubt that officers, and the better part of the seamen, as well as the ships themselves, have immensely improved. British seamen have more distinctly become separated into two classes. The bad may be worse, but the good are better. The men have improved in the matter of sobriety. They are more prudent in husbanding their earnings. By the 'Midge' system about 16,000*l.* a month of wages is now sent home. Sixty thousand seamen subscribe to the Shipwrecked Seamen and Mariners Society.

To the more weighty opinions of officials, I venture to add the impressions of an old yachtsman, as given to the same Commission. I have been in the habit of affording employment from year to year to seamen who have received their training in many branches of the maritime trade of the country. Being for the most part young, or in the prime of life, they represent the present generation of seamen. Comparing those employed in recent years with those employed twenty or thirty years ago, I see no deterioration, whether in discipline or in seamanship. The spread of education has had a marked effect. Not a few of the young men who sail with me pass the examinations held by the Board of Trade, and become mates and masters in the merchant service. In the recruitment for the Royal Naval Reserve, we have an excellent means of testing the

efficiency of the merchant service. The favourable reports of the Admirals in command seem to justify the belief that a finer body of seamen could not be got together, and never could have been got together, than we have at the present time enrolled in the first class Naval Reserve. The actual strength is 10,000, and many qualified seamen do not seek enrolment.

A practical test of the relative efficiency of British and foreign seamen is to be found in the varying proportions in which foreign seamen, the cream of the seafaring population of other countries, find engagements in British ships. The foreign seaman has always been employed more or less under the British flag. Under the restrictive legislation of fifty years ago it was held necessary to exclude foreigners by law from employment in British ships. It was required that three-fourths of the crews of our ships should be of British nationality. Under the system of freedom which at present obtains the proportion of foreign seamen advanced from four per cent. in 1851, to 11·24 per cent. in 1872, and 16·42 per cent. in 1883. It has fallen to 14 per cent. at the present time. The number of foreigners in British ships was 27,873 in 1884 and 20,000 in 1888. As Mr. Gray has pertinently observed, the proportion of foreigners now employed is much less than the proportion which might have been employed under the old law, which limited the number to one-fourth of the crew in any ship. The foreign seamen in the British service are chiefly from the North of Europe, of the same race and almost of the same language as ourselves. Scandinavians find their employment mainly in our Baltic trade. At the port of Liverpool, in the most desirable services, British seamen are not displaced to any considerable extent by foreigners. Mr. John Burns reported to Mr. Gray that there had been entered and discharged in a single year in the Cunard fleet and home services about 40,000 men. Of these 1,600 were foreigners, or not more than four per cent. of the whole body.

The hardest work done at the present time on board ships is in the stoke-holds of our steamers. Here foreigners are seldom seen unless in certain Lines navigating almost wholly within the Tropics.

In addition to foreign seamen of other nationalities, some 16,500 Lascars are employed by the Peninsular and Oriental and other companies trading to the East. For deck duties in Tropical climates Lascars are more suitable than Englishmen.

We may now sum up with the collective verdict of the Commission on Loss of Life at Sea:—

After giving our best attention to the subject, we are unable to come to the conclusion that there is any just foundation for the allegation that British seamen have deteriorated in quality. We feel satisfied that shipowners who offer continuous service at good rates of pay have no difficulty in finding as good seamen as were ever in the merchant service in past times. . . . There is a general concurrence that British seamen, even when inclined to be unruly in ordinary times, have, in

times of emergency, courage, coolness in the presence of danger, and resources which are not to be found equally in their more submissive mates from abroad.

It is not easy to provide by the action of the State for the improved training of our merchant seamen. Training ships were strongly recommended by Lord Cardwell's Commission on the Manning of the Navy. The Government has never yet recognised the necessity for maintaining training establishments at the commercial ports for the purpose of manning the Navy. If the State has made no provision for the training of merchant seamen, the work has been undertaken, it may be on too extensive a scale, under the inspiration of philanthropic motives.

Putting aside as impracticable any proposals for training, we have to consider whether the State might not accomplish something by means of examinations and certificates. In 1845, and again in 1879, attempts were made to give able seamen an opportunity of passing a voluntary examination in evidence of their efficiency. On the last occasion Mr. Gray, of the Board of Trade, and the President, Sir Charles Adderley, gave every assistance. A suitable scheme of examinations was prepared, and forms of certificate were approved. Partly owing to the formalities and the trouble involved, and partly because no direct advantages were held out to those in possession of certificates, the scheme has practically failed. It is highly desirable that men of character, experience, and ability, should be able to produce at the shipping-offices some official certificate of their superior qualifications. As yet the only certificates of any practical value to the seaman are those granted upon examination to masters and mates. The desirability of certificates for able seamen is fully appreciated by the best men before the mast. Shipowners should encourage certificated seamen by giving them the preference.

It has been shown that the proportion of foreigners in our merchant service, if not increasing, is larger than in any other occupation under British employers. The reasons why employment at sea is less attractive to Englishmen than we could wish are not far to seek. The mariner occupies an inferior position to the artisan in the primary condition of wages. The average wage of the British able seaman may be taken as from 3*l.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* per calendar month. Add to this 30*s.* for the value of provisions, and 10*s.* for the saving in lodging-money while actually on service, and we may take the total earnings of a seaman at 60*l.* a year. The average earnings of artisans on shore may be taken at 80*l.* The comparison in the rate of wages is far from favourable, and the sailor has to bear many privations. The hardest is the long separation from home. It may be humble, but he dearly loves it. To quote from Lieutenant Miller—

The artisan works fifty-four hours weekly, goes home every night to a room with a comfortable dry bed, has fresh food daily, unbroken rest at night, as much outside society as he wishes, together with books and newspapers to any extent, always

rests on Sundays, and, speaking in general terms, is well paid, well fed, well housed, well clad, well cared for—much, very much, better off than the sailor. But as the hours worked and remuneration earned by sailors and workmen of the same social grade ashore cannot be compared, so neither can the relative comforts of the one be placed against those of the other. In these the seaman is altogether at a disadvantage. If sick or hurt by accident there is absolutely no provision made for giving him even ordinary care and attention. The captain may or may not know something about the drugs he administers, and, with the help of the carpenter, may or may not be able to set a broken limb. The space in which a dozen men are huddled is probably no larger than the one room to which each man retires at night on shore. Jack is quite ready to face cheerfully all the unavoidable hardships and dangers of his profession, such as exposure to extremes of heat or cold, wet and hunger. Being drenched to the skin for weeks together, his bed wet and the galley-fire drowned out, are viewed as the common lot of humanity afloat. 'Imprisonment with a chance of drowning' has no terrors for him. He does feel, however, that being 'out of sight' he has somehow been 'out of mind,' and that he has got behind in the race of life in consequence. He feels himself to possess many fine and noble qualities, but somehow or other they are not marketable. All this depresses and disheartens the best men: they either turn to other occupations, or, remaining at sea, become discontented 'growls.'

Taking into view all the unfavourable conditions, the seaman is poorly compensated for the privations and hardships to which he is subjected.

> O'er the wild waters, labouring far from home
> For some bleak pittance, o'er compelled to roam
> Few hearts to cheer him through his dangerous life.

It is only the spirit of adventure which can carry men into the hard life of the sea.

It were useless to dwell on the disadvantages of the sailor if no remedies could be proposed. Much could be done at a comparatively light cost to the shipowner. Continuous employment would be a great boon. When a ship arrives in port the crew should be employed upon work now allowed to pass into the hands of 'stevedores, riggers, and 'longshoremen. In many ships the forecastles might be made more comfortable. The addition of a few cheap luxuries would be a change in a monotonous dietary, and would cost but little.

It is to be regretted that there is no immediate prospect of higher wages for the seaman. A sustained improvement in the shipping-trade must precede a sensible advance in wages. It is an obvious remark that the material well-being of the seaman depends not only on the amount of his earnings, but on his prudence and thrift. Among the many agencies at work for the benefit of the seaman, the Board of Trade may justly claim to be the most effective. With little acknowledgment from the public, Mr. Gray and his officers have steadily laboured in the cause of the sailor. A determined effort has been made to protect him from the machinations of crimps. Improvident, and without experience, young seamen on their return to port from a long voyage yield easily to temptation. Their

character has been drawn with faithful and graphic touches by Sir Cornewall Lewis: 'The seamen are a nation by themselves, a humorous and fantastic people, fierce and rude in whatever they resolve or are inclined to, unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it.'

The crimps, whose professed occupation it is to find employment for seamen, are the principal agents in pandering to the follies and vices of the less reputable men. A considerable check has been put upon their insidious and mischievous proceedings. Under the provisions of the useful Payment of Wages and Rating Act, 1880, the Board of Trade can now ensure that their officers shall be the first persons to get on board homeward-bound ships. Any person not being in Her Majesty's Service who goes on board a ship on her arrival before the seamen lawfully leave or are discharged, is liable to a heavy penalty. With an almost paternal care the officials of the Board of Trade watch over the sailor. They provide seamen with passes, which enable them to proceed without delay to their homes; they see to the examination of the men's accounts; they receive and transmit their wages. The amounts collected fall little short of 200,000*l.* a year. By these means already nearly a million and a half of money has been rescued from dissipation. Many a home has been made the brighter and the better through the benevolent instrumentality of Mr. Gray and his admirable staff.

Evils of a notorious character exist in connection with the shipping of seamen. It has hitherto been impracticable to provide an effective remedy by the intervention of the Government. Advance-notes, the abolition of which has been so strongly recommended by the legislature, have recently been revived. An advance-note is an obligation taken by the shipowner to pay a stipulated amount of wages, conditional upon the fulfilment by the seaman of his engagement. It led to great abuses. It exposed the seaman to temptation and tremendous extortion. Its abolition, although a most desirable reform, gave dissatisfaction and caused difficulty to improvident men. By an Act passed in the last session, advance-notes can now be issued for not exceeding one month's wages. It is a concession to the shortsighted clamour of the thriftless.

A well-established pension fund would be a real boon to our British seamen, and they have a special claim to receive generous treatment from the State. The only men connected with the merchant service who enjoy the advantage of a pension in old age, are the seamen of the Royal Naval Reserve. To other men the purchase of annuities is the only means open for making provision for old age. The proposal for a pension fund was strongly recommended by the commission appointed in 1848, under the presidency of Lord Ellenborough, to inquire into the condition of the merchant seamen's funds.

We do not think it would be in accordance with public feeling, or consistent with public policy, to leave to chance the provision of a decent support in their

declining years for men who, during their lives of peril and hard labour, contribute so largely to the wealth of their country, and who constitute the reserve to which it has recourse for security in time of war.

In 1859 the Manning Commission reported as follows:—

Among the many suggestions which had been offered to them, none had been so strongly and ably advocated as the re-establishment of the Merchant Seamen's Pension Fund. The seaman, on reaching the age of sixty, is in many cases destitute and obliged to have recourse to the parish for support. It would be a great inducement to youths to join the merchant service if they saw that all sailors, on becoming disabled from old age or sickness, were provided for. The seaman who perhaps squanders his wages within a few hours of his discharge would never miss a deduction of one shilling per month, and a pension in his old age would be a strong inducement to remain in the service of his own country instead of sailing under a foreign flag.

In the session of 1860 the establishment of a fund to which the seamen of both the Royal and Merchant Navies would be contributories was recommended to the favourable consideration of Parliament. The report of the Commission of 1859 was strongly backed by the Commission on Unseaworthy Ships in their report, presented in 1874.

In all the leading maritime countries of Europe some provision exists for securing pensions for seamen through the agency of the State. The Government is indemnified for the responsibility it assumes on behalf of the sailor, partly by the obligation to personal service in the Navy imposed in all the great countries of Europe, and partly by the contributions which the seamen are compelled to make to the support of the fund. The system in force in France was founded by Colbert, and is connected with the conscription. The payment is compulsory and amounts to 3 per cent. of the pay of all persons engaged in the maritime service, whether ashore or afloat. The revenue arising from these contributions, and from the interest on funded capital, amounts to more than 300,000*l.* a year.

Public opinion in this country would not tolerate the attempt to levy compulsory contributions to a seaman's pension fund. The Seaman's Congress at Cardiff, while opposed to action on the part of the State, passed resolutions in favour of the establishment, under their own management, of a benefit society for the payment of pensions. Our seamen will merit the highest praise if they can succeed in the attainment of their objects unassisted by Government agency.

As a means to raise the condition and qualifications of the British merchant seaman, no step would be so effective as the enrolment of increased numbers in the ranks of the Royal Naval Reserve. Additional strength is needed for the defence of the Empire. Lord Cardwell's Commission on the Manning of the Navy recommended that the reserve should be composed of 30,000 men. Of these, 20,000 were to be in the first-class, and 10,000 in the second-class reserve. The numbers at present are: First class, 9,435; second class, 8,969;

third class, 312; fourth class, 439;—total 19,155. The Act of Parliament sanctions 30,000 men. We are 10,000 short of the numbers recommended twenty-nine years ago. It can hardly be contended that our responsibilities or our national commerce have diminished in the interval. While the reserve would give valuable support to the Navy, the service offers great benefits to the seamen enrolled. The discipline, the annual retainer, the pension in old age, are boons which every thoughtful man should appreciate.

From these suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the seaman, we turn to the education and professional standing of the officers of the mercantile marine. While many of their number would be ornaments to any profession, on the quarter-deck, as on the forecastle, we have a residuum little worthy to hold certificates or to fill commands. Among the witnesses called by the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at Sea, reference may be made to Captain Methven.

> Viewing (he says) the whole of the merchant service as one profession, including both masters and mates, I, as being one of them myself, have, since I have been brought in contact with them as an assessor, been most thoroughly ashamed. I have felt that the mode in which navigation was conducted in a portion of our merchant service has been discreditable to the country.

Mr. Rothery, the Wreck Commissioner, told the Commission that he had had cases of certificated masters who did not know how to lay a ship's course properly on the chart, or how to make the requisite allowance for tides or currents, and who knew scarcely anything of compass deviation. We need to increase the number of men with high qualifications, and with the power of commanding deference to their professional opinions and advice. The shipowner has a commercial knowledge of shipping. He must look to the ship-master for advice on loading, manning, equipment, and all professional matters. The officer who gives advice should be as far as possible in a position of independence. The object in view will be best secured by raising the standard of professional attainments. The subject was carefully considered in an address delivered by Mr. Anderson as President of the Chamber of Shipping of London. He recommended that a higher standard of examination should be encouraged, and that the Government, when chartering ships, should give the preference to those commanded by extra masters. This proposal has been approved by Rear-Admiral Pickard, a nautical assessor. Mr. Gray, of the Board of Trade, recommends an entire revision of the present classification of masters and mates. He recommends that those only should be styled captains who could pass in the subjects of the extra examination. In his view a regulation that such men alone should be entitled to command large passenger ships would raise the status of the mercantile marine generally.

Passing from the examinations and certificates, attention may be

appropriately directed to the want of any organised system for the professional education of the officers of the mercantile marine. A university has been created for the higher scientific training of officers of the Royal Navy, but Government renders no assistance in the education of the mercantile marine. The facilities which we have created for the Navy at Greenwich might be utilised for this purpose. The professors at Greenwich could give lectures in London. Such aid as the naval university could afford would, however, be available only to students who had served at sea. In the preparatory stage of apprenticeship the conditions usually found in the merchant service leave much to be desired. At Liverpool on board the 'Conway,' and on the Thames on board the 'Worcester,' excellent schools have been established for youths of from thirteen to sixteen years of age destined for the sea. These arrangements are not followed up in the subsequent stages of professional training. On leaving the 'Worcester' and the 'Conway,' parents and guardians of boys have to make their choice between two alternatives. In a few ships midshipmen are carried, who, though they pay high premiums, may not receive corresponding advantage in the care bestowed on their education and discipline. The majority of the future officers of the merchant service commence their careers as apprentices. They fare no better than the men before the mast, and no attempt is made to give systematic instruction at sea in professional subjects. Impressed with its necessity, the present writer is engaged, with the assistance of Messrs. Devitt & Moore, in preparing a more satisfactory plan. It is proposed to make special arrangements in two sailing ships for the instruction of officers. Twenty-four midshipmen will be carried in each ship. A naval instructor will be appointed, who, under the supervision of the captain, will teach navigation and exercise control in all matters of discipline. The dietary will be on the scale approved for the junior officers of the ships. It is hoped that under improved conditions boys will extend their knowledge instead of forgetting, as is usually the case, the subjects taught in the 'Conway' and 'Worcester.' A sea service of four years is obligatory before going up for examination for a Board of Trade certificate. Success or failure in later years must largely depend on the training received in the important stage of apprenticeship.

Let us now turn from the *personnel* to the *matériel* of the merchant service. Spurred forward by Mr. Plimsoll we have made great efforts in recent years to ensure more security for life at sea. The result is shown in the carefully corrected tables prepared by Mr. Gray. In 1881 one in 59·96 of the men employed in our merchant service met with a violent death. In 1887–88 the deaths of seamen by wreck, and accidents other than wreck, were one in 106. The deaths by wreck and casualty were one in 157 as against one in 79·39 in 1881. The loss of life in ships belonging to the United

Kingdom was 1,543 in 1887–88, or 382 less than in the preceding year, and 489 less than the average for the previous ten years. We have another evidence of increased safety in the decrease of premiums of insurance. There is still large room for improvement. Mr. Gray points out that of the 1,543 lives lost in 1887–88, no less than 789 were lost in missing vessels. The list includes a steamer of 1,573 tons, bound from Bombay to Palermo; a steamer of 1,399 tons, bound from Odessa to Rotterdam; and five steamers, ranging from 1,134 to 1,780 tons, bound from British ports to the Mediterranean in coal. In these and similar cases it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the disasters were due to preventible causes.

It is satisfactory to know that an International Conference has been lately assembled at Washington, which has taken into consideration the whole subject of the loss of life at sea and the means for its prevention. The rule of the road; the lights to be carried by vessels; the sound signals in fog; the regulations to determine the seaworthiness of vessels in respect to construction, equipment, manning, discipline; the load line; the saving of life and property from shipwreck by lifeboats and rafts, by the use of oil and other means available at sea, and also by operations from shore; the necessary qualifications of officers and seamen; the question of lines for steamers on frequented routes; night-signals, distress-signals, storm-warnings; the international distribution of the labour of searching for doubtful dangers; the systematic arrangement of lighthouses, buoys, and beacons; and the establishment of a permanent International Maritime Commission—all these were among the many subjects included within the wide scope of the deliberations. We may look forward to good practical results from the inquiry which has been undertaken. Our country has done her part towards securing an effective investigation. We were represented at Washington by Mr. Charles Hall, with whom are associated nautical men of the highest eminence in their profession.

For the losses which take place at sea a large measure of responsibility lies with the shipowner. In his Report to Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Rothery stated that of 402 cases of loss which he had analysed no less than 326 belonged to the category of preventable casualties, such as undermanning, overloading, bad equipment, and undue pressure on masters to make passages, or to cut down expenses.

This brings us to the consideration of the means by which it might be made, in a greater degree than at present, the interest of all concerned to ensure the safety of ships. The law relating to insurance is not to be considered at the Washington conference. That a revision of the law would tend to increase the safety of life at sea is scarcely open to doubt. Abuses have grown up under which owners can recover from the underwriters sums largely in excess of the value of ships and cargoes. Conclusive evidence on this point

was placed before the Royal Commission on Unseaworthy Ships. Mr. Harper, the secretary of the Salvage Association of Lloyds', was asked the question, 'Do you think that this rule of law, which enables the assured to recover more than the value of the property assured, has any tendency to make the shipowner or the master negligent?'

'It is,' he replied, 'in the very nature of things, and in human nature, that it must be so. If a man is in this position, that if he keeps his ship it is worth 8,000*l.* to him, but if he totally loses it it is worth 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* to him, what other deduction can you possibly draw but that he must have a bias in the direction of trying to get the 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.*?'

Sir Thomas Farrer gave similar testimony:

'It was quite clear,' he said, 'that even if you put the shipowner in as good a position by insurance in case of loss as he would occupy if the voyage were successfully completed, you to that extent diminish the motives which otherwise would actuate him in taking care that the vessel was seaworthy. If insurance went beyond that and gave considerable profit in case of loss, which profit he would not have had if the voyage had been successfully completed, you gave a motive—he would not say for fraud, for he believed cases of fraud to be rare—but you gave a motive for great recklessness.'

Mr. Justice Butt, Mr. Hollams, Mr. Walton, Mr. Squarey, and Mr. Lamport gave similar testimony.

The subject of insurance was a prominent topic in the correspondence between the shipowners and the Board of Trade at the time when that department was under the presidency of Mr. Chamberlain. In a letter to the shipowners of Glasgow, Sir Thomas Farrer put the case for the revision of the law with great force and lucidity:—

This brings me to what you say on the subject of insurance. It is desirable in the first place to remove a misapprehension. It has never been said, certainly not by the Board of Trade, that shipowners are in the habit of sending ships to sea with the criminal intention of losing them and profiting by the insurance. To such cases alone could the terms 'criminal class of shipowners' apply. Nor has it ever been stated that it is not the pecuniary interest of a shipowner who has good ships and a good and prosperous business to carry his business on safely. But it cannot be denied that, under any circumstances, full insurance weakens the motives for precaution. And if, in addition, shipowners insure their ships at a higher price than they would fetch in the market: if they continue, in spite of the large depreciation which their property suffers, or in spite of a falling market, to insure them at their original cost; if they make speculative insurances on freight and disbursements; if, when receiving insurances on freight, they do not deduct the expenses which they would have incurred in earning it; and if, in addition to this, employment is failing, and freights and ships are falling in the market, it may well happen that the advantages accruing to the shipowner under his insurance, in case of loss, may be greater than those which he would have enjoyed had his ship arrived in safety, and thus his pecuniary interest may be in losing and not in saving her. To say this is not to say that he sends her to sea in order to lose her; but it is a state of things in which pecuniary interest is on one side and duty on another, and in which the ordinary motives for precaution are dangerously relaxed.

The question of marine insurance was the main subject dealt with in the recent report of the Royal Commission on Loss of Life at

Sea. After quoting the evidence of Mr. Lowndes and other witnesses, the commissioners express their opinion in a report unanimously signed:—

> It appears to us that the interference with the responsibility of shipowners resulting from full insurance has its bearing upon every matter connected with shipping, the construction of the ship, its loading, its equipment, its manning, its officers and crew, and the sailing directions given them. An owner who is fully insured, as compared with one who is uninsured, or who bears part of the risk himself, is almost insensibly deprived of many of the motives or inducements to care and caution which must inevitably be entertained by the other. It is also certain that there have been instances in which ships have been lost with all hands, and where the owners, by being insured for more than the full value of the vessel and all reasonable expectations of freight and profit, have been considerable gainers by the loss. Such cases have been brought under the notice of the Commissioners by Mr. Rothery, the Wreck Commissioner, and by Mr. Gray.

The revision of the law of marine insurance is not an easy task. The subject is peculiarly technical, and the experts give no assistance. The insurance companies which confine their operations to the best risks, and the shipowners of the highest repute, make common cause with men whose practice is widely different from their own. Admitting, however, the difficulties before which successive able Presidents of the Board of Trade have reluctantly given away, it should not be impracticable to so amend the law relating to insurance as to bring it back to a fair contract of indemnity and nothing more. The appointment of a Royal Commission was recommended by the Commission on Unseaworthy Ships. The later Commission on Loss of Life at Sea made certain specific recommendations having for their object the prevention of over-insurance. These recommendations, together with the evidence taken by the Commission, should be referred to a legal Commission to be moulded into practical legislation. It would be impolitic to make revolutionary changes. But reasonable reforms could not be carried through Parliament unless backed by men of the highest authority in the law. No injury would be done to the great mercantile interests of this country by such a reform of the law as would limit the amount recoverable in case of disaster at sea to a fair indemnity for the loss sustained. Reckless investment of money in shipping is injurious to legitimate enterprise. It is in the effort to screw a profit out of business in hard times, and in the face of excessive competition, that lives are imperilled by overloading, undermanning, and the postponement of necessary repairs.

Compulsory load-lines and surveys by the Board of Trade have been strongly advocated as means for the protection of the lives of seamen. The rules laid down by the recent Departmental Committee represent the results of the investigations of the greatest authorities in the profession. Conformity to the rules recommended is the utmost that can be insisted upon on the part of the Board of Trade.

It was stated in the opening lines that the present paper has been

suggested by a visit to the Congress of Seamen at Cardiff. Acting on behalf of a body of men not conspicuous for commercial sagacity, a more than ordinary responsibility will lie upon the officials of the Seamen and Firemen's Union. It will be their duty to watch the action of the Board of Trade, and to press on the attention of members of Parliament all practical proposals for ensuring the safety of life at sea. It will be necessary for them to keep themselves informed of the state of trade, to watch the fluctuations in freights, to note the dividends and other indications of the varying prospects of the shipping trade. They should know when to press and when to restrict their demands. Above all, their influence should be used to raise the moral tone and seaman-like efficiency of those who look to them for guidance. The representatives of the seamen at the conference were impressed with the responsibility of their position, and they have probably observed with regret the action taken by the local branches of the Seamen and Firemen's Union in connection with the strike of the gas stokers in London.

BRASSEY.

THE SUPPRESSION OF RABIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

FROM time immemorial, what is popularly known as 'dog-madness' has excited a strange interest and created alarm among the people of those countries in which it manifests itself; and the surmises, discussions, and panics to which it gives rise in our own day, are but a continuation or repetition of those with which mankind, in Western regions at least, were more or less familiar centuries ago. Homer is by some authorities supposed to refer to it in the *Iliad*, and Pausanias, in his *Travels in Greece*, alluding to the story of Actæon, the son of Aristæus and Antonoe, who was killed by his hounds, thought the only foundation for the myth arose from the circumstance that the famous hunter was attacked by them when they were rabid—evidence of the dread which this canine disorder had generated thus early in the history of mankind. Aristotle alludes to it as 'lutta,' but Celsus appears to have made a special study of it, especially as it affected man, and in whom the Greeks, he informs us, named it 'hudrophobia.' He particularly insists upon the immediate and energetic treatment of the wound made by the mad dog, and mentions that the family of Psylli, as also that of Marii (Africans practising at Rome), enjoyed the special privilege of abstracting the poison by suction with the mouth. The sagacious precautions he recommends show not only that the disease was, for the time, well understood, but that it must have been somewhat prevalent, and that the danger and terror which accompanied it compelled the fathers of medicine to exercise their skill in devising prophylactic and remedial measures. Euripides, the Greek tragic poet, is reported to have suffered from the disease, from which he was rescued by bathing. Virgil and Ovid refer to it, Pliny devotes much attention to it, and dwells on its fatality and the superstitions then prevailing with regard to it. Indeed, the Greek and Roman physicians and veterinarians of the early centuries of our era have given, amongst them, an easily recognised and fairly accurate description of rabies as manifested in the dog and mankind; but they say nothing of sanitary police measures, and they seem to have had in view merely its prevention in the person bitten, either by local treatment of the injury, and the

administration of strange potions, or a cure by ridiculous nostrums when the always fatal disease became developed.

In our own country it is probable that rabies has been present from very remote times, but the first mention I can find of its existence is at a comparatively late period, and then in such a way as to indicate that it appeared in so formidable a manner as to become memorable. This reference is to be found in the laws of Howel the Good, of Wales, which were revised about the year 1026 (A.D.), and in which, defining the worth of a 'brock' or badger, it is stated that, 'during the year there was a madness among the dogs, it (the badger) obtained the privilege of a sow.' That the malady was a frequent and a serious one in England in those days, we also have conclusive evidence in certain Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which have been preserved to us, and which contain remedies and incantations wherewith to cure or exorcise it. In one of these, a Saxon 'Herbarium,' are a number of fantastic remedies for 'bite, rend, or tear of mad dog;' and in another—a Læce or Leech Book—there are similar remedies for the same accident; while in another—the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus* of Sextus Placitus (in all probability a fictitious name)—there is a farrago of ridiculous recipes, and an allusion to the worm under the dog's tongue, which Pliny dilates upon, and which notion (that this is the cause of rabies) is still entertained in this and other countries. Not only were remedies prescribed for the prevention of hydrophobia in those who had been bitten—and in one of these the sodden head and liver of a mad dog were to be given to him who had been torn, and which 'wonderfully healeth him'—but portions of the mad dog were given to cure jaundice and cancer in man.[1]

After the sixteenth century foreign writers on the disease become numerous,[2] but perhaps the earliest in this country to deal with it in a special manner is Thomas Spackman, doctor of physick, who published *A Declaration of such grievous Accidents as commonly follow the Biting of Mad Dogges, together with the Cure thereof*, in 1613. In this book there is a curious jumble of the opinions of the Greeks and Romans, and the superstitions and practices of the times in which the author lived, when rabies was under consideration. In his preface he says:—

> Having collected out of many learned authors, sundry speciall notes and observations, showing what strange and cruell accidents doe usually or very often follow the bitings of madde dogges, and knowing that among us sometimes (though not so frequently as in hotter countries) this mischeife happens to the great danger both of man and beast: I am bould to present them (handled and disposed as they be) to the generall view (I hope) for publicke good. Our language (for ought I know) hath never yet said so much of this subject. . . . In the meantime, seeing

[1] See *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, vol. i.

[2] In my work on rabies and hydrophobia (London, 1872) allusion is made to all those who have treated of the malady, both in early and later times.

this familiar animal, the Dog, is the servant of poore men, the delight of great men, and a companion of most men, to prevent inconveniences that may fall—*Pecori, pecorisq magistro*—both to this kinde Cattell and to their loving Keeper, as also to prepare (if need require) a convenient remedie for so disastrous a mishap, I have thought good, thus (as I can) to forwarne their negligence that think slightly of such a wound, and to reforme their ignorance, that may be (when time is) to seeke for needfull help.

But nothing is said of sanitary police measures in this curious treatise, all the attention being directed to a *cure*.

And so it has continued up to quite recent days. Though the literature of the subject rapidly increased, and the progress of medicine was very marked, yet so far as preventive or curative measures are concerned, there is nothing worthy of note: and the disease, terrifying and fatal as in the old times, was, in the popular mind, still shrouded in mystery, which was further deepened by the superstitious notions entertained with regard to it, as well as by the religious rites devised by priestcraft (those pertaining to the keys of St. Hubert, for instance), and made acceptable by ignorance and fear.

From early in the thirteenth century there are recorded outbreaks of rabies, and these increase in frequency as time goes on. In the eighteenth century they were very numerous and extensive, and were reported upon not only in Europe, but also in such distant countries as the West Indies, especially Barbadoes, Charleston (Southern States of America), Boston and other towns in North America, and Jamaica, Hispaniola, and the French West Indies generally, and in North and South America. In these outbreaks dogs and people were not the only sufferers, for the domesticated animals generally were infected, while wild creatures such as wolves, foxes, bears, and boars, were not exempted. So alarming and universal was the pestilence among the dogs in Hispaniola (St. Domingo), that orders were given by the government to destroy all of them in that country; and so effectually was the decree carried out, that the surface of the water in the harbour of Port-au-Prince was crowded with their dead bodies. In some of these places it appeared for the first time, being conveyed to them from those parts which were so severely visited by it. In this country, Scotland suffered much, especially Fife, in 1748, and many cattle and swine died from the effects of wounds inflicted by mad dogs. In 1759 and 1760 madness raged among dogs in London, in consequence, it was supposed, of a mild winter and early spring. 'It first appeared in the borough of Southwark, and the consternation it caused diffused itself all over the cities of London and Westminster. The magistrates immediately issued a very prudent and judicious order for every person who kept dogs to confine them for a month within doors, and ordered their beadles and other officers to destroy all dogs found at large, with a reward of two shillings for each dog which should be killed.' Great cruelty was the result of this bribe, and the

most barbarous scenes were enacted by the brutal rabble, which in this way had a premium put upon their savage propensities. Moorfields was the burial place of all the animals so slaughtered; and we are informed that 'no less than the bodies of thirty dead dogs were told in one day in the Tower Ditch, by a person of undoubted veracity, who was only casually passing by that way.'[3] The outbreak appears to have continued until 1762.

In 1774 the disease was very general in England, and we find that in the early part of that year it was causing much alarm in Lancashire; so much so, that at a meeting of the parishioners of Eccles, near Manchester, it was unanimously agreed to strike off from the poor-rate all paupers who should keep dogs; they also decided to pay five shillings for every mad dog killed in their parish.[4]

It may be noted that in 1763 France, Italy and Spain were invaded by the disorder. In Italy, in Asti, Alessandria, and other places, all dogs, no matter who their owners were, were killed by the authorities; while in Madrid it is stated that nine hundred were destroyed in one day.

In the present century rabies evidently has become much more frequent than in the last, and has still further extended its geographical limits. In 1803 it showed itself for the first time in Peru, and caused great destruction and consternation; in one town alone, Ica, forty-two persons were bitten, and the majority of them died from hydrophobia. All the dogs in Lima were destroyed by order of the viceroy. It was imported into La Plata in 1806, by sporting dogs belonging to English officers, and it has continued there; in the same year it was very prevalent in England, and especially in London and its vicinity; and in the following year it visited Dover.

It also appeared for the first time in the island of Mauritius in 1813; its introduction was ascribed to English dogs carried by a ship from the Bay of Bengal. In 1815 there was an extensive outbreak at Copenhagen; and in 1824 it was general in Sweden, Norway, and Russia, extending itself to cats, foxes, wolves, and even to reindeer. In 1847 Malta was visited for the first time, it is surmised; in 1852 the town of Adalia in Turkey was invaded by a rabid wolf, which wounded 128 people and killed eighty-five sheep; many of the people died of hydrophobia. The first case of rabies in Hong-kong occurred in 1857 in an English bloodhound, which bit several people, of whom one subsequently died of the disease; it was witnessed in Canton in 1860; at Shanghai it occurred among English dogs in 1867, two Europeans who were wounded by them perishing from infection; at Chinkiang it was seen in 1869–70. I personally ascertained its existence in Tientsin, North China, in 1860.

The outbreaks on the continent of Europe, and in North America, have been very common for the last fifty years, and in this country

[3] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1860. [4] *Ibid.* June 1774.

some of them have been extremely extensive and persistent, causing much dread, and heavy loss of human and animal life. In 1856 these outbreaks began to assume an alarming form. In that year it was common in Yorkshire, and people and deer died from inoculation by rabid dogs at Barnsley; in Berkshire many sheep died from rabies, due to the bite of a mad lurcher. In Lancashire, in 1864, there was a severe outbreak, and so great were the apprehensions of injury that all stray dogs were destroyed; in June of that year upwards of one thousand had been killed in Liverpool alone. In the same year twelve people in England, and seven in Ireland, died of hydrophobia; and in the following year rabies prevailed to a very unusual extent in and around London, people and sheep being infected, while the deaths among people from hydrophobia in England were nineteen. In 1866 it had assumed a formidable extension and virulency, especially in Lancashire. Thirty-six deaths from hydrophobia in England were reported by the Registrar-General. Eleven of these were of persons in London, thirteen in Lancashire, three in Northumberland, two in Buckinghamshire, two in Durham, and one each in Kent, Hampshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Cheshire. In 1867 a 'Metropolitan Streets Act' was passed for London; this enabled the police to seize all vagrant dogs. And in June 1868 it was put in force, with the result that the number of cases of hydrophobia soon became greatly diminished.

But the outbreak extended elsewhere. In Lancashire and Yorkshire in 1868 it was very severe, and the number of people and cattle bitten by mad dogs was causing great consternation and dread, while the mortality in man and beast was alarming. Gradually spreading, through the inertness or apathy of the local authorities, in time Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Cumberland, Durham, Rutland, and Sussex were invaded, and finally mad dogs and their ravages were chronicled as far north as Dundee, the epizooty continuing until 1873. During its prevalence, the Lyme (Cheshire) harriers were infected, and had to be destroyed, as were the Quorn and Albrighton packs, and the Durham county hounds. The destruction of cattle, sheep, horses, and pigs was very considerable; and the malady was becoming of such grave importance, that I deemed it my duty to direct public attention to its increasing danger to the community by publishing a monograph on it,[5] in which measures for its suppression were proposed, which, if they had been energetically carried out in the United Kingdom, would soon have completely extinguished it, and thus have saved many people from a painful death in the years which have intervened, as well as prevented the loss of valuable property in animals, discomfort and cruelty to dogs, and great annoyance to their owners. These measures I will allude to when considering how rabies is to be got rid of; in the meantime it may be remarked that

[5] *Rabies and Hydrophobia*: London, 1872.

the reason for this long-continued and wide-spread outbreak is to be found—as in all previous and subsequent ones—in the insufficiency of the sanitary police measures adopted in the different towns and districts; the late period at which they were introduced, and the irregular and only too often perfunctory manner in which they were applied; the absence of a proper and uniform sanitary organisation operating from a centre, to combat the spread of this and other contagious diseases of animals; and the general ignorance prevailing with regard to the symptoms and nature of this one in particular.

Since the above-mentioned outbreak, which was among the most extensive and long continued this country has experienced, rabies has been on the increase, if we might judge by the annual mortality among people from hydrophobia. Thus, according to the Registrar-General's returns for the sixteen years ending with 1863, the total number of deaths was 123, or a yearly average of eight. In the following six years there were ninety-three deaths, being an annual average of fifteen, or nearly twice as many as in the former period; but in 1885 the yearly average had increased to forty-five in England, a rise of nearly 300 per cent. So alarming, indeed, had the mortality become, that in this year a Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to investigate the cause or causes of the malady and its increase, and to propose measures for its suppression.

This increase in the cases of hydrophobia in mankind of course corresponded with a greater development of the disease in dogs, and its invasion of a greater extent of country. In 1870 only eight counties were reported as infected, but subsequently no fewer than thirty-three have been named as haunted by mad dogs. The spasmodic and disjointed efforts made to combat the disease were, nevertheless, sufficiently successful to demonstrate, in the most convincing manner, what would follow the application of common-sense measures devised with the view of getting rid of it altogether. Unfortunately, such measures were not introduced, and though the contagion was checked, and its extension limited, it has always been allowed to smoulder in a few centres, from which it could emerge whenever circumstances were favourable, and especially when the partially repressive regulations were rescinded. In the Annual Report of the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council for 1888 (page 16), we find the following significant remarks: 'It is worthy of note that rabies was practically limited to two areas in the country: one in which it is habitually existent, a district including the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and York (West Riding); the other comprising counties which are close to the metropolis, and including the metropolis, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent. The total cases of rabies were 176; of these, 166 were divided between the two areas named. That the disease might have been extirpated in the two groups of counties to which it was confined, is hardly a matter for

doubt; but without the alarm engendered by an extensive outbreak no restriction on the movement of dogs can be maintained, and we shall doubtless continue to repeat the system of checking the affection, and allowing it to spread again as soon as the excitement is allayed. A repetition of the repressive measures is likely to be required soon, as rabies is steadily increasing in the metropolis and its vicinity, in the absence of any regulations.'

It may be observed that, in consequence of the restrictions imposed in 1885, in which year there were twenty-five deaths in mankind from hydrophobia in London alone, there were only nine in 1886; but as the measures were only enforced for twelve months, in 1887 rabies again became prevalent in the metropolis and elsewhere, 497 cases being reported in that year. In 1888 restrictions were again resorted to, and the cases fell to 176; but in a brief space they were withdrawn, and the number of mad dogs reported jumped up to 339 in 1889. In the metropolis, 330 dogs were killed by the police, and of these 123 were reported as rabid; while seven persons died in London from hydrophobia.

In considering this disease, human beings and dogs are usually only taken into account, and certainly it is sufficiently serious for them; but other creatures are also involved, and at times the loss among them is heavy. Horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs are bitten by mad dogs, and sometimes perish from the effect in considerable numbers; even deer do not escape, and we have had two instances in recent times in which herds were nearly decimated—one in Richmond Park, the other at Ickworth, in Essex. In France in 1887, there were 2,567 rabid dogs reported; and 426 domestic animals of various species bitten by them, and valued at 4,000*l.*, were destroyed or died because of the disease.

Apart from the economical losses which rabies occasions, it must be looked at from a humanitarian and sanitary point of view; and in this double aspect no disorder affecting animals possesses nearly so much interest or importance. Hydrophobia, as rabies is usually designated when it is transferred to man, is a most painful disease to those suffering from it, and most distressing to witness. Even when watching animals which are affected with rabies, it is impossible to withhold pity and sympathy from them, because of their wretched condition; but the agonising symptoms exhibited by a human being, and especially if it be a child (as so often happens), make one feel that it would be better to be without dogs altogether rather than have our fellow-creatures exposed to such a terrible torture from which recovery is impossible, and the excruciating pangs of which medicine can do but little to alleviate. When witnessing a person dying from hydrophobia, one is inclined to sternly demand why mankind and animals should suffer and perish from it year after year, when it might, with trifling trouble and at a small sacrifice, be

stamped out entirely, and with a little care kept out of our country for ever.

There are three reasons for the existence of such a cruel and destructive disease in the United Kingdom: (1) A defective sanitary organisation for dealing with the contagious diseases of animals; (2) Ignorance and apathy on the part of the public; (3) A spurious sentiment of humanity with regard to dogs, which almost goes so far as to make these pseudo-humanitarians exclaim, 'Perish mankind and all other creatures, but spare the dogs discomfort!'

The third reason is perhaps the most serious, if we may judge from the present agitation against muzzling dogs to prevent the spread of rabies; as it prevents the adoption of those measures upon which the extinction of the disease depends And yet nothing could be more painfully ridiculous than this opposition to what is a most essential element in the suppression of an outbreak of this horrid disorder. In ancient Egypt the cat was worshipped; in modern England it is the dog. In Kensington Town Hall on the 22nd of December, 1886, a dog-worshipper was not ashamed to assert that 'the dog is not only a noble and a beautiful animal, but he is immortal—nay, divine!' Such a sentiment, one might venture to suggest, indicates a condition of mind bordering on insanity. It certainly is grossly spurious humanity; for those who oppose measures for combating rabies are not only the enemies of their own species, but also of the dog and other animals, all of which they appear to be willing to sacrifice to a most dreadful death in order that they may indulge their selfish but erroneous whims. An animal of far more importance to mankind than the dog, the horse, is subjected to the greatest discomforts, fatigue, and even torture, in order to serve us and minister to our pleasures, and yet his misfortunes receive little if any notice from the dog-worshippers. He is mutilated and deformed to meet the fashion; a severe bit is put into his mouth; a gag in the form of a bearing-rein is fastened on his head; his eyes are partially blindfolded; iron shoes are nailed on his hoofs; his tail is chopped off to such an extent that for the remainder of his life he must be tortured to madness by flies; and he is worked to the extremity of his strength to the last of his days—his toil and hardship increasing generally in proportion to his years—and yet with all this, those people who go into paroxysms of rage and threaten to turn out a Government which dares to ordain that their pampered useless dogs shall wear an easy-fitting apparatus over the mouth, to prevent injury to people and canines at a critical time, have not a thought or a word for the greatest benefactor to man—the horse! On such people the responsibility for deaths from hydrophobia should surely be placed. To oppose the extinction of a disease which is dangerous to mankind should be considered a crime; to do this when animals are concerned is tantamount to cruelty.

That rabies can be suppressed does not admit of a doubt. Its existence depends solely upon its contagious principle, and it cannot arise spontaneously under any conditions, any more than dogs themselves can. Eighteen years ago, through being unable to trace the origin of a case of rabies which occurred under my personal observation at Rochester, Kent, I was of opinion that it might have a spontaneous origin; and this opinion, I may state, was held at that time by several of the leading veterinarians on the Continent (Bouley in France, and Roll in Austria). But soon afterwards, on a more careful consideration of its geographical extent, and the result of sanitary police measures in different countries, I arrived at the conclusion that its maintenance was due to its contagium only, and that if this were destroyed there could be no more rabies or hydrophobia. This conclusion I have made known on every possible occasion.

It may also be asserted, that though many kinds of creatures can become infected, and may infect each other, yet the dog is the original infector and the chief disseminator, the dissemination being effected by inoculation, in nearly all cases by means of a bite. After inoculation, if it is to be effective, a variable period elapses before the signs of disease manifest themselves; this is the period of latency or incubation, and it may extend from a few weeks to many months, but in the great majority of cases it does not go beyond six months, though there are some recorded in which it has been longer. Twelve months should cover all cases, and therefore if dogs could be prevented from biting for that period in this country, and no dogs were allowed to enter it from other infected countries, the contagion must perish for lack of renewal, and the scourge would be no more seen or felt. What a blessing to mankind, dogs, and other animals this would be! Even the dog-worshippers might contrive to understand what a benefit it would confer upon their idol, if they would only consider the matter. There would then be no need for all those futile, because partial and temporary, measures which harass dog-owners and cause discomfort to dogs, while they have to be repeated incessantly. Nor would man look with grave and deserved suspicion, even amounting to dread, upon a devoted animal companion which he at present allows to be exposed to the risks of infection that will perchance destroy them both. Surely a few months of inconvenience are as nothing when compared with the advantages that would be obtained. Think of the children and adults who would be spared a torturing death in future years! Consider the perpetual abolition of the diabolical muzzle, ye cynophilists, and know that in the days to come dogs might bite and rend to their heart's content without being suspected or accused of madness, or any doubt be entertained as to the innocuousness of their saliva.

Such a consummation, devoutly to be wished, can be obtained by the enforcement for about twelve months of measures which

sensible and humane people would not consider by any means onerous, and are certainly far from injurious, or even very annoying, to dogs themselves. Such measures, however, should not be left to local authorities to devise or carry out as they might think fit, but be framed by, and strictly executed under the direction of the Government, so as to ensure uniformity, regularity, and promptitude. Nothing can be more ridiculous, futile, or harassing than the present method of dealing with the disease, and it cannot be wondered at that angry protests are launched from every side against it. If a town, district, or county is infected, severe measures of repression are promulgated, and their enforcement is attended to by the police; but the adjoining regions are exempted. Consequently, it happens that while in a town or village on the borders of the proclaimed area all dogs are kept rigidly muzzled and otherwise 'coerced,' in another town or village a few hundred yards away, but in another district or county, they are entirely free from restraint of any kind. Nay, it has happened recently that dogs in the Metropolitan district have been placed in rigid subjection, and their owners exposed to pains and penalties should they neglect to comply with the police orders, while in the City of London the dogs were at perfect liberty; and not long ago I was informed that on one side of the city of Dublin dogs were muzzled, and on the other side they were not. This is making sanitary police a harassing burlesque. Mad dogs do not respect parish or county boundaries, and when we know that in their wandering fits they have been known to travel fifty and more miles, attacking people and animals as they trotted along, it need not be a matter for surprise that rabies cannot always be confined to a certain region, or that people should complain of the useless hardship to which they are subjected. When rabies is reported in a certain area, the suppressive measures ought to be applied over a wide surrounding zone, and directions for their execution should emanate from a central authority acting for the United Kingdom.

In this country we have had ample experience of the tardy or perfunctory manner in which local authorities, in many instances, deal with the disease, and it would appear that in France matters are no better managed, but are perhaps even worse. From the last accessible report of the Minister of Agriculture—that for 1887—it would appear that in that year there was not a department free from rabies. In each of thirty-one of these there were at least ten rabid dogs; seventeen departments had more than ten and less than twenty; twenty-six had more than twenty and less than fifty; nine had more than fifty and less than 100. In the Basses-Pyrénées there were 101, and in the Seine 642 cases. In France, the sanitary police measures applicable to rabies are based on three principles: (1) The declaration of cases of rabies, which alone gives authority to seek for animals which have been bitten by mad dogs; (2) The immediate destruction of all dogs and of all animals which have been so bitten;

(3) The destruction of stray dogs, among which the malady is perpetuated.

Unfortunately, observes the Minister, these measures are not always applied with the rigour which such a disease demands. The owners of dogs will not declare the existence of the malady so long as they can dispense with doing so, and there are scarcely any of them who would voluntarily destroy their dogs if they were bitten or worried by rabid ones; the majority of them would rather shield their dogs from this capital measure, which is the most important of all those that have been devised for dealing with the scourge. And neither do the agents of the authorities bring sufficient energy to bear in carrying out the sanitary prescriptions. The tribunals themselves also contribute to fetter the action of the sanitary service by the extreme indulgence they manifest in the too rare instances in which delinquents are brought before them. In none of the departments is the order, which prescribes the slaughter of every dog not provided with a collar bearing the address of its owner, effectively carried out. These are the reasons, he adds, why, among this wandering dog population without owners, homes, or supervision, rabies is incessantly revivified; and they explain why every year witnesses an increase in the number of rabid dogs. The statistics of the Seine department are particularly instructive in this respect. In 1883, 182 rabid dogs were reported; in 1884 there were 301; in 1885, 518; in 1886, 601; in 1887, 644; and there were more than 500 during the first quarter of 1888. But, he remarks, it would be a great injustice to hold the authorities alone responsible for this state of affairs; on the contrary, a great share of the responsibility rests with the public, who, in consequence of an excessive tenderness for the canine species, resist the application of the most essential measures, and will only allow the authorities to act when some accident alarms them from the circumstances in which it occurs, or when some persons have become victims to the disease. Then only are they moved, and every one calls out for energetic action; but whenever the recollection of such occurrences becomes effaced, the dangers are forgotten, and then protests are heard against the cruelty inflicted upon dogs by the precautionary measures.

The Minister asserts that the legislative measures and the regulations, if properly enforced, are sufficient to ensure the extinction of rabies in a very few years; and he remarks that the reports from the departments of Var and Loiret furnish a startling proof of this, and amply demonstrate that there is no need for new laws. The considerable extension of rabies which took place in the department of the Var in 1884–5, was a memorable event. Then the Prefect showed energy, and the result was soon evident; for in 1886 in the whole department there were only six rabid dogs; in 1887 there were but four, and it was not certain whether even these were diseased, as

there were afterwards no rabid animals in the villages through which they passed, though thirty dogs, with which they had been in contact or were bitten by them, were destroyed as suspected. It might, therefore, be affirmed that rabies was extinguished in this department which it had kept in a state of terror for two years. In Loiret there were twenty cases of rabies during the first quarter of 1887; but the public became alarmed, energetic measures were resorted to, and during the month of August there were only three mad dogs; from that time until the end of the year only one dog was killed. In the department of the Seine it was ordered that only dogs which were led or muzzled should be allowed in the public streets; and during the whole time that this measure was maintained, the number of cases of rabies progressively diminished, but a recrudescence of the malady took place immediately on the order being rescinded.

In every country in which rabies has prevailed and in which the central authority has acted with energy, the disease has either been altogether extinguished or kept greatly in check; in the latter it has generally been introduced from without—an occurrence which continental states have great difficulty in guarding against. In Germany, for instance, it has been found impossible to get rid of the malady, because it is continually being introduced from adjacent countries—France, Austria, Poland, Holland, and Belgium. Yet in certain parts of Germany, where stringent regulations are in force, the disease is either very rare or quite unknown, where it was formerly very common and destructive. In Berlin, for instance, it is seldom seen, and in some provinces it has almost disappeared, while in others again it has been quite extinguished. The information from the Grand Duchy of Baden is very instructive and reliable with regard to the suppression of the disease. It would appear that in 1888 there were in the Duchy 33,277 dogs (of which 24,654 were males, and 8,631 were females). The increase in the dog-tax which took place in 1876 was intended to diminish the number of dogs; but the diminution which followed did not continue for long, and the number in time regained its old standard. Owing, however, to the application of rigorous sanitary police measures, the cases of rabies gradually decreased, and since 1884 it may be said to have entirely disappeared; for though in 1887 there was one case, it occurred in a dog which had been recently brought from Metz.

The following table will show the result of these measures up to 1888. It may here be noted that in a census of the domestic animals in Baden, made on the 3rd of December, 1887, there were 28,303 dogs (of which 20,832 were males, and 7,471 females). From 1878 to 1881, there was a gradual decrease in the number, owing to the imposition of the higher tax; but there was a notable increase again from 1882 up to 1888—in one year alone, from 1887 to 1888, it will be observed that there was an augmentation of nearly 5,000.

Years	Affected with Rabies						
	Mankind	Dogs	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Cats
Under the old tax:							
1871 . . .	—	18	--	—	--	—	1
1872 . . .	2	37	1	1	—	—	--
1873 . . .		27	3	2	—	1	—
1874 . . .	--	50	—	2	-	2	—
1875 . . .	5	43	2	-	-	2	—
Under the high tax and sanitary police regulations:							
1876 . . .		28	2	1			—
1877 . . .		3					—
1878 . . .		4					--
1879 . . .		2			-		—
1880 . . .		2		-		-	—
1881 . . .		2	-			—	-
1882 . . .		3				-	
1883 . . .		2		-			—
1884 . . .		2				--	--
1885 . . .							
1886 . . .						-	-
1887 . . .		1*	-	1	-		--
1888 . . .	—						--

Brought from Metz.

In proportion to the human population, it would appear that in 1887 there were 7,365 dogs for the communes containing 4,000 people, and 20,938 for those with less than 40,000 inhabitants. This circumstance is worthy of consideration in view of getting rid of the disease; for in Baden, in order to prevent the propagation of rabies, which occurs so readily in large centres, the dog-tax was fixed at sixteen marks (sixteen shillings) annually for each dog in towns, while it was only eight marks in those localities containing less than 4,000 inhabitants.

So that in this part of Germany rabies has been got rid of. It is the same in Denmark, where the last case appeared in the island of Fuhnen in 1884, and in it and in Sweden its extinction has been due to the rigid application of sanitary police measures. With regard to the latter country, Professor Lindquist, of the Stockholm Veterinary School, wrote to me last September in these terms:—

For the last ten years (1879 to 1888) the history of *rabies canina* is as follows. In 1879 in Gothenburg one dog was affected, and in the northern parts of Sweden (Lapland) nine dogs, one sheep, one cat, and two people were reported as attacked by it; in 1880-81 no cases; in 1882 three suspected cases; in 1883-85 no cases; in 1886 the disease appeared by means of a dog imported from St. Petersburg; 1887-88 no cases. The importation of dogs from countries in which rabies is prevalent is forbidden. When the disease appears in Sweden, rabid dogs and animals bitten by them are killed, and in the radius of ten kilometres from the place where the malady occurs, muzzling of all dogs is enforced for a period of 120 days after

the last case. With regard to suspected animals that had bitten any person, the same regulations are carried out as are laid down in your remarkable work, *Rabies and Hydrophobia*.

The measures which have stamped out rabies in Norway, Sweden, Baden, and elsewhere, will extinguish it in the United Kingdom; and the same measure which prevents its invading these countries will stop its reappearance here when it has once been got rid of.

In a country in which the disease is prevalent, in order to stifle it three measures are necessary; and to render them effective they must be rigorously and vigorously carried out.

The first of these is muzzling all dogs for a period covering the extreme limit of the latent stage of the scourge. The muzzle has two most important advantages. In the first place, it prevents dogs biting when at large, and so prevents fatal inoculation should they be infected. Its utility in this respect has been demonstrated in every outbreak of rabies, and the arguments put forward against its employment will not bear scrutiny when confronted with the facts accumulated in its favour. In the second place, it affords a ready indication that a dog wearing it is cared for, and is not an ownerless wandering animal—one of the class that usually disseminates the contagion, and which should therefore be captured as suspected. Rabid dogs usually escape from their homes, owing to a strange impulse, and roam about the country; for this reason, in some parts of Germany the disorder is named the 'Wanderseuche,' and in Illyria it is known as 'stecklina,' or the escape disease. A well-fitting muzzle should cause no injury and very little inconvenience to the dog wearing it. Horses disposed to bite have to wear muzzles, and no one seems to think it a hardship for them to do so; it is a safety measure, and so is muzzling dogs in a country where rabies prevails. But to be absolutely effective in eradicating the disease, muzzles should be worn far beyond the infected regions—indeed, universally in islands like our own; and there should be no exceptions as to kinds of dogs being exempted when out of doors. Exemption has been claimed, for instance, for shepherds' dogs, but I really can see no valid reason for such exclusion. In this I am supported by the letter of a farmer and grazier, which appeared in the *Mark Lane Express* for the 2nd of February of the present year. He writes: 'The farmers and graziers in Kent object very little to the (muzzling) order, the dogs do not mind the muzzle after the first, and a sheep dog in a good wire muzzle can do his work and bark as well as without one. Of course, he cannot bite the animals, nor do I want him to.'

When rabies is suppressed, then the muzzle can be abolished.

The second measure is almost as important as the first. All dogs over three months of age should be registered and licensed, the licence being fixed at a comparatively high figure for pleasure or non-utility dogs. In connection with this, and as evidence that a

dog is licensed and registered, it should wear a collar with the owner's name and address thereon, and have a special number or mark affixed thereto.

The third measure is the destruction of all unlicensed and vagrant dogs. These are the animals which are really a source of damage and danger—damage to sheep-farms, and danger because of their spreading distemper and rabies.

There are some minor or secondary measures which should receive attention, such as the destruction of animals bitten by rabid dogs, and which should be looked upon as suspected; compulsory declaration of the existence of the disease; the owners of dogs being held responsible for the damage these inflict, &c.

A system of quarantine for imported dogs, unless it can be clearly shown that they come from non-infected countries, is absolutely necessary to keep these islands free from rabies. The history of the disease affords many instances of its introduction into countries in which it was entirely unknown, by infected dogs from regions in which it prevailed; and there are territories, such as Sweden and Norway and our Australasian colonies, which are kept free from it only by quarantine. Some years ago I was consulted by the Agent-General for New South Wales (who acted under instructions from that country), as to the best measures to be adopted in order to keep our colonies in that hemisphere free from rabies, which would have a most disastrous effect in them if once introduced. I recommended six months' vigilant quarantine. This has been carefully enforced, a heavy penalty being imposed in case of evasion, and the plague is still unknown; one of the strongest arguments against the spontaneity of the malady. To exclude it from our shores, a similar measure is necessary, but, owing to the close proximity of infected countries, the period of detention should be longer. The importation of dogs into these islands is not a very urgent matter, and it is not at all unlikely that it would be no great hardship or loss if they were altogether excluded, as is the case in Sweden, at least until the infected countries could be declared free from it.

I have said nothing as to the preventive, or rather protective, treatment of rabies and hydrophobia introduced by M. Pasteur, for the simple reason that when we might suppress the disease altogether in this country, it would seem worse than foolish to keep it always with us—with all its terrors, risks, and inconveniences—and have to, at the same time, either send bitten persons (we could not well send animals) to Paris to be protectively inoculated, or to provide one or more expensive establishments on this side of the Channel for this purpose, in which rabbits must be dying from the disorder every day all the year round, in order that their spinal cords might be prepared for inoculating some chance person who had been wounded by a mad or suspected dog. Such a procedure would not look very sensible, or

even humane, so far as the rabbits were concerned at least. My opinion to this effect will be found in an appendix to the Report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into M. Pasteur's treatment of people bitten by mad dogs, of which Committee I was a member. Let us stamp out the disease entirely by the measures I have indicated, and keep it away from our country by the total exclusion or quarantine of dogs, and then there will be no occasion for panics, muzzles, or Pasteurian inoculation; nor cause for sorrowful regret at the continued loss of human life from hydrophobia. This desire is urgently expressed no less in the interest of dogs than of mankind; though I confess that I value the welfare of my own species a great deal more than I do the lives of canines, much as I consider and even love these.

GEORGE FLEMING

CAPITAL—THE MOTHER OF LABOUR.

THE first act of a new-born child is to draw a deep breath. In fact, it will never draw a deeper, inasmuch as the passages and chambers of the lungs, once distended with air, do not empty themselves again; it is only a fraction of their contents which passes in and out with the flow and the ebb of the respiratory tide. Mechanically, this act of drawing breath, or inspiration, is of the same nature as that by which the handles of a bellows are separated, in order to fill the bellows with air; and, in like manner, it involves that expenditure of energy which we call exertion, or work, or labour. It is, therefore, no mere metaphor to say that man is destined to a life of toil: the work of respiration which began with his first breath ends only with his last; nor does one born in the purple get off with a lighter task than the child who first sees light under a hedge.

How is it that the new-born infant is enabled to perform this first instalment of the sentence of life-long labour which no man may escape? Whatever else a child may be, in respect of this particular question, it is a complicated piece of mechanism, built up out of materials supplied by its mother; and, in the course of such building-up, provided with a set of motors—the muscles. Each of these muscles contains a stock of substance capable of yielding energy under certain conditions, one of which is a change of state in the nerve fibres connected with it. The powder in a loaded gun is such another stock of substance capable of yielding energy in consequence of a change of state in the mechanism of the lock, which intervenes between the finger of the man who pulls the trigger and the cartridge. If that change is brought about, the potential energy of the powder passes suddenly into actual energy, and does the work of propelling the bullet. The powder, therefore, may be appropriately called *work-stuff*, not only because it is stuff which is easily made to yield work in the physical sense, but because a good deal of work in the economical sense has contributed to its production. Labour was necessary to collect, transport, and purify the raw sulphur and saltpetre; to cut wood and convert it into powdered charcoal; to mix these ingredients in the right proportions; to give the mixture the proper grain, and so on. The powder once formed part of the stock,

or capital, of a powder-maker: and it is not only certain natural bodies which are collected and stored in the gunpowder, but the labour bestowed on the operations mentioned may be figuratively said to be incorporated in it.

In principle, the work-stuff stored in the muscles of the new-born child is comparable to that stored in the gun-barrel. The infant is launched into altogether new surroundings; and these operate through the mechanism of the nervous machinery, with the result that the potential energy of some of the work-stuff in the muscles which bring about inspiration is suddenly converted into actual energy; and this, operating through the mechanism of the respiratory apparatus, gives rise to an act of inspiration. As the bullet is propelled by the 'going off' of the powder, so it might be said that the ribs are raised and the midriff depressed by the 'going off' of certain portions of muscular work-stuff. This work-stuff is part of a stock or capital of that commodity stored up in the child's organism before birth, at the expense of the mother; and the mother has made good her expenditure by drawing upon the capital of food-stuffs which furnished her daily maintenance.

Under these circumstances, it does not appear to me to be open to doubt that the primary act of outward labour in the series which necessarily accompany the life of man is dependent upon the pre-existence of a stock of material which is not only of use to him, but which is disposed in such a manner as to be utilisable with facility. And I further imagine that the propriety of the application of the term 'capital' to this stock of useful substance cannot be justly called in question; inasmuch as it is easy to prove that the essential constituents of the work-stuff accumulated in the child's muscles have merely been transferred from the store of food-stuffs, which everybody admits to be capital, by means of the maternal organism to that of the child, in which they are again deposited to await use. Every subsequent act of labour, in like manner, involves an equivalent consumption of the child's store of work-stuff—its vital capital; and one of the main objects of the process of breathing is to get rid of some of the effects of that consumption. It follows, then, that, even if no other than the respiratory work were going on in the organism, the capital of work-stuff, which the child brought with it into the world, must sooner or later be used up, and the movements of breathing must come to an end; just as the see-saw of the piston of a steam-engine stops when the coal in the fireplace has burnt away.

Milk, however, is a stock of materials which essentially consists of savings from the food-stuffs supplied to the mother. And these savings are in such a physical and chemical condition that the organism of the child can easily convert them into work-stuff. That is to say, by borrowing directly from the vital capital of the mother, indirectly from the store in the natural bodies accessible to her, it can make

good the loss of its own. The operation of borrowing, however, involves further work; that is, the labour of sucking, which is a mechanical operation of much the same nature as breathing. The child thus pays for the capital it borrows in labour; but as the value in work-stuff of the milk obtained is very far greater than the value of that labour, estimated by the consumption of work-stuff it involves, the operation yields large profit to the infant. The overplus of food-stuff suffices to increase the child's capital of work-stuff; and to supply not only the materials for the enlargement of the 'buildings and machinery' which is expressed by the child's growth, but also the energy required to put all these materials together, and to carry them to their proper places. Thus, throughout the years of infancy, and so long thereafter as the youth or man is not thrown upon his own resources, he lives by consuming the vital capital provided by others. To use a terminology which is more common than appropriate, whatever work he performs (and he does a good deal, if only in mere locomotion) is unproductive.

Let us now suppose the child come to man's estate in the condition of a wandering savage, dependent for his food upon what he can pick up or catch, after the fashion of the Australian aborigines. It is plain that the place of mother, as the supplier of vital capital, is now taken by the fruits, seeds, and roots of plants and by various kinds of animals. It is they alone which contain stocks of those substances which can be converted within the man's organism into work-stuff; and of the other matters, except air and water, required to supply the constant consumption of his capital and to keep his organic machinery going. In no way does the savage contribute to the production of these substances. Whatever labour he bestows upon such vegetable and animal bodies, on the contrary, is devoted to their destruction; and it is a mere matter of accident whether a little labour yields him a great deal—as in the case, for example, of a stranded whale; or whether much labour yields next to nothing—as in times of long-continued drought. The savage, like the child, borrows the capital he needs, and, at any rate, intentionally does nothing towards repayment; it would plainly be an improper use of the word 'produce' to say that his labour in hunting for the roots, or the fruits, or the eggs, or the grubs and snakes, which he finds and eats, 'produces' or contributes to 'produce' them. The same thing is true of more advanced tribes, who are still merely hunters, such as the Esquimaux. They may expend more labour and skill; but it is spent in destruction.

When we pass from these to men who lead a purely pastoral life, like the South American Gauchos, or some Asiatic nomads, there is an important change. Let us suppose the owner of a flock of sheep to live on the milk, cheese and flesh which they yield. It is obvious that the flock stands to him in the economic relation of the mother

to the child, inasmuch as it supplies him with food-stuffs competent to make good the daily and hourly losses of his capital of work-stuff. If we imagine our sheep-owner to have access to extensive pastures and to be troubled neither by predacious animals nor by rival shepherds, the performance of his pastoral functions will hardly involve the expenditure of any more labour than is needful to provide him with the exercise required to maintain health. And this is true, even if we take into account the trouble originally devoted to the domestication of the sheep. It surely would be a most singular pretension for the shepherd to talk of the flock as the 'produce' of his labour in any but a very limited sense. In truth, his labour would have been a mere accessory of production of very little consequence. Under the circumstances supposed, a ram and some ewes, left to themselves for a few years, would probably generate as large a flock; and the superadded labour of the shepherd would have little more effect upon their production than upon that of the blackberries on the bushes about the pastures. For the most part the increment would be thoroughly unearned; and, if it is a rule of absolute political ethics that owners have no claim upon 'betterment' brought about independently of their own labour, then the shepherd would have no claim to at least nine-tenths of the increase of the flock.

But if the shepherd has no real claim to the title of 'producer,' who has? Are the rams and ewes the true 'producers'? Certainly their title is better if, borrowing from the old terminology of chemistry, they only claim to be regarded as the 'proximate principles' of production. And yet, if strict justice is to be dispensed, even they are to be regarded rather as collectors and distributors than as 'producers.' For all that they really do is to collect, slightly modify and render easily accessible, the vital capital which already exists in the green herbs on which they feed, but in such a form as to be practically out of the reach of man.

Thus, from an economic point of view, the sheep are more comparable to confectioners than to producers. The usefulness of biscuit lies in the raw flour of which it is made; but raw flour does not answer as an article of human diet, and biscuit does. So the usefulness of mutton lies mainly in certain chemical compounds which it contains: the sheep gets them out of grass; we cannot live on grass, but we can on mutton.

Now, herbaceous and all other green plants stand alone among terrestrial natural bodies, in so far as, under the influence of light, they possess the power to build up, out of the mere mineral components of the globe, those substances which in the animal organism are utilised as work-stuff. They are the sole producers of that vital capital which we have seen to be the necessary antecedent of every act of labour. Every green plant is a laboratory in which, so long

as the sun shines upon it, materials furnished by the mineral world, gases, water, saline compounds, are worked up into those food-stuffs without which animal life cannot be carried on. And since, up to the present time, synthetic chemistry has not advanced so far as to achieve this feat, the plant may be said to be the only living worker whose labour directly results in the production of that vital capital which is the necessary antecedent of human labour. Nor is this statement a paradox involving perpetual motion, because the energy by which the plant does its work is supplied by the sun —the primordial capitalist so far as we are concerned. But it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the mind that sunshine, air, water, the best soil that is to be found on the surface of the earth, might co-exist; yet without plants, there is no known agency competent to generate the so-called 'protein compounds,' by which alone animal life can be permanently supported. And not only are plants thus essential; but, in respect of particular kinds of animals, they must be plants of a particular nature. If there were no terrestrial plants but, say, cypresses and mosses, pastoral and agricultural life would be alike impossible; indeed, it is difficult to imagine the possibility of the existence of any large animal, as the labour required to get at a sufficiency of the store of food-stuffs, contained in such plants as these, could hardly extract from them an equivalent for the waste involved in that expenditure of work.

We are compact of dust and air; from that we set out, and to that complexion must we come at last. The plant either directly, or by some animal intermediary, lends us the capital which enables us to carry on the business of life, as we flit through the upper world, from the one term of our journey to the other. Popularly, no doubt, it is permissible to speak of the soil as a 'producer,' just as we may talk of the daily movement of the sun. But, as I have already remarked, propositions which are to bear any deductive strain that may be put upon them must run the risk of seeming pedantic, rather than that of being inaccurate. And the statement that land, in the sense of cultivable soil, is a producer, or even one of the essentials of economic production, is anything but accurate. The process of water-culture, in which a plant is not 'planted' in any soil, but is merely supported in water containing in solution the mineral ingredients essential to that plant, is now thoroughly understood; and, if it were worth while, a crop yielding abundant food-stuffs could be raised on an acre of fresh water, no less than on an acre of dry land. In the Arctic regions, again, land has nothing to do with 'production' in the social economy of the Esquimaux, who live on seals and other marine animals; and might, like Proteus, shepherd the flocks of Poseidon if they had a mind for pastoral life. But the seals and the bears are dependent on other inhabitants of the sea, until, somewhere in the series, we come to the minute green plants which float

in the ocean, and are the real 'producers' by which the whole of its vast animal population is supported.[1]

Thus, when we find set forth as an 'absolute' truth the statement that the essential factors in economic production are land, capital and labour—when this is offered as an axiom whence all sorts of other important truths may be deduced—it is needful to remember that the assertion is true only with a qualification. Undoubtedly 'vital capital' is essential; for, as we have seen, no human work can be done unless it exists, not even that internal work of the body which is necessary to passive life. But, with respect to labour (that is, human labour) I hope to have left no doubt on the reader's mind that, in regard to production, the importance of human labour may be so small as to be almost a vanishing quantity. Moreover, it is certain that there is no approximation to a fixed ratio between the expenditure of labour and the production of that vital capital which is the foundation of all wealth. For, suppose that we introduce into our supposititious pastoral paradise beasts of prey and rival shepherds, the amount of labour thrown upon the sheep-owner may increase almost indefinitely, and its importance as a condition of production may be enormously augmented, while the quantity of produce remains stationary. Compare for a moment the unimportance of the shepherd's labour, under the circumstances first defined, with its indispensability in countries in which the water for the sheep has to be drawn from deep wells, or in which the flock has to be defended from wolves or from human depredators. As to land, it has been shown that, except as affording mere room and standing ground, the importance of land, great as it may be, is secondary. The one thing needful for economic production is the green plant, as the sole producer of vital capital from natural inorganic bodies. Men might exist without labour (in the ordinary sense) and without land; without plants, they must inevitably perish.

That which is true of the purely pastoral condition is *a fortiori* true of the purely agricultural[2] condition, in which the existence of the cultivator is directly dependent on the production of vital capital by the plants which he cultivates. Here, again, the condition precedent of the work of each year is vital capital. Suppose that a man lives exclusively upon the plants which he cultivates. It is obvious that he must have food-stuffs to live upon, while he prepares the soil

[1] In some remarkable passages of the *Botany* of Sir James Ross's Antarctic voyage, which took place half a century ago, Sir Joseph Hooker demonstrated the dependence of the animal life of the sea upon the minute, indeed microscopic, plants which float in it: a marvellous example of what may be done by water-culture. One might indulge in dreams of cultivating and improving diatoms, until the domesticated bore the same relation to the wild forms, as cauliflowers to the primitive *Brassica oleracea*, without passing beyond the limits of fair scientific speculation.

[2] It is a pity that we have no word that signifies plant-culture exclusively. But for the moment I may restrict agriculture to that sense.

for sowing and throughout the period which elapses between this and harvest. These food-stuffs must be yielded by the stock remaining over from former crops. The result is the same as before—the pre-existence of vital capital is the necessary antecedent of labour. Moreover, the amount of labour which contributes, as an accessory condition, to the production of the crop varies as widely in the case of plant-raising as in that of cattle-raising. With favourable soil, climate, and other conditions it may be very small, with unfavourable very great, for the same revenue or yield of food-stuffs.

Thus, I do not think it is possible to dispute the following proposition: the existence of any man, or of any number of men, whether organised into a polity or not, depends on the production of food-stuffs (that is, vital capital) readily accessible to man, either directly or indirectly, by plants. But it follows that the number of men who can exist, say for one year, on any given area of land, taken by itself, depends upon the quantity of food-stuffs produced by such plants growing on the area in one year. If a is that quantity, and b the minimum of food-stuffs required for each man, $\frac{a}{b} = n$, the maximum number of men who can exist on the area. Now the amount of production (a) is limited by the extent of area occupied; by the quantity of sunshine which falls upon the area; by the range and distribution of temperature; by the force of the winds; by the supply of water; by the composition and the physical characters of the soil; by animal and vegetable competitors and destroyers. The labour of man neither does, nor can, produce vital capital; all that it can do is to modify, favourably or unfavourably, the conditions of its production. The most important of these—namely, sunshine, range of daily and nightly temperature, wind—are practically out of men's reach.[1] On the other hand, the supply of water, the physical and chemical qualities of the soil, and the influences of competitors and destroyers, can often, though by no means always, be largely affected by labour and skill. And there is no harm in calling the effect of such labour 'production,' if it is clearly understood that 'production' in this sense is a very different thing from the 'production' of food-stuffs by a plant.

We have been dealing hitherto with suppositions the materials of which are furnished by everyday experience, not with mere *a priori* assumptions. Our hypothetical solitary shepherd with his flock, or the solitary farmer with his grain field, are mere bits of such experience, cut out, as it were, for easy study. Still borrowing from

[1] I do not forget electric lighting, greenhouses and hothouses, and the various modes of affording shelter against violent winds: but in regard to production of food-stuffs on the large scale they may be neglected. Even if synthetic chemistry should effect the construction of proteids, the Laboratory will hardly enter into competition with the Farm within any time which the present generation need trouble itself about.

daily experience, let us suppose that either sheep-owner or farmer, for any reason that may be imagined, desires the help of one or more other men; and that, in exchange for their labour, he offers so many sheep, or quarts of milk, or pounds of cheese, or so many measures of grain, for a year's service. I fail to discover any *a priori* 'rights of labour' in virtue of which these men may insist on being employed, if they are not wanted. But, on the other hand, I think it is clear that there is only one condition upon which the persons to whom the offer of these 'wages' is made can accept it; and that is that the things offered in exchange for a year's work shall contain at least as much vital capital as a man uses up in doing the year's work. For no rational man could knowingly and willingly accept conditions which necessarily involve starvation. Therefore there is an irreducible minimum of wages; it is such an amount of vital capital as suffices to replace the inevitable consumption of the person hired. Now, surely, it is beyond a doubt that these wages, whether at or above the irreducible minimum, are paid out of the capital disposable after the wants of the owner of the flock or of the crop of grain are satisfied; and, from what has been said already, it follows that there is a limit to the number of men, whether hired, or brought in in any other way, who can be maintained by the sheep-owner or land-owner out of his own resources. Since no amount of labour can produce an ounce of food-stuff beyond the maximum producible by a limited number of plants, under the most favourable circumstances in regard to those conditions which are not affected by labour, it follows that, if the number of men to be fed increases indefinitely, a time must come when some will have to starve. That is the essence of the so-called Malthusian doctrine; and it is a truth which, to my mind, is as plain as the general proposition that a quantity which constantly increases will, some time or other, exceed any greater quantity the amount of which is fixed.

The foregoing considerations leave no doubt about the fundamental condition of the existence of any polity, or organised society of men, either in a purely pastoral or purely agricultural state, or in any mixture of both states. It must possess a store of vital capital to start with, and the means of repairing the consumption of that capital which takes place as a consequence of the work of the members of the society. And, if the polity occupies a completely isolated area of the earth's surface, the numerical strength of that polity can never exceed the quotient of the maximum quantity of food-stuffs producible by the green plants on that area, in each year, divided by the quantity necessary for the maintenance of each person during the year. But, there is a third mode of existence possible to a polity; it may, conceivably, be neither purely pastoral nor purely agricultural, but purely manufacturing. Let us suppose three islands, like Gran Canaria, Teneriffe and Lanzerote, in the

Canaries, to be quite cut off from the rest of the world. Let Gran Canaria be inhabited by grain-raisers, Teneriffe by cattle-breeders; while the population of Lanzerote (which we may suppose to be utterly barren) consists of carpenters, woollen manufacturers and shoemakers.. Then the facts of daily experience teach us that the people of Lanzerote could never have existed unless they came to the island provided with a stock of food-stuffs; and that they could not continue to exist, unless that stock, as it was consumed, was made up by contributions from the vital capital of either Gran Canaria, or Teneriffe, or both. Moreover, the carpenters of Lanzerote could do nothing, unless they were provided with wood from the other islands; nor could the wool spinners and weavers or the shoemakers work without wool and skins from the same sources. The wood and the wool and the skins are, in fact, the capital without which their work as manufacturers in their respective trades is impossible -- so that the vital and other capital supplied by Gran Canaria and Teneriffe is most indubitably the necessary antecedent of the industrial labour of Lanzerote. It is perfectly true that by the time the wood, the wool, and the skins reached Lanzerote a good deal of labour in cutting, shearing, skinning, transport, and so on, would have been spent upon them. But this does not alter the fact that the only 'production' which is essential to the existence of the population of Teneriffe and Gran Canaria is that effected by the green plants in both islands; and that all the labour spent upon the raw produce useful in manufacture, directly or indirectly yielded by them—by the inhabitants of these islands—and by those of Lanzerote into the bargain - will not provide one solitary Lanzerotian with a dinner, unless the Teneriffians and Canariotes happen to want his goods and to be willing to give some of their vital capital in exchange for them.

Under the circumstances defined, if Teneriffe and Gran Canaria disappeared, or if their inhabitants ceased to care for carpentry, clothing, or shoes, the people of Lanzerote must starve. But if they wish to buy, then the Lanzerotians, by 'cultivating' the buyers, indirectly favour the cultivation of the produce of those buyers.

Thus, if the question is asked whether the labour employed in manufacture in Lanzerote is 'productive' or 'unproductive,' there can be only one reply. If anybody will exchange vital capital, or that which can be exchanged for vital capital, for Lanzerote goods, it is productive; if not, it is unproductive.

In the case of the manufacturer, the dependence of labour upon capital is still more intimate than in that of the herdsman or agriculturist. When the latter are once started they can go on, without troubling themselves about the existence of any other people. But the manufacturer depends on pre-existing capital, not only at the beginning, but at the end of his operations. However great the expenditure of his labour and of his skill, the result, for the purpose

of maintaining his existence, is just the same as if he had done nothing, unless there is a customer able and willing to exchange food stuffs for that which his labour and skill have achieved.

There is another point concerning which it is very necessary to have clear ideas. Suppose a carpenter in Lanzerote to be engaged in making chests of drawers. Let us suppose that a, the timber, and b, the grain and meat needful for the man's sustenance until he can finish a chest of drawers, have to be paid for by that chest. Then the capital with which he starts is represented by $a+b$. He could not start at all unless he had it; day by day, he must destroy more or less of the substance and of the general adaptability of a in order to work it up into the special forms needed to constitute the chest of drawers; and, day by day, he must use up at least so much of b as will replace his loss of vital capital by the work of that day. Suppose it takes the carpenter and his workmen ten days to saw up the timber, to plane the boards, and to give them the shape and size proper for the various parts of the chest of drawers. And suppose that he then offers his heap of boards to the advancer of $a+b$ as an equivalent for the wood + ten days' supply of vital capital? The latter will surely say: 'No. I did not ask for a heap of boards. I asked for a chest of drawers. Up to this time, so far as I am concerned, you have done nothing and are as much in my debt as ever.' And if the carpenter maintained that he had 'virtually' created two-thirds of a chest of drawers, inasmuch as it would take only five days more to put together the pieces of wood, and that the heap of boards ought to be accepted as the equivalent of two-thirds of his debt, I am afraid the creditor would regard him as little better than an impudent swindler. It obviously makes no sort of difference whether the Canariote or Teneriffian buyer advanced the wood and the food-stuffs, on which the carpenter had to maintain himself; or whether the carpenter had a stock of both, the consumption of which must be recouped by the exchange of a chest of drawers for a fresh supply. In the latter case, it is even less doubtful that, if the carpenter offered his boards to the man who wanted a chest of drawers, the latter would laugh in his face. And if he took the chest of drawers for himself, then so much of his vital capital would be sunk in it past recovery. Again, the payment of goods in a lump, for the chest of drawers, comes to the same thing as the payment of daily wages for the fifteen days that the carpenter was occupied in making it. If, at the end of each day, the carpenter chose to say to himself 'I have "virtually" created, by my day's labour, a fifteenth of what I shall get for the chest of drawers—therefore my wages are the produce of my day's labour'—there is no great harm in such metaphorical speech, so long as the poor man does not delude himself into the supposition that it represents the exact truth. 'Virtually' is apt to cover more intellectual sins than

'charity' does moral delicts. After what has been said, it surely must be plain enough that each day's work has involved the consumption of the carpenter's vital capital, and the fashioning of his timber, at the expense of more or less consumption of those forms of capital. Whether the $a+b$ to be exchanged for the chest has been advanced as a *loan*, or is paid daily or weekly as *wages*, or, at some later time, as the *price* of a finished commodity—the essential element of the transaction, and the only essential element, is, that it must, at least, effect the replacement of the vital capital consumed. Neither boards nor chest of drawers are eatable; and, so far from the carpenter having produced the essential part of his wages by each day's labour, he has merely wasted that labour, unless somebody who happens to want a chest of drawers offers to exchange vital capital, or something that can procure it, equivalent to the amount consumed during the process of manufacture.[1]

That it should be necessary, at this time of day, to set forth such elementary truths as these may well seem strange; but no one who consults that interesting museum of political delusions, *Progress and Poverty*, some of the treasures of which I have already brought to light, will doubt the fact, if he bestows proper attention upon the first book of that widely-read work. At page 15 it is thus written:

> The proposition I shall endeavour to prove is: that wages, instead of being drawn from capital, are, in reality, drawn from the product of the labour for which they are paid.

Again at page 18:

> In every case in which labour is exchanged for commodities, production really precedes enjoyment . . . wages are the earnings—that is to say, the makings—of labour not the advances of capital.

And the proposition which the author endeavours to disprove is the hitherto generally accepted doctrine

> that labour is maintained and paid out of existing capital, before the product which constitutes the ultimate object is secured (p. 16).

The doctrine respecting the relation of capital and wages, which is thus opposed in *Progress and Poverty*, is that illustrated in the foregoing pages; the truth of which, I conceive, must be plain to anyone who has apprehended the very simple arguments by which I have endeavoured to demonstrate it. One conclusion or the other must be hopelessly wrong; and, even at the cost of going once more over some of the ground traversed in this and my last paper, I propose to show that the error lies with *Progress and Poverty*; in which work, so far as political science is concerned, the poverty is, to my eye, much more apparent than the progress.

To begin at the beginning. The author propounds a definition

[1] See the further discussion of this subject below, page 530.

of wealth: 'Nothing which nature supplies to man without his labour is wealth' (p. 28). Wealth consists of 'natural substances or products which have been adapted by human labour to human use or gratification, their value depending upon the amount of labour which, upon the average, would be required to produce things of like kind' (p. 27). The following examples of wealth are given:—

> Buildings, cattle, tools, machinery, agricultural and mineral products, manufactured goods, ships, waggons, furniture, and the like (p. 27).

I take it that native metals, coal and brick clay, are 'mineral products'; and I quite believe that they are properly termed 'wealth.' But when a seam of coal crops out at the surface, and lumps of coal are to be had for the picking up; or when native copper lies about in nuggets, or when brick clay forms a superficial stratum, it appears to me that these things are supplied to, nay almost thrust upon, man without his labour. According to the definition, therefore, they are not 'wealth.' According to the enumeration, however, they are 'wealth': a tolerably fair specimen of a contradiction in terms. Or does *Progress and Poverty* really suggest that a coal seam which crops out at the surface is not wealth; but that if somebody breaks off a piece and carries it away, the bestowal of this amount of labour upon that particular lump makes it wealth; while the rest remains 'not wealth'? The notion that the value of a thing bears any necessary relation to the amount of labour (average or otherwise) bestowed upon it, is a fallacy which needs no further refutation than it has already received. The average amount of labour bestowed upon warming-pans confers no value upon them in the eyes of a Gold-Coast negro; nor would an Esquimaux give a slice of blubber for the most elaborate of ice-machines.

So much for the doctrine of *Progress and Poverty* touching the nature of wealth. Let us now consider its teachings respecting capital, as wealth or a part of wealth. Adam Smith's definition 'that part of a man's stock which he expects to yield him a revenue is called his capital' is quoted with approval (p. 32); elsewhere capital is said to be that part of wealth 'which is devoted to the aid of production' (p. 28); and yet again it is said to be

> *wealth in course of exchange*,* understanding exchange to include, not merely the passing from hand to hand, but also such transmutations as occur when the reproductive or transforming forces of nature are utilised for the increase of wealth (p. 32).

But if too much pondering over the possible senses and scope of these definitions should weary the reader, he will be relieved by the following acknowledgment:—

> Nor is the definition of capital I have suggested of any importance (p. 33).

* The italics are the author's.

The author informs us, in fact, that he is 'not writing a text-book,' thereby intimating his opinion that it is less important to be clear and accurate when you are trying to bring about a political revolution than when a merely academic interest attaches to the subject treated. But he is not busy about anything so serious as a text-book: no, he 'is only attempting to discover the laws which control a great social problem'—a mode of expression which indicates perhaps the high-water mark of intellectual muddlement. I have heard, in my time, of 'laws' which control other 'laws;' but this is the first occasion on which 'laws' which 'control a problem' have come under my notice. Even the disquisitions 'of those flabby writers who have burdened the press and darkened counsel by numerous volumes which are dubbed political economy' (p. 28) could hardly furnish their critics with a finer specimen of that which a hero of the *Dunciad*, by the one flash of genius recorded of him, called 'clotted nonsense.'

Doubtless it is a sign of grace that the author of these definitions should attach no importance to any of them; but since, unfortunately, his whole argument turns upon the tacit assumption that they are important, I may not pass them over so lightly. The third I give up. Why anything should be capital when it is 'in course of exchange,' and not be capital under other circumstances, passes my understanding. We are told that 'that part of a farmer's crop held for sale or for seed, or to feed his help, in part payment of wages, would be accounted capital; that held for the care of his family would not be' (p. 31). But I fail to discover any ground of reason or authority for the doctrine that it is only when a crop is about to be sold, or sown, or given as wages, that it may be called capital. On the contrary, whether we consider custom or reason, so much of it as is stored away in ricks and barns during harvest, and remains there to be used in any of these ways months or years afterwards, is customarily and rightly termed capital. Surely, the meaning of the clumsy phrase that capital is 'wealth in the course of exchange' must be that it is 'wealth capable of being exchanged' against labour or anything else. That, in fact, is the equivalent of the second definition, that capital is 'that part of wealth which is devoted to the aid of production.' Obviously, if you possess that for which men will give labour, you can aid production by means of that labour. And, again, it agrees with the first definition (borrowed from Adam Smith) that capital is 'that part of a man's stock which he expects to yield him a revenue.' For a revenue is both etymologically and in sense a 'return.' A man gives his labour in sowing grain, or in tending cattle, because he expects a 'return'—a 'revenue'—in the shape of the increase of the grain or of the herd; and also, in the latter case, in the shape of their labour and manure which 'aid the production' of such increase. The grain and cattle of which he is possessed immediately after harvest is his capital; and his revenue for the twelvemonth, until the next harvest, is the surplus

of grain and cattle over and above the amount with which he started. This is disposable for any purpose for which he may desire to use it, leaving him just as well off as he was at the beginning of the year. Whether the man keeps the surplus grain for sowing more land, and the surplus cattle for occupying more pasture; whether he exchanges them for other commodities, such as the use of the land (as rent); or labour (as wages); or whether he feeds himself and his family, in no way alters their nature as revenue, or affects the fact that this revenue is merely disposable capital.

That (even apart from etymology) cattle are typical examples of capital cannot be denied (*Progress and Poverty*, p. 25); and if we seek for that particular quality of cattle which makes them 'capital,' neither has the author of *Progress and Poverty* supplied, nor is any one else very likely to supply, a better account of the matter than Adam Smith has done. Cattle are 'capital' because they are 'stock which yields revenue.' That is to say, they afford to their owner a supply of that which he desires to possess. And, in this particular case, the 'revenue' is not only desirable, but of supreme importance, inasmuch as it is capable of maintaining human life. The herd yields a revenue of food-stuffs as milk and meat; a revenue of skins; a revenue of manure; a revenue of labour; a revenue of exchangeable commodities in the shape of these things, as well as in that of live cattle. In each and all of these capacities cattle are capital; and, conversely, things which possess any or all of these capacities are capital.

Therefore what we find at page 25 of *Progress and Poverty* must be regarded as a welcome lapse into clearness of apprehension:—

> A fertile field, a rich vein of ore, a falling stream which supplies power, may give the possessor advantages equivalent to the possession of capital, but to class such things as capital would be to put an end to the distinction between land and capital.

Just so. But the fatal truth is that these things are capital; and that there really is no fundamental distinction between land and capital. Is it denied that a fertile field, a rich vein of ore, or a falling stream, may form part of a man's stock, and that, if they do, they are capable of yielding revenue? Will not somebody pay a share of the produce in kind, or in money, for the privilege of cultivating the first; royalties for that of working the second; and a like equivalent for that of erecting a mill on the third? In what sense, then, are these things less 'capital' than the buildings and tools which on page 27 of *Progress and Poverty* are admitted to be capital? Is it not plain that if these things confer 'advantages equivalent to the possession of capital,' and if the 'advantage' of capital is nothing but the yielding of revenue, then the denial that they are capital is merely a roundabout way of self-contradiction?

All this confused talk about capital, however, is lucidity itself compared with the exposition of the remarkable thesis, 'Wages not drawn from capital, but produced by labour,' which occupies the third chapter of *Progress and Poverty*.

> If, for instance, I devote my labour to gathering birds' eggs or picking wild berries, the eggs or berries I thus get are my wages. Surely no one will contend that, in such a case, wages are drawn from capital. There is no capital in the case (p. 34).

Nevertheless those who have followed what has been said in the first part of this article surely neither will nor can have any hesitation about substantially adopting the challenged contention, though they may possibly have qualms as to the propriety of the use of the term 'wages.'[6] They will have no difficulty in apprehending the fact that birds' eggs and berries are stores of food-stuffs, or vital capital; that the man who devotes his labour to getting them does so at the expense of his personal vital capital; and that, if the eggs and the berries are 'wages' for his work, they are so because they enable him to restore to his organism the vital capital which he has consumed in doing the work of collection. So that there is really a great deal of 'capital in the case.'

Our author proceeds:

> An absolutely naked man, thrown on an island where no human being has before trod, may gather birds' eggs or pick berries (p. 34).

No doubt. But those who have followed my argument thus far will be aware that a man's vital capital does not reside in his clothes; and, therefore, they will probably fail, as completely as I do, to discover the relevancy of the statement.

Again:—

> Or, if I take a piece of leather and work it up into a pair of shoes, the shoes are my wages—the reward of my exertion. Surely they are not drawn from capital either my capital or anybody else's capital—but are brought into existence by the labour of which they became the wages; and, in obtaining this pair of shoes as the wages of my labour, capital is not even momentarily lessened one iota. For if we call in the idea of capital, my capital at the beginning consists of the piece of leather, the thread, &c. (p. 34).

It takes away one's breath to have such a concatenation of fallacies administered in the space of half a paragraph. It does not seem to have occurred to our economical reformer to imagine whence his 'capital at the beginning,' the 'leather, thread, &c.' came. I venture to suppose that leather to have been originally cattle-skin; and since calves and oxen are not flayed alive, the existence of the leather

[6] Not merely on the grounds stated below, but on the strength of Mr. George's own definition—Does the gatherer of eggs, or berries, *produce* them by his labour? If so, what do the hens and the bushes do?

implies the lessening of that form of capital by a very considerable iota. It is, therefore, as sure as anything can be that, in the long run, the shoes are drawn from that which is capital *par excellence*; to wit, cattle. It is further beyond doubt that the operation of tanning must involve loss of capital in the shape of bark, to say nothing of other losses; and that the use of the awls and knives of the shoemaker involves loss of capital in the shape of the store of iron; further, the shoemaker has been enabled to do his work not only by the vital capital expended during the time occupied in making the pair of shoes, but by that expended from the time of his birth, up to the time that he earned wages that would keep him alive.

Progress and Poverty continues:—

> As my labour goes on, value is steadily added until, when my labour results in the finished shoes, I have my capital plus the difference in value between the material and the shoes. In obtaining this additional value my wages—how is capital, at any time, drawn upon (p. 34)?

In return we may inquire, how can anyone propound such a question? Capital is drawn upon all the time. Not only when the shoes are commenced, but while they are being made, and until they are either used by the shoemaker himself or are purchased by somebody else; that is, exchanged for a portion of another man's capital. In fact (supposing that the shoemaker does not want shoes himself), it is the existence of vital capital in the possession of another person and the willingness of that person to part with more or less of it in exchange for the shoes—it is these two conditions, alone, which prevent the shoemaker from having consumed his capital unproductively, just as much as if he had spent his time in chopping up the leather into minute fragments.

Thus, the examination of the very case selected by the advocate of the doctrine that labour bestowed upon manufacture, without any intervention of capital, can produce wages, proves to be a delusion of the first magnitude; even though it be supported by the dictum of Adam Smith which is quoted in its favour (p. 34)—

> The produce of labour constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labour. In that original state of things which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer. He has neither landlord nor master to share with him (*Wealth of Nations*, ch. viii.).

But the whole of this passage exhibits the influence of the French Physiocrats by whom Adam Smith was inspired, at their worst; that is to say, when they most completely forsook the ground of experience for *a priori* speculation. The confident reference to 'that original state of things' is quite in the manner of the *Essai sur l'Inégalité*. Now, the state of men before the 'appropriation of land' and the 'accumulation of stock' must surely have been

that of purely savage hunters. As, by the supposition, nobody would have possessed land, certainly no man could have had a landlord; and, if there was no accumulation of stock in a transferable form, as surely there could be no master, in the sense of hirer. But hirer and hire (that is, wages) are correlative terms—like mother and child. As 'child' implies 'mother,' so does 'hire' or 'wages' imply a 'hirer' or 'wage-giver.' Therefore, when a man in 'the original state of things' gathered fruit or killed game for his own sustenance, the fruit or the game could be called his 'wages' only in a figurative sense; as one sees if the term 'hire,' which has a more limited connotation, is substituted for 'wage.' If not, it must be assumed that the savage hired himself to get his own dinner; whereby we are led to the tolerably absurd conclusion that, as in the 'state of nature' he was his own employer, the 'master' and the labourer in that model age appropriated the produce in equal shares! And if this should be not enough, it has already been seen that, in the hunting state, man is not even an accessory of production of vital capital; he merely consumes what nature produces.

According to the author of *Progress and Poverty*, political economists have been deluded by a 'fallacy which has entangled some of the most acute minds in a web of their own spinning.'

> It is in the use of the term capital in two senses. In the primary proposition that capital is necessary to the exertion of productive labour, the term 'capital' is understood as including all food, clothing, shelter, &c.; whereas in the deductions finally drawn from it, the term is used in its common and legitimate meaning of wealth devoted, not to the immediate gratification of desire, but to the procurement of more wealth—of wealth in the hands of employers as distinguished from labourers (p. 40)

I am by no means concerned to defend the political economists who are thus charged with blundering; but I shall be surprised to learn that any have carried the art of self-entanglement to the degree of perfection exhibited by this passage. Who has ever imagined that wealth which in the hands of an employer is capital ceases to be capital if it is in the hands of a labourer? Suppose a workman to be paid thirty shillings on Saturday evening for six days' labour, that thirty shillings comes out of the employer's capital, and receives the name of 'wages' simply because it is exchanged for labour. In the workman's pocket, as he goes home, it is a part of his capital, in exactly the same sense as, half an hour before, it was part of the employer's capital; he is a capitalist just as much as if he were a Rothschild. Suppose him to be a single man, whose cooking and household matters are attended to by the people of the house in which he has a room; then the rent which he pays them out of this capital is, in part, wages for their labour, and he is, so far, an employer. If he saves one shilling out of his thirty, he has, to that extent, added to his capital when the next Saturday comes round. And if he puts his saved

shillings week by week into the Savings Bank, the difference between him and the most bloated of bankers is simply one of degree.

At page 42 we are confidently told that 'labourers by receiving wages' cannot lessen 'even temporarily' the 'capital of the employer,' while at page 44 it is admitted that in certain cases the capitalist 'pays out capital in wages.' One would think that the 'paying out' of capital is hardly possible without at least a 'temporary' diminution of the capital from which payment is made. But *Progress and Poverty* changes all that by a little verbal legerdemain:—

> For where wages are paid before the object of the labour is obtained, or is finished—as in agriculture, where ploughing and sowing must precede by several months the harvesting of the crop: as in the erection of buildings, the construction of ships, railroads, canals, &c.—it is clear that the owners of the capital paid in wages cannot expect an immediate return, but, as the phrase is, must 'outlay it' or 'lie out of it' for a time which sometimes amounts to many years. And hence, if first principles are not kept in mind, it is easy to jump to the conclusion that wages are advanced by capital (p. 44).

Those who have paid attention to the argument of former parts of this paper may not be able to understand how, if sound 'first principles are kept in mind,' any other conclusion can be reached, whether by jumping, or by any other mode of logical progression. But the first principle which our author 'keeps in mind' possesses just that amount of ambiguity which enables him to play hocus-pocus with it. It is this—that 'the creation of value does not depend upon the finishing of the product' (p. 44).

There is no doubt that, under certain limitations, this proposition is correct. It is not true that 'labour always adds to capital by its exertion before it takes from capital its wages' (p. 44), but it is true that it may, and often does, produce that effect.

To take one of the examples given, the construction of a ship. The shaping of the timbers undoubtedly gives them a value (for a shipbuilder) which they did not possess before. When they are put together to constitute the framework of the ship, there is a still further addition of value (for a shipbuilder); and when the outside planking is added, there is another addition (for a shipbuilder). Suppose everything else about the hull is finished, except the one little item of caulking the seams, there is no doubt that it has now still more value for a shipbuilder. But for whom else has it any value, except perhaps for a fire-wood merchant? What price will anyone who wants a ship—that is to say, something that will carry a cargo from one port to another—give for the unfinished vessel which would take water in at every seam and go down in half an hour, if she were launched? Suppose the shipbuilder's capital to fail before the vessel is caulked, and that he cannot find another shipbuilder who cares to buy and finish it, what sort of proportion does the value created by the labour, for which he has paid out of

his capital, stand to that of his advances? Surely no one will give him one-tenth of the capital disbursed in wages, perhaps not so much even as the prime cost of the raw materials. Therefore, though the assertion that 'the creation of value does not depend on the finishing of the product' may be strictly true under certain circumstances, it need not be and is not always true. And, if it is meant to imply or suggest that the creation of value in a manufactured article does not depend upon the finishing of that article, a more serious error could hardly be propounded.

Is there not a prodigious difference in the value of an uncaulked and in that of a finished ship; between the value of a house in which only the tiles of the roof are wanting and a finished house; between that of a clock which only lacks the escapement and a finished clock?

As ships, house, and clock, the unfinished articles have no value whatever—that is to say, no person who wanted to purchase one of these things, for immediate use, would give a farthing for either. The only value they can have apart from that of the materials they contain is either that which they possess for some one who can finish them, or for some one who can make use of parts of them for the construction of other things. A man might buy an unfinished house for the sake of the bricks; or he might buy an incomplete clock to use the works for some other piece of machinery.

Thus, though every stage of the labour bestowed on raw material for the purpose of giving rise to a certain product confers some additional value on that material in the estimation of those who are engaged in manufacturing that product—the ratio of that accumulated value, at any stage of the process, to the value of the finished product is extremely inconstant, and often small; while, to other persons, the value of the unfinished product may be nothing, or even a *minus* quantity. A house-timber merchant, for example, might consider that wood which had been worked into the ribs of a ship was spoiled—that is, had less value than it had as a log.

According to *Progress and Poverty*, there was, really, no advance of capital while the great St. Gothard tunnel was cut. Suppose that, as the Swiss and Italian halves of the tunnel approached to within half a kilometre, that half-kilometre had turned out to be composed of practically impenetrable rock—would anybody have given a centime for the unfinished tunnel? And if not, how comes it that 'the creation of value does not depend on the finishing of the product'?

I think it may be not too much to say that, of all the political delusions which are current in this queer world, the very stupidest are those which assume that labour and capital are necessarily antagonistic; that all capital is produced by labour and therefore, by natural right, is the property of the labourer; that the possessor

of capital is a robber who preys on the workman and appropriates to himself that which he has had no share in producing.

On the contrary, capital and labour are, necessarily, close allies; capital is never a product of human labour alone; it exists apart from human labour; it is the necessary antecedent of labour; and it furnishes the materials on which labour is employed. The only indispensable form of capital—vital capital—cannot be produced by human labour. All that man can do is to favour its formation by the real producers. There is no intrinsic relation between the amount of labour bestowed on an article and its value in exchange. The claim of labour to the total result of operations which are rendered possible only by capital is simply an *a priori* iniquity.

T. H. Huxley.

The Editor of The Nineteenth Century *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

I.

A MULTITUDE OF COUNSELLORS.

Trevor. Now, my dear Tranmere, I have given you some idea of the way in which I have spent the last five years, and you see I have about had my fill of wandering. I intend to stay in England. But a man who has lived a life of change and adventure can't settle down to the trivial occupations expected of one in my position. The life of a man about town, tempered by breeding shorthorns, won't do for me.

Lord Tranmere. You surely don't ask me to suggest an interesting pursuit for a man who rushes off to Japan and loses himself, and turns up only to disappear for a couple of years in the neighbourhood of the Rockies.

Trevor. I'll ask your advice later, for that's the very reason I asked you down. Meanwhile I have made up my mind what to do. I won't vegetate as a country gentleman, or fritter away my life in clubs. I am going into politics.

Tranmere. I am relieved to hear that it is nothing serious you are contemplating.

Trevor. But I am serious, and, what is more, Tranmere, I know you are serious too—sometimes. Though I have been out of the swim so long, I have watched your public career. The difficulty I want you to help me out of is this. As a boy I hadn't any politics. The decent Conservatism I inherited was good enough for me. Knocking

about all over the world, from Dan to Beersheba, as the Irishman said, with my eyes open, has cured me of prejudices. I come back to England with an open mind, and find things so altered that I have lost any little bearings I once had. You fellows who have been in the current may not notice it so much, but it strikes me you have gone fast and far in the last five years.

Tranmere. Then you are going to return to the decent ancestral Conservatism?

Trevor. I have got to find its habitat first. No, that's as dead as Julius Cæsar, and you personally seem to have driven the last few nails into its coffin.

Tranmere. I won't deny the soft impeachment. But I am anxious to learn what change you see in political England in your new character of a contemporary Macaulay's New Zealander.

Trevor. The same as you see yourself, if I read between the lines of your speeches aright. The old condition-of-England question is up again, and this time it won't go down without being answered. You can't hope for such a chance of escape as the last generation got through railways and cheap food, gold discoveries and virgin markets. America returns your social wreckage, carriage unpaid, and Australia won't have your pauper labour. You have taught the poor enough to make them discontented, you have driven them to herd in towns where the contrasts of wealth and want have made even me think, and you clap a vote into the hand of everyone who rents a room. You can't suppose things will jog along quietly for ever?

Tranmere. No one does. We all——

Trevor. You all make it clear enough that 'something must be done,' but what it is none of you know. You talk and write about Social Questions and the Condition of Labour to any extent, but the upshot of it is that every mother's son of you all is the best friend the working man has got, and you'll see him something somewhere before you'll commit yourself to any single proposition that can possibly effect any real improvement in his position.

Tranmere. But, my dear friend, you must remember that a statesman is not an irresponsible individual, half Quixote, half Crusoe, who can rush new ideas upon his party at his own sweet will. Your taunts don't sting me though; I have gone far enough—perhaps too far.

Trevor. Don't think I mean to be rude, Tranmere. I don't mind confessing to you that I really feel deeply about this. I have looked into these matters pretty carefully, and I tell you the investigation has left me a prey to alternations of hope and despair. On the one hand, such grinding misery, such passionate hatred of glaring and admitted injustice amongst the poor. On the other, amongst the well-to-do, so strong a desire to redress the grievances that the poor

can hardly formulate, bitterly though they resent them. Upon my soul, Tranmere, I think there is a chance to-day for inaugurating an era of social reform which would save our country from the doom you talk about at your dinner-tables. And you men of light and leading, on all sides, instead of pointing the way, keep up your mimic warfare over issues for which no one cares a button; and if, greatly daring, you touch upon the one subject on which men's minds are stirred, you quibble, and fence, and chop logic until——

Tranmere. (He will certainly come out as a red-hot Radical.) But, Trevor, abuse me as much as you like, I tell you a public man must weigh his words.

Trevor. That's just why I have asked you down here to meet some men whose opinions I want to get—the real opinions of the men, I mean, not the repetition of their public utterances.

Tranmere. Oh, indeed! And who are the other victims you have inveigled into your Palace of Truth?

Trevor. Luckily, I number among my personal friends three or four men, besides yourself, who can speak with authority from different points of view. Young Beaulieu was at Trinity with me; and though we did not there think him particularly well furnished with brains, I hear he is quite a coming man. He is going into the Lower House on the first opportunity, as the old Duke seems likely to last any number of years, and is to stand as a Radical of the deepest dye. He has got some idea that, as his family's suburban estates are likely, when he inherits them, to be worth a hundred times as much as they were when he was born, he is under an obligation to look after the London workman. They say he hates a ground landlord with more than Irish hatred—and as he will some day have the biggest rent-roll in the country, he can afford himself considerable latitude on such points—and he is the last expression of sentimental Radicalism. Then there's Clifford, who was in my year too, but I did not know him at Cambridge. We travelled together through part of India one winter, though, and I got to know him pretty well. He is a political economist, and has in addition what they call 'a trained legal intellect.' As a Gladstonian, with the reputation of not being 'versatile in his convictions,' he has been put up to give his friends a lead on labour questions. So far it looks as though he has led them into a blind alley, but perhaps, in spite of his reputed incorruptible honesty, he may be able to tell us more than he puts into his public speeches.

Tranmere. You are certainly going to put rather a tax on his friendship for you, if you are going to ask him to unbosom himself in my presence.

Trevor. Well, you see, he will be compensated by hearing a candid confession from you, and you will both be gratified by being taken into the confidence of Mr. Borrodaile-Higgs.

Tranmere. Now, confound it, Trevor, this is too bad. You must have heard about the glorious row I had with him at Goodwood the year he won the Quinquennial with French Polish. He got some one to introduce him to me, and opened the conversation by remarking that the company in the enclosure was very mixed; I closed it by replying, 'Well, Mr. Higgs, we can't all be linendrapers,' and the beggar was furious. It was all the Whips could do to prevent his taking himself and the accumulations of the paternal shop over to the Radicals. He'd have gone if they hadn't found him a safe seat. I can't meet Higgs.

Trevor. Oh, he's all right. You know he is for ever writing to the papers suggesting new policies to the party leaders, and he is delighted with the idea that you are going to ask him for the advice he is always offering. Besides, you can't discuss the labour question without hearing a representative of capital, and Higgs is that, anyhow. And if you manage to be decently civil to him, he'll forget all about the Goodwood incident. You see, he is accustomed to that sort of thing.

Tranmere. Well, are there any more members of your Happy Family?

Trevor. No, only Blake.

Tranmere. What! Blake the Socialist?

Trevor. Yes; why not?

Tranmere. It seems to me you are rather overdoing this thing. But perhaps he is an authority in his way. How on earth did you make his acquaintance?

Trevor. I told you I had been investigating the labour question, and it is not easy to do that without running up against Blake. I have had scraps of conversation with him often. He is, as you say, an authority, but he is more than that. You and I, Beaulieu and Clifford, Mr. Borrodaile-Higgs and all our other sacred institutions, have got to reckon with the great fact Blake represents. We cannot discuss the matter in hand without reckoning with him. I wonder what you would have said if I had asked O'Flaherty?

Tranmere. I should not have stayed long enough to say much, but I should probably have said you would not have got much information out of him. His political and social principles are, 'To the victor the spoils, and the victor shall be O'Flaherty, if I can fix it anyway.'

Trevor. So I think, and didn't ask him. But, luckily for their reputations, here come our social philosophers from the station, and, more fortunate still, they do not seem to have quarrelled yet.

Trevor was very much in earnest, and anxious that his experiment should succeed. Here were half-a-dozen men, all of whom, with possibly the exception of Mr. Borrodaile-Higgs, were, to Trevor's

knowledge, very different from the portraits each was accustomed to draw of the other. Though none of them had, at the moment, great political influence, they represented fairly enough in their several ways the forces whose resultant will show the line of our political progress in the near future. If he could get them to talk freely and openly, he would surely get much light on the subjects in which he was so deeply interested; though, after the manner of Englishmen, he was thoroughly ashamed of his own enthusiasm. He was soon able to set his mind at rest as to the success of his plot. Viscount Beaulieu was easily interested in any 'movement,' and delighted to get a chance of talking to one who, like Blake, was a perfect mine of information, at first hand, about the People (with a large P), and Blake was always ready to try and make a convert. Lord Tranmere behaved like an angel, and, if he was chaffing Mr. Higgs, did so without offending that pompous gentleman, whose visage was wreathed with smiles. Clifford was something of a prig, and acquiesced with austere satisfaction when Trevor unfolded his scheme, with the slight reservations necessary to make it appear that all the others were present for the main purpose of listening to Clifford. So it came about that, when his guests were snugly ensconced in the smoking-room after dinner, they were in a mood to lend themselves to Trevor's design, which he forthwith put into execution.

Trevor. You all know that one of my objects in getting you to meet here is that I may have a chance of picking some of the best brains in England of the information which my long absence from this country has made it impossible for me to attain. Of course, I have read with eagerness your recent public utterances, but, though a novice in politics, I am well aware that it is not possible for men in your position to give both sides of a case. Under our system of party government, a party leader is much in the position of a counsel in court. He has to make the best of his case, and leave it to the other side to emphasise its weaknesses. But I also know that, in addition to being keen politicians, you are all deep thinkers (*Tranmere moved restlessly in his chair*), and will have seen the weak points in your own arguments as clearly as a looker-on like myself. Now this evening you can talk frankly, and make admissions which, if uttered publicly, would perhaps lay each of you open to the charge of betraying your party. You are all gentlemen ('Ah, yes!' *from Mr. Borrodaile-Higgs*), and will be under no apprehension that 'anything you say now may be used against you at your trial.'

Blake. Before we begin, I would ask you, Mr. Trevor, to define the limits of our talk; for, if that is not done, I am fearful that so good an opportunity may be frittered away in discursive conversation.

Trevor. I was coming to that. On my return to England I see

tremendous changes, and want to know what is to be their result? You have extended the franchise so as to shift the balance of political power absolutely into the hands of the most numerous, the poorest, the least educated members of the community. Of course they can no more understand and master its use at first than could pre-Adamite man have handled a hollow-ground razor. But the power is there, and the knowledge is coming rapidly. No one can doubt that the dominant class in politics sooner or later records its will on the legislation of the country. What is that will?

Then I want to know what are you gentlemen going to do? Are you to oppose it where you think it wrong and mischievous? If so, how? Are you going to head it off in certain channels and guide it into others? If so, which?

Now I have said my say, and do not propose to interfere much in the discussion, except, if it be necessary, to confine it to these points. As Mr. Blake, however, much we may disagree with him, certainly speaks for a large number of the working class, I would ask him first to tell us what he thinks they want.

Blake. Now, this is a little hard on me. For me of all of us, it ought, I imagine, to be difficult to speak the truth—I mean, the whole truth. I am a special pleader, a man of one idea, if ever there was one. For years I have had to plead against apathy and ridicule, until, unless I am very different from other fanatics in struggling causes, I must necessarily have fallen into their way of overstating their case, exaggerating its strength, and shutting their eyes to its difficulties. And how am I to prove my assertions? Shall I tell you the great heart of England is bursting with anxiety for a particular reform? So will say any three tailors of Tooley Street about their panacea. Shall I adduce demonstrations and mass meetings? They can be got up for an agitation on any conceivable topic, from the Tichborne Claimant to Miss Cass. Shall I put forward political meteorology as evidence, and profess that to me alone of all men are revealed the secrets of the ballot-box? Shall I quote caucus resolutions, which you all know can, by the application of machinery to their manufacture, be turned out to order at the cheapest rates, with a large reduction on taking a quantity?

Higgs. I am sure I am speaking the sentiments of the entire company when I say that Mr. Blake's own private opinions will be welcomed—I may say most cordially welcomed—by all of us.

Blake. Ah, but, to tell the truth, any statement of the real wishes of the bulk of the working class must be largely guesswork—what Mr. Clifford would, I fancy, call a crude generalisation from insufficient data—and be coloured by the hopes of the man who makes it. I will make my generalisation, warning you fairly that it may be coloured by my own strong views. You others can correct it afterwards.

Clifford. If, then, we test such data as Mr. Blake can produce, make allowance for the personal equation in his deductions, and correct them by our own experience, we may arrive at a not altogether unscientific method of approaching problems which, I am sure Mr. Blake will pardon me for saying, are too often treated merely on their sentimental side by his friends.

Blake. I accept Mr. Clifford's warning, and shall not err on the side of sentiment. I say, then, that the working classes, like most other people, want to do less work and get more money. They will use their political power steadily to that end above all others. The reasons for this belief——

Beaulieu. I must at once say I entirely disagree and cannot allow such unmerited, wholesale slander to pass without protest. I do not say my experience of working men is a very long or wide one. But I must assert my strong conviction that it is not by a sordid appeal to their selfish motives that you can most easily move an English working-class audience, but by exhorting them to obey the dictates of Liberty, of Truth, of Justice. It is precisely because the Liberal party has inscribed on its banner the righteousness that exalteth a nation, because its leader is universally acknowledged to follow a high ideal rather than personal advantage or party expediency, that he has such a hold on the affections as well as on the reason of the people that——

Blake. That, after six years of power in which to display those characteristics, the people of Great Britain put him in a minority of 170 in the House of Commons? But I don't mean to be led off the track, and will leave posterity to decide whether Mr. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule is to be credited to the principles of Truth and Justice, or to the Irish vote. Let me turn from the New Radical to the Old, and ask Mr. Clifford whether science has taught him that the human animal is actuated by the love of his neighbour or the instinct of self-preservation.

Clifford. I must say that, though doubtless the instinct may ultimately be much modified by the cessation of the struggle for existence, I see no reason to believe that mankind have yet ceased to seek the satisfaction of their desires with the minimum of exertion.

Blake. Or since, after all, we are not talking theory but practical business, let me ask Mr. Borrodaile-Higgs——

Higgs. Most happy, I assure you, most happy. As the active head of a large, a very large, and, I am glad to say, an increasing business, I think I am fully qualified—on any practical matter——

Blake. Well, then, Mr. Higgs, Lord Beaulieu believes that it is of no use to appeal to the sordid interests of men. Supposing he backs his opinion with hard cash, and opens a shop next door to one of your emporiums, and sells, in strict accordance with the principles

of Truth and Justice, for 2*s.* the goods you retail at 1*s.* 11½*d.* What will happen?

Higgs. He'll have to shut up in a week! It won't work, sir, not at all. The British public will have a cheap article, won't look at anything else, sir, especially the working classes. I assure you, Mr. Blake, in confidence, that I often lament the low rates of wages I am compelled, absolutely compelled, to pay some of our hands on these cheap articles. Yet I have been abused like a pickpocket, sir—called a sweater and God knows what—in some of the scurrilous Radical rags, because I don't pay my girls a higher price for making the article than the public will pay me for it when completed.

Blake. You see what science and practical knowledge have to say of your fine theories, Lord Beaulieu.

Beaulieu. It is an insult to the masses all the same—an insult that comes strangely from a democrat, as Mr. Blake is believed to be. I tell you that during a couple of election campaigns there were no portions of my addresses which were more warmly received than those in which I stated that my programme was based on the bed-rock of those eternal principles of which the party of Progress are the recognised exponents. And in my researches into the amusements of the people I have learnt with the keenest pleasure that at an East End or South Side theatre the loudest applause greets the triumph of Virtue and the punishment of Vice.

Tranmere. Yes. 'The man who would lay his hand upon a woman save in the way of kindness, is unworthy of the name of a British sailor,' eh?

Blake. Yes, and no one cheers the sentiment so heartily as the wife-beater in the gallery; just as there are politicians who arrogate to themselves the monopoly of virtues of which hardly a trace can be detected in their actions. But about your election experiences, Lord Beaulieu. I have a good memory for such things. I think you stood for a London constituency, and offered to obtain for the working man three good rooms and a scullery at the price he now has to pay for two, to relieve him from the necessity of paying anything for his children's schooling, to give him control of the metropolitan police, which can be conveniently used to intimidate the Imperial Parliament. You stood for a county division, and offered to get the labourer cheaper and better cottages, an allotment, and free education. To the miners you promised compensation for accidents, and superannuation, and led them to believe you would act as their delegate in the House on all mining legislation. You said it was eternal Right that they should have these things and eternal Justice that some one else should pay for them. The men threw up their caps for eternal Truth and Justice, not unnaturally. But is it for you to decry appealing to sordid motives?

Beaulieu. But, Mr. Blake, am I dreaming? Do you not think

these things just? Are you not prepared to go much further yourself? Will you, of all men, say that society should not demand compensation from the idle rich for the lives that have been marred and mutilated in heaping up riches for others? I am astounded—and pained.

Blake. I am not criticising your programme. I only say that your audiences applauded you, and, in point of fact, elected you in the constituency where the working-class vote was strong, because your programme seemed to them to suit their material interests.

Beaulieu. But do men go on their belly like the serpent? Is the workman as the beasts that perish? Do hatred of oppression and love of abstract justice count for nothing? Is the democratic spirit devoid of chivalry? Cannot men rise to heights of self-sacrifice, and nobly use their power to revenge and redress the wrongs of others? Surely, Mr. Blake, you are not a cynic?

Blake. I am trying to tell the truth. And the truth is, 'Thou shalt want ere I want' is to-day the ruling principle of the average man. Let me tell you a story, Lord Beaulieu. I once made a voyage in a ship whose captain was the type of a brave and generous sailor: when things were going smoothly a genial companion, courteous to every one, chivalrous to the weak; in times of danger he had no thought but his duty and was reckless in its performance. He had more than one medal and certificate to show that he had risked his life to save another.

Beaulieu. And there are thousands of such men! How often we hear of common pitmen showing in a colliery disaster a quiet heroism that should silence the most cynical reviler of human nature.

Blake. I found out after some time that my friend the captain had some years before been shipwrecked, in a vessel of which he was mate. In the catastrophe he showed his usual courage and resource, and was the last to leave the ship. The few survivors suffered terrible hardships. When they were at last picked up, only my friend and two others were alive. Of these two, one died in a few hours, and the other is in a lunatic asylum. It was from the ravings of the latter that it was discovered that, in their extremity, the castaways had killed a lad who was in their boat, and lived for days on his flesh.

Beaulieu. Oh, horrible! What do you mean?

Tranmere. It is pretty clear that Mr. Blake has given you a rather forcible illustration of the truth that, if the struggle for existence be severe enough, even men who are potential heroes will turn cannibal.

Blake. Yes. If I were on a raft in mid-ocean with Lord Beaulieu and some of his friends three days after the biscuit had given out, I confess I should look with suspicion on a practical programme based on the greatest good of the greatest number.

Tranmere. But you will allow, Mr. Blake, that even if their

material necessities compel workmen to regard politics as a bread-and-butter question mainly, they are not entirely deaf to appeals on other grounds.

Blake. I hope not, but I cannot say. In spite of many indications to the contrary, I fancy there is an immense fund of latent patriotism amongst the millions. I hope so, for the days of the struggle for existence, for nations as well as for individuals, are not yet over.

Higgs. I am convinced that all classes would rally to the national standard in time of danger. They all appreciate the—er—glory and greatness of our empire, and even the girls in our factories would join heartily in the chorus of 'Rule Britannia.' I am sure, as a representative of the trading classes, I may say the same for them.

Tranmere. In fact, Mr. Borrodaile-Higgs is at one with the Laureate—

> The smooth-faced snub-nosed rogue would leap from his counter and till,
> And strike, if he could, were it but with his cheating yard-wand, home.

Trevor (hastily). But we are wandering a little from the point. I think there is much in what Mr. Higgs has said.

Clifford. Mr. Blake's view has, it seems to me, the merit of consistency with the general position he takes up. For after all, patriotism, as I understand it, is but a wider selfishness; the extension of the instinct of self-preservation from the individual to the family, the tribe, or the nation will readily account for those apparently unreasoning ebullitions of the patriotic fervour which, in its wiser manifestations, is often no more than an intelligible desire for an increase of those markets on which a manufacturing population must depend for its existence, and which, when not guided by true commercial considerations, may degenerate into mere Jingo fever.

Blake. To hark back to my statement that the working class, in the exercise of political power, will aim first and always at the improvement of its material condition. I maintain it is natural that it should do so. Lord Beaulieu says it is sordid. But whether it is that or not, it is inevitable, as men now are. And if the workman retorts to Lord Beaulieu that *his* class in their day and generation made pretty good use of their opportunities to set the example, what reply is possible? But Mr. Clifford, I see, yearns for facts.

Clifford. Not at all. I will allow your first proposition to be self-evident. The only objection I raise is that you speak of the 'working class' as if it were a homogeneous whole, whereas the truth is that even if you restrict the term so as to include only weekly-wage workers, the working class presents diversities of condition, thought, aspiration, and even of interests, which may render your generalisation wholly unsound.

Higgs. Speaking from my own experience as one of the largest employers of labour in the country, I can endorse Mr. Clifford's objection. Amongst the thousands of my hands there are many who are actuated by the most laudable desire to raise themselves out of their class. It is from such men that we choose our foremen and inspectors; and, with his foot on the first rung of the ladder, there is no position to which one of my workmen cannot hope to climb. I may say that since affairs of state have placed such a strain on my own energies, I have left the control of many departments of my business to men who commenced at the bottom. And we have our eye on many such, who, by their devotion to the interests of the firm, have already gained subordinate positions and are sure to rise. There is no favouritism, sir, in our firm. If a man is not worth his money, he must go. If he is valuable to us, he can command his own price.

Blake. There are many such workmen who derive no small advantage from preferring the teaching of 'Self Help' or 'Men who have made their Fortunes' to the Sermon on the Mount. But by your own showing these are the exceptions. What the average workman thinks of them is proved by the term 'master's man' always applied to them, and by the common saying that it is easy enough to get on with a master who is a gentleman, but that a foreman raised from the ranks, and anxious to get on, is the worst of tyrants.

Beaulieu. But, Mr. Blake, you surely believe in the 'career open to talent'? And you call yourself a democrat!

Clifford. If Mr. Blake is going, in his laudable sympathy for the less gifted, to penalise the able and more industrious, he is running counter to a natural law too strong for any sort of democracy to control. The attempt, even if temporarily successful, must be ultimately abortive. For the able would not be allowed, and the less able are *ex hypothesi* unfitted, to do the work which must be done, unless the total product divisible amongst the whole is to be diminished.

Blake. I don't want to run my head against any stone walls. I admit to the fullest extent you like the natural inequality of man, and that the fittest must come to the front. Amongst Mr. Higgs' hands there are some more fitted for his purposes than others. The same men are by precisely the same qualities fitted to serve the interests of their fellow workmen. They are evidently conscious of the degradation and suffering of the workers, since they are so anxious to quit their ranks. They would make excellent trade union leaders, for they have persistence, honesty, and business ability, or else Mr. Higgs would not want them. But he does, and can afford to buy their services and employ them to see that he gets more out of his workpeople, not the workpeople more out of him. What can be more natural? Supply and demand again, you see. But this very drafting of the more discontented and keen-witted workmen into the masters' camp, reducing as it does the average of discontent and

ability amongst those who remain workers, is one of the chief causes of the stability of the present state of affairs. It is the automatic safety-valve that keeps the pressure of steam in the boiler below bursting-point.

Beaulieu. What a cold-blooded view! I admit that abstract principles should impel such a foreman to remain amongst his shopmates and devote his abilities to the redress of any of their legitimate grievances. But the doctrine 'once a worker always a worker' is an application of the nefarious hereditary principle that I could not approve.

Blake. And so, instead of a *Felix Holt*, you get a junior partner in Mr. Higgs' firm. But to the point. I do not deny that some individual workmen are so free from class feeling that their one aim is to get out of the working class. That is my answer to Mr. Higgs. As to Mr. Clifford's objection that between grade and grade of workmen there are differences which render illusory any calculations on their united political action from a common interest, I meet it fairly, and admit that has been so in the past. But I think I can give him weighty evidence to prove an enormous change in that respect.

Clifford. I am curious to hear it, for although of late years I have not been able to mix with working men so much as I could have wished, I have a lively recollection of the state of affairs some years ago in the North of England, when the distinction between the skilled artisan with his high wages, his powerful trade union, his stalwart Radicalism, his Mechanics' Institute, and schemes of thrift and co-operation, and the unskilled worker—the *residuum*—was at least as sharply drawn as that between shopkeeper and artisan, while the differences of taste, pursuits, and aims was greater than any now existing between the present representatives of feudal nobility and of the once despised trader.

Blake. I do not think you have overstated it. I do not deny, with all deference to Lord Beaulieu's democratic principles, that workmen are made of much the same clay as 'their betters,' and exhibit similar vices. No, selfishness is one of the few things that have never been made a class monopoly. It is one of the deeply rooted instincts of human nature that our young friend here thinks to eradicate with a little rhetoric. It earned for the skilled and organised artisans the title 'aristocrats of labour,' thoroughly deserved and meant as a term of bitter reproach. They combined, and added to the natural monopoly conferred on them by their skill, an artificial one by enrolling in trade unions, which were then illegal combinations. They signalised *their* political emancipation by securing reforms that legalised their monopoly. Safe behind these entrenchments, they made no sallies to rescue the unskilled labourer, but only offered him the cheap advice to follow their example, though he

had not their natural advantages to start with, and his lower wage and less secure employment denied him their intelligence and independence. But we are altering all that.

Clifford. But are you?

Blake. Well, let me be generous and give to you and your friends the share of the credit you are fully entitled to. You have put skilled and unskilled labourers on a level of political equality, and by your masterly treatment of the Irish question you have demonstrated that though a popular combination for economical purposes may, in an overcrowded labour market, fail with the recognised trade union weapons, it need not despair of success, if it apply its lesser strength to the longer lever of political agitation—so long, at least, as 'statesmen' seek 'the satisfaction of their desires'—for Office—'with the minimum of exertion'—that is, changing opinions to suit constituents. Supply follows effective demand in the political market, you know, as rapidly as it does in any other where things are bought and sold.

Trevor (*eagerly*). But are your 'aristocrats of labour' going to make common cause with their poorer brethren?

Blake. They are doing it rapidly.

Beaulieu. So I think. And how fully that bears out my contention that workmen have generous instincts!

Blake. I never denied that; but that was not what you contended. I insist that if you want to predict their course in politics, in the mass—as a class—over a long period of time, you must recognise that it will be dictated not by transient gusts of generous emotion, but by the promptings of self-interest—a self-interest which will become more and more enlightened as the spread of education and intelligence enables them to take a wider and more scientific view of their condition and its causes.

Clifford. Then your point is that, as the savage who risks his life in battle for his tribe is impelled thereto by the instinct of self-preservation, modified by the knowledge that his existence is bound up in that of his tribe, so it is enlightened selfishness that induces the artisan to sink his individual interest—that is, getting the highest wage for himself—in the common interest—that is, maintaining the highest average rate of wages in the trade generally?

Blake. Just so. It is no idle vapouring about Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity that makes the rapid worker bind himself to accept an equal rate of wages with his slower mate, but a dawning consciousness of the fact that even his greater ability will not permanently secure him high wages unless he makes common cause with the less gifted. Self-interest is at the bottom of it. You have a curious example of the conflict between enlightened and unenlightened self-interest in the way trade unionists treat the question of 'overtime.'

Beaulieu. I seem to have heard the phrase, but I am not quite clear as to its precise meaning.

Blake. It will teach you something about the generous impulses and the actual practice of working men. In the organised trades the unions have succeeded in establishing a normal working week of fifty-four, fifty-six, or sixty hours. Every hour worked in excess of this limit during a week is 'overtime.' It is immensely to the advantage of the employer to increase this 'overtime'——

Higgs. Of course, even though he may have to pay slightly more for the labour he gains considerably, as his fixed expenses--rent, interest, superintendence—remain constant with a larger output.

Blake. Usually the workers get 20 to 30 per cent. higher wages for each hour of overtime, which consequently means 'big money' at the end of the week, and strongly appeals to the sordid instincts of which Lord Beaulieu denies the existence. And, in fact, systematic overtime is the rule in the best-organised trades. Now the more intelligent and far-seeing workmen have observed that 'overtime,' in spite of the 'big money,' is a dead loss to the workers.

Clifford. That seems a paradox; but this is a matter I have never examined.

Blake. Examine it with me then. Suppose a union with all its members in regular employment at 30*s.* wages for a week of sixty hours. Overtime at 8*d.* an hour is introduced, and each man averages ten hours a week at that rate. Each will get 36*s.* 8*d.* a week, other things being equal. But other things are *not* equal, for unless there is a large and rapid development of the trade, they will only average forty-four weeks' employment in the year, and so their average weekly income will be only 31*s.* Now ask yourself which, from the workman's point of view, is preferable—a steady 30*s.* a week, or an average of 31*s*, with spells of out of work of from four to twelve weeks every year.

Clifford. There can be no question. Fluctuation of employment is the greatest of all the curses of the working class. It renders thrift impossible and recklessness inevitable.

Blake. But there is a further consequence that the longer-headed workmen see. With ten hours 'overtime' and 15 per cent. of the workmen constantly out of employ, a real rise of wages is impossible. The 15 per cent. of unemployed are the reserves which capital can call up to its support in any conflict with labour. But with no 'overtime,' and all the workmen employed at 30*s.* a week, a rise not to 31*s.* only, but to 33*s.* or 35*s.*, is easy of attainment, because in the event of a strike the employer cannot find any one to carry on his work. Yet, irrefutable as this argument is, openly as it is admitted by the best of the workmen themselves, chronic overtime is allowed by the most intelligent and strongly organised trade unions.

Tranmere. That must be the gambling instinct, which also has

its roots pretty deep down in the natural man. I suppose every one of them thinks that he is going to be one of the lucky few, and get a full fifty-two weeks' work at the 'big money.'

Blake. Yes; and as long as it is so, what does he care for the unlucky ones, who, as he well knows, must inevitably be out of work for a quarter or half of the year if he is to make his 6*s.* 8*d.* a week overtime? He cares as little as you do, when you have backed a winner, for those who must have lost if your winnings are to be paid.

Higgs. But I find amongst my younger hands an increasing objection to excessive overtime.

Blake. That is because they are getting wiser, getting so far above the brutes, you see, Lord Beaulieu, that they understand that they can satisfy their desire for higher wages with the least exertion, by exercising a little self-control and foresight in the matter.

Beaulieu. Your view is so unfamiliar to me, so very different from what I had been led to expect from you, Mr. Blake, that I hardly know what to say. I can only repeat that my experience is that amongst working men in employ there is a real, genuine, unselfish sympathy for the classes worse paid than themselves, and especially for the unemployed workman—that 'figure more tragic than any Œdipus, than any Hamlet,' as Mr. John Morley so feelingly remarked.

Blake. Ah, yes, in theory, as a matter of abstract principle, but not in work-a-day practice. Have you ever, in the course of your deep researches, observed the sympathetic treatment accorded by workmen on strike for a rise from 32*s.* to 34*s.* a week, to the agricultural labourer who had 16*s.* a week when he can get it, or to the man who has been out of work for months, if he comes to take their place at the despised 32*s.*?

Beaulieu. Oh, you mean 'blacklegs.' Of course they are sometimes, I regret to say, rather roughly treated; but you are hardly the person to defend 'blacklegs.'

Blake. Well, I admit that I have in my time advised for them a more summary and efficacious treatment than an oration on the divine principles of eternal Justice. But you admit that Œdipus and Hamlet, if they come to their fellow workmen in the guise of 'blacklegs,' are likely to receive no warmer welcome than a broken ankle or a cracked brain-pan, unless the brutal minions of the Home Office interfere to keep the peace?

Beaulieu. Perhaps. And though I would not in any way countenance British workmen in overstepping the law, I must say violence in such a case is very natural.

Blake. Ah, so natural, that I tell you the eternal thing is not washy rhetoric, but the struggle for existence. The 'picket' and the 'blackleg' fighting for employment at the dock gates

are but the two savages fighting on the prairie over the carcass of a bison.

Beaulieu. And progress, civilisation, Christianity——

Blake. Have left us to-day with the solution still to seek in enlightened self-interest.

Beaulieu. What a disgusting creed!

Blake. But the question is 'Is it true?'

Clifford. I confess Mr. Blake has surprised me, too, by the courage he shows in facing the consequences of his reasoning. But that reasoning makes it the more difficult to show cause why these warring sections of the labour army should present a united front and fight under a common banner. The skilled workman dreads the infringement of his monopoly by the unskilled, who in turn calls him an 'aristocrat.' The man working 'overtime' dreads the competition of the unemployed, who accuses him of greed. The agricultural labourer wants the Protection that means dear food for the artisan and operative of the towns, who insist on a 'cheap loaf,' even if the rustics of Dorsetshire and Essex are to produce it on 11*s.* a week. Where is the war cry that will reconcile these conflicting interests, and bring the working classes on to the political battle-field as a united host with a common aim?

Blake. Let us ask our practical friend Mr. Borrodaile-Higgs what capitalists do when their conflicting interests and cut-throat competition have produced a state of affairs in which none of them can make their business pay.

Higgs. That has happened more than once to me personally. In the earlier years of the firm our ingenuity and enterprise reaped its reward; but we were not on such a large scale then, and we were greatly hampered by imitators, who positively flooded the trade and cut prices until in many lines we were obliged to work at an absolute loss. Of course that could not go on for ever, and most of them had soon exhausted their capital, and we and half-a-dozen of the other large houses bought up their businesses for an old song.

Tranmere. Another illustration of the survival of the fittest, I presume.

Higgs. But that did not help us much. The fight between the big houses was so keen that there was literally no profit to be got out of the trade.

Tranmere. I have seen in a farmyard the big pigs drive the little porkers away from the trough, and then, in the eagerness of each to get the biggest share of the food, jostle one another until half the contents of the trough were wasted.

Trevor. But go on with your reminiscences, Mr. Higgs. They are more to the point than any amount of theory.

Higgs. Well, sir, things came to a pass at which no one could stand it any longer. We laid our heads together, and the four largest

firms amalgamated as the house of which I am now the head. We soon squeezed out the remainder, and to-day, sir, the man who tries to compete with Higgs, Bodger & Co. will want a good deal of pluck and a precious long purse.

Blake. I thought so. You found it paid better to make common cause with Bodger against the consumer and go halves in a 15 per cent. dividend, than to fight him and make 3 per cent.

Higgs. Of course. It was good business.

Blake. The lesson competition has taught you men of business is being rapidly learnt from bitter experience by the working man. The Amalgamated Engineer with his 38*s.* can look down with equanimity on the engineer's labourer with 18*s.* or 20*s.*, and think that it is all for the best in the best of possible worlds that there should be such a disparity in their wages. But when he strikes for 40*s.* a week he finds the employer ready to give the labourer 25*s.* to do the engineer's work—not so well perhaps, but well enough, taking the difference in wage into account. So the engineer begins to think that possibly he may satisfy his own desire for 40*s.* a week most easily by giving a hand to assist the unskilled labourer in getting 25*s.* The gas stoker who gets 30*s.* a week for eight hours' work a day may bear with philosophic calm the woes of the agricultural labourer. But when he strikes, and learns that there are about a million men in the half-deserted villages of merry England only too ready to jump at the chance of putting in twelve hours a day in the retort-house for 30*s.* a week, he begins to think that the condition of the agricultural labourer has got to be improved before *he* himself can meet his employer on equal terms.

Clifford. Then you mean to say that skilled workers are coming to see that they cannot obtain higher wages permanently unless the rate of wages for unskilled labour is increased?

Blake. They see that 'the solidarity of labour' is not a phrase but a fact, and that they must move together if they are to make head against the common enemy, the employer—or rather, not the organiser of industry, but the capitalist, the consumer who produces nothing.

Tranmere. In fact, the new version of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity is not, 'Be my brother or I will kill thee,' but the unemployed say to the employed, the unskilled to the skilled, the rustic to the urban artisan, 'Be our allies or we will undersell you and deprive you of the means of subsistence'?

Blake. That in sober earnest is about the position.

Clifford. But, Mr. Blake, about the agricultural labourer. You know I am all for allotments—at cheap rents, and—and so on, and think that our party should, for many reasons, pay greater attention to the needs and wishes of the agricultural labourer, who, I fear, is so ignorant and prejudiced that he too often gives his vote to

designing politicians who trade on his weaknesses. I am convinced that he still entertains a belief in the exploded fallacies of Protection.

Blake. That is likely enough, if there is any truth in the whole of my argument.

Beaulieu. Do you seriously mean to take us back to the days of bread riots?

Blake. All I can tell you is that I know of no intelligent workman who is not a protectionist. I believe you are also.

Beaulieu. No, sir, no. I am, and have always been, a convinced free trader.

Blake. But I thought you were an enthusiast on the subject of trade unions.

Beaulieu. So I am, and I am proud to say I number amongst my personal friends many prominent trade unionists who are thorough-going free traders.

Blake. It is just possible that they are not intelligent. For what is trade unionism but the most direct form of Protection?

Beaulieu. The right of combination is one of the most priceless heritages of the working class.

Blake. So I think. But if the combination is effective in raising the price of the only commodity they have to sell—their labour—what is it but Protection?

Higgs. And a very one-sided Protection too, unless it raises the price of the commodity which their labour is employed on. Conservative though I am, I must say my own painful experience has taught me to take John Bright's view of trade unions and of their tyranny.

Blake. But you are a protectionist too?

Higgs. Oh no, I am a free trader; though I must confess that I feel that foreign competition renders it absolutely necessary that in certain branches our workmen should make allowance for the fact that wages are lower and hours longer on the continent, and consent to a reduction.

Blake. And if they won't?

Higgs. Well, though I am a free trader in theory, I don't see anything before us but ruin.

Clifford. Exactly. Like everybody else, Mr. Higgs wants Free Trade for others and Protection for himself.

Blake. Yes, and, unfortunately for him, he can't get it, because the consumers of the article he wants to raise in price outnumber the manufacturers by ten thousand to one at the polls. But it is different with labour.

Tranmere. What, the workman who protects himself, by his trade union, from being undersold by home labour, will protect himself from being undersold by foreign labour by voting for import duties?

Blake. Certainly he will, if he is going to use his vote in his own interest.

Tranmere. I am a free trader too, but I have always had a sneaking desire for a *5s.* duty on corn. But you daren't mention it before a popular audience.

Blake. Because it is unpopular?

Tranmere. You would have the big loaf, and the little loaf, and all the rest of it, thrown at your head in five seconds.

Blake. Ah! you are a landlord, and Mr. Clifford would warn your audience that all you wanted was to get higher rents. But if the agricultural labourers asked for it, it would be different.

Clifford. I will accept the first of those two assertions, but I should like some proof of the second.

Blake. Well, what would a *5s.* duty on corn mean in the way of dear bread? By how much would it raise the price of the town artisan's loaf?

Clifford. I have not the slightest idea—say a halfpenny a quartern; but that is a serious consideration to the toilers in the slums.

Blake. A few months ago the working bakers of London demanded, and in most cases got, a great reduction of the working day. The masters, to recoup themselves for the higher wages, put a halfpenny on the price of the loaf, which, I believe, paid for the difference in wages twice over. But I heard no outcry from the slums, no shriek from the Cobden Club. I don't think there is a Liberal or free trader in London who would venture to get up before a working-class audience and denounce that as 'a dear loaf.' Would you do so, Mr. Clifford?

Clifford. But the conditions under which the bakers worked were inhuman.

Beaulieu. Yes, most disgusting—an outrage on civilisation and Christianity.

Blake. So is the condition of the agricultural labourer.

Beaulieu. But where are you to stop?

Blake. Where, indeed!

Clifford. And what is to become of the consumer?

Blake. He is not my client, but yours.

Clifford. But your clients, the workmen, are consumers too.

Blake. To a small extent. They consume very little and produce a great deal. But I will answer for them that, as consumers, they will cheerfully pay a halfpenny more for their loaves if they are thereby relieved of competition, as producers, so that they can get *2s.* more wages a week.

Tranmere. And no fools either.

Blake. Well, I have done my best to answer Mr. Trevor's question, and tell you what I think the working class wants. As to what you gentlemen are going to do in view of these demands I cannot

say, and I am afraid it is too late to-night for me to hear. But it seems to me you will soon have to make up your minds. And so I say good-night.

As Blake left the room Trevor asked his other guests what they thought of him.

Higgs. These are dangerous doctrines—most subversive.

Tranmere. There's no Radical cant about the fellow, anyhow.

Clifford. He is evidently not such a fool as I had thought.

Beaulieu. He is not at all the sort of person I expected, not at all.

H. H. Champion.

II.

THE CASE FOR AN EIGHT HOURS DAY.

In Mr. Giffen's papers on 'The Progress of the Working Classes during the last Half Century,' which are contained in the second series of the *Essays in Finance*, he holds that he has established three points. The points are these: first, that the money earnings of the working classes have largely increased; second, that the prices of the main articles of their consumption have at the same time declined; and third, that the increase of the return to capital has not been in any way in proportion, the yield on the same amount of capital being less than it was, and the capital itself being more diffused. From the establishment of these points, he infers that 'the workmen get for themselves nearly the whole product of the aggregate industry of the country.'

Among capitalists and employers, the publication of these statements has been received with much satisfaction and contentment; but among working men it has been received with a good deal of criticism, and so far as Mr. Giffen's general conclusion is concerned, with absolute incredulity. That wages have risen, and that the prices of the main articles of consumption have fallen, is generally admitted. But workmen contend that there are several drawbacks which make their gains much less real than Mr. Giffen contends, and than might at first sight appear. Four of these alleged drawbacks Mr. Giffen discusses in an article on 'The Gross and Net Gains of Rising Wages,' which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1889. The first of these is the rise in the rent of houses. The second is the payment of railway or 'bus fares for conveyance to and from work. The third is an increase in the severity of labour accompanying increase of production. And the fourth is a more expensive scale of living. These drawbacks Mr. Giffen examines, and he comes to the conclusion that they do diminish the gross earnings of the working classes, but not to any serious extent. He still maintains the general accuracy of his view that the workmen have gained by the development of material wealth during the last fifty years, more in proportion than the capitalists and employers.

Now admitting the improvement in money earnings and the fall in prices, and admitting also that the drawbacks mentioned by Mr.

Giffen do not very materially affect the gain, there is still another drawback which Mr. Giffen does not mention, but of which working men complain more persistently than of any other, and which, if real, is undoubtedly of the most serious consequence. I refer to the drawback of irregular work, and consequent irregular wages.

It is not, in the long run, of much importance to the worker that he receives more for his work now than formerly, if the work itself is more uncertain than it was. While he is in work his wages may be high, and yet from the irregularity of the work his average earnings may be extremely low. If this drawback really exists and tends to increase in effect, then it is obviously of more importance than all the others put together.

The testimony of working men themselves on the point is, I believe, unanimous. At the meeting of the Industrial Remuneration Conference in 1885 the statement that, though wages had risen, employment at the higher rate was not so continuous as formerly, was more frequently made by the representatives of the working classes present than any other statement. The President of the Trades Union Congress, which met at Dundee last year, said in his opening address that 'the chief causes of discontent in the labour world may be attributed to insufficient and uncertain employment, and the ever increasing difficulty which the intelligent wage-earner experiences in attaining a competency;' and his statement was not questioned. And those who are in the habit of meeting working men know how keen and how general is the feeling of insecurity which prevails amongst them in consequence of the uncertainty of employment. Mr. Giffen, as I have said, does not touch the question, though he can hardly have been ignorant of the complaint, and though he allows that each class knows its own grievances as no others can know them. There is indeed, in his recent article, an indirect reference to the subject. He speaks of 'the floating mass of rude labour in large cities,' and says that there is 'nothing so deplorable or hopeless.' But he adds that 'the absolute magnitude of the city residuum must not blind us to the fact that it may be not an increasing, but diminishing element with reference to the population generally.' He goes even further than this, and maintains that actually it is a diminishing element. How, otherwise, he asks, can we account for the diminution of crime and pauperism, and for the increase in the average length of life?

Now this question, as he puts it, assumes that a decrease in crime and pauperism, and an increase in the average length of life, can be due only to a decrease in poverty. But there is not much to justify the assumption, or, at any rate, other causes besides higher wages, have been at work to produce the results which he traces to this cause alone. The increased temperance among the whole body of our people, for example, would, even if wages had remained abso-

lutely stationary, account to a considerable extent for the diminution both in crime and pauperism, and also for the greater average length of life. It works in all three directions. Education, too, is generally held to have had considerable effect in reducing crime, though its spread is not necessarily a proof of greater material prosperity. It is well to remember also, that to prove a reduction of crime is, for Mr. Giffen's purpose, valueless, unless he can at the same time show that the reduction has taken place among those crimes that can be traced directly to poverty, and not solely or mainly among that class of more serious offences that spring from brutality or recklessness. As to the statistics of pauperism, there are three questions that must be considered before they can be taken as proof that the residuum is really diminishing. First, how far is the decline in the number of paupers due to the growing policy of withholding out-door relief? Second, how far is it due to a larger and also a wiser charitable expenditure? And third, to what extent do the different kinds of Friendly Societies form a new element in our industrial life, and to what extent do they intervene between the unemployed and the workhouse? Whatever answers may be given to these questions, it is obvious that, till they are answered, no statistics as to the diminution in the number of paupers can be taken as proof of an actual decline in the number of men who suffer from want of work. Then, as to the greater average length of life, may not an improved system of sanitation have had something to do with it? If so, the higher average does not necessarily indicate a greater general prosperity. Taking all these things into consideration, it seems not unjustifiable to conclude that the statistics of crime and pauperism, and of the increased average length of life, upon which Mr. Giffen relies to prove that the residuum is diminishing, are not sufficient for his purpose.

Looking at Mr. Giffen's views as a whole, we may, I think, go so far as to say that he brings forward nothing that would justify us in refusing to listen to the working men who maintain that irregularity of work is a serious and a growing evil in the circumstances of their lives. But is it possible to go further than this? Is there anything in the industrial development of our country that, quite independently of the statements of working men, would lead us to believe that there is great irregularity of employment? I venture to think that there is. Take Mr. Giffen's points separately and no one will contest them. The upward movement of wages in individual trades, the greater intrinsic value of wages, the decrease in the number of working hours, the improvement in the surrounding conditions of labour, the precautions against insanitary influences and against accidents, the progress in thrift, and the decrease in crime and drunkenness—in all these directions there has been, as Mr. Giffen maintains, great progress during the last half century. So far there is no difference of opinion. But it is one thing to admit the truth of a variety of separate con-

siderations of this kind, and quite another to draw from them a general conclusion as to the condition of the working classes in the aggregate. Before we can venture upon such a conclusion there are two features of our industrial life which we must constantly bear in mind. The first of these is the influence exercised on the condition of the working man in modern times by the fluctuations of industry and trade. These fluctuations affect the labour world as a whole, and they co-exist with each and all of the improvements indicated by Mr. Giffen. They are the result of the rapid accumulation of capital, of the insatiable productive energy of our manufacturers, and of the recurrent periods of over-production; and so far as their effect on the workman is concerned, they lead to fluctuations in the money value of his labour and to uncertainty in his employment. If we cast a glance over the more recent movements of trade—the depression of 1866–70, the revival of 1870–74, the depression of 1874–79, the partial revival of 1880–83, the subsequent relapse of 1884–86, and the revival which is now at its height, and take into account the fact that each depression not only involves a reduction of wages but also throws a number of workmen out of employment altogether, we shall recognise that there is at least one feature in our industrial life which ought to qualify our judgment with regard to the progress of the working classes, and which ought to incline us to listen to their complaints with regard to their condition.

But there is a second feature of industrial life which has a close bearing on the general condition of working men. It is connected with the constantly increasing development of mechanical appliances in carrying on the work of the country. Under the influences of this development, the number of persons engaged in the great staple industries, when taken together, has not only not increased in proportion to the increase in the population, but has remained almost stationary; while, on the other hand, those who form as it were the camp followers of the great army of industry have increased both absolutely and relatively. It is on this fact that my case for an Eight Hours Day mainly rests, and I propose to quote from the Census returns some figures which seem to me to prove its truth. I begin with the Census of 1851, because from that year the influences of free trade became fully felt. I reckon that there are five staple branches of work in our industrial life, from which by far the greater part, if not the whole, of our wealth directly comes. These are Agriculture, the Textile Fabrics, Minerals, the Transport Service, and the making of Machinery and Tools. In 1851 there were in Great Britain, according to the Census returns, 5,061,050 persons engaged in or connected with these branches of work. This number includes not merely workers in the ordinary sense of the term, but landowners, farmers, mill and mine owners, clerks, &c. The population of Great Britain at the same time was 20,816,351. In 1881 the population

was 29,710,012, an increase of nearly nine millions. During the interval between 1851 and 1881 the wealth of the country had, so far as I can learn, about trebled itself. What during the same period was the increase in the number of persons engaged in the five branches of work which I have mentioned, and from which this increased wealth came? The number had grown to 5,213,518, an increase of 152,468 persons. The figures are sufficiently startling. They mean that practically the same number of persons in 1881, with the aid of improved mechanical appliances, produced three times the amount of wealth produced in 1851, while the population of the country had grown by nine millions.

Now how are these nine millions supported? The answer is obvious. With the increase of wealth new needs and new employments appear—these and a fuller development of old needs consequent upon the possession of increased means of satisfying them, give the increased population work, and with work the means of existence. These employments are not strictly speaking productive, but depend for their existence on the surplus wealth derived from the five main branches of work; and it is in them that want of continuous labour is always most felt. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. The needs which they are intended to satisfy are always more or less artificial in character, they partake to a greater or less degree of the nature of luxuries. As they are called into existence by the surplus wealth of the main branches of trade they depend for their prosperity on the prosperity of these branches. So long as trade is good, they flourish. But when a depression occurs, its first and immediate effect is to lessen the wealth that had previously gone to nourish them, and men are in consequence dismissed. On the other hand, not till trade is again in full flow will the effects of prosperity reach the outer margins of the vast dependent population. They are, as has often been said, the first to suffer and the last to recover from the effects of a depression in trade. This being so, it follows that, taking good and bad times together, the number of those who suffer from want of work will always, under existing conditions, be in proportion to the number dependent for their existence on work carried on outside the staple industries.

From all this I venture to conclude:—

1. That the development of mechanical inventions tends to lessen the number of labourers engaged in the work of actual production.

2. That in conjunction with free trade it tends to increase the amount of wealth produced by the country.

3. That this increased wealth tends to bring into existence a population not directly concerned in its production, but entirely dependent upon it for its support. And,

4. That irregularity of work is always in proportion to the amount of this dependent population. As the margin of population outside

the staple industries increases in extent, so does the want of continuous employment.

If these conclusions are reliable, then we are face to face with a problem of the most serious kind. The evils of irregular work need hardly be mentioned. It creates in the workman a sense of insecurity which has necessarily a most demoralising effect upon him. It destroys his faculty for labouring. It encourages in him an idle, thriftless spirit and a reluctance to return to regular sustained labour which tend to perpetuate themselves in his children. And lastly, that darkest blot in our industrial life, the so-called sweating of labour, depends upon it for its existence. It is hard to starve, and the enforced idleness increases the competition for employment and leads the workers to offer their work at lower and lower rates of remuneration. Labourer and labour sink together in a common degradation.

Is there any remedy? A general eight hours labour day has been suggested as likely to bring about, at any rate, a partial alleviation of the existing condition. If the hours of labour of those who are in continuous employment are reduced, work enough, it is said, will be found for those who now suffer from lack of it. This would no doubt be true, at least for a time. But before men will accept it as a wise remedy, or indeed as a remedy at all, they must believe that it is economically justifiable and would be permanently beneficial. I do not propose to suggest that a universal limitation of the hours of labour should be enforced; but it may be worth while to discuss the proposal first of all from a general point of view. Is it then a proposal that the country might safely adopt? Let us leave out of consideration, for a moment, foreign competition, and see what answer we get to the question, when we look at it as if we had no competitive industrial relations with the rest of the world. In this case the additional number of men brought into regular employment might mean merely one of two things, either a higher wages bill in proportion to the total production of the country, or the same wages bill distributed among a larger number of men. If it is to mean the latter, then workmen would certainly oppose the change, and it would not be worth while discussing it. But if it is to mean a higher wages bill, then, it has been held, either profits would fall or prices would rise, and in either case the economic justification of the movement would be more than doubtful. Profits, according to this view, are now as low as they can be, and if prices were raised the workers would lose as much as they gain. Is it then obvious and unquestionable that, if more men are employed and wages are not reduced, either profits must fall or prices rise? Under existing conditions profits are subject to great fluctuations, fluctuations as great as those to which labour itself is subject. But these fluctuations are at least intensified by the dismissal of large numbers

of workmen when a depression of trade occurs. When these men are turned adrift on society they cease to be remunerative customers in our markets, they cease to consume from their own resources. Their idleness hinders the free circulation of produce and tends to create a glut. Their continuous employment would therefore tend to keep our home markets more stable, and the change would thus have diminished the element of risk which affects profits, and it would have got rid of the burden which, in one shape or another, the idle portion of the community imposes upon the working portion. To this it will be objected that the increased stability of the markets will by no means compensate the employer for the increased sum paid in wages. And if the objection is looked at from the point of view of the individual employer, it would be difficult to answer it. If, under the existing conditions of competition, the ordinary employer kept on all his hands through a slack time, he would inevitably become bankrupt. But the difficulty disappears when it is looked at from the point of view of the community. For, taking for granted for the moment, that the community has resources enough to meet an increased wages bill, then when all employers have to submit to bear their share of the increase, no individual as compared with another will be unduly burdened. It will mean merely a more equable and equitable distribution of the community's resources. It must not be forgotten also that at present the support of the unemployed falls either directly or indirectly on the community. It would surely then be wiser to let them feel that their support is due to their own exertions rather than to a grudging and demoralising system of relief—a system which has done and can do absolutely nothing by way of real remedy for the disease with which it deals. In addition to this, by as much as the market is extended and made more stable by the proposed change, by so much would the flow of capital be made more rapid, and even with a smaller profit on the individual articles of sale, it is not impossible that profits as a whole might be as remunerative. From these considerations, then, it does not seem to be necessarily true that as the result of the change, either profits must fall or prices rise.

But even if we allow that profits would fall unless prices rose, is it true that capital could not bear the fall, but would disappear from among us? There is reason to believe that it would not. In the first place, the capital of a country is only to a very limited extent at the disposal of any individual or set of individuals. It is not the owner of the capital who gives to it its market value, but the whole system of the commercial and industrial relations within which it operates. Disturb the system by the withdrawal of capital from it, and a fall in the value of capital will at once make itself manifest. Further, the creation of capital is due to the energy and intelligence of the whole body of the workers of a country. Where these qualities

are, there capital will be found. Where they are absent capital does not come into existence. And if there is any tendency at work, such as an increasing irregularity of employment, which would lower intelligence or weaken energy, then capital will in the long run tend to disappear whether its owners like it or not.

But, in the second place, Mr. Giffen estimates that the income of the United Kingdom in 1883 amounted to 1,270,000,000*l.* Of this sum he estimates that 550,000,000*l.* go to the manual labour class as wages. Out of the remaining 720,000,000*l.* which go to the capitalist, employing and professional classes, he estimates that there is an annual saving of 200,000,000*l.* The first reflection that occurs to one on reading these figures is that the savings out of interest and profits are too large in proportion to the sum paid in wages. Capital would not necessarily desert us if some portion of these savings were transferred to the wages account of the nation. Such a transference, by improving the condition of the working classes, would in the long run only tend to make capital more effective. Some portion of the savings no doubt go to the maintenance and increase of the fixed capital of the country; but the movements on the Stock Exchange, the growing cheapness of money, and the annually increasing amount lent to foreign countries, prove that there is a constantly increasing difficulty in finding a profitable use to which to put the money. This, no doubt, has its good side. Cheap capital means cheap products. But it has also its bad side; and I venture to think that this is the more prominent side of the two at the present moment. A larger accumulation of capital than the business of the country can find profitable investment for is not helpful. It acts rather as a hindrance to industry by impeding its own flow and by becoming a fruitful source of trade fluctuations.

But there is another reflection to which the estimated savings of the nation give rise. The wealth of our country depends, in the last resort, on the character of our people and on their capacity for work. Now the savings of the nation are made by a comparatively small number of men, and they are made by them after they have expended on themselves and on their families everything their hearts long for. If it is bad, morally and economically, to have a portion of our people suffering from want of work, it is equally bad, morally and economically, to have another portion in possession of such a superabundance of the fruits of work, as to have by their circumstances practically no limit or restraint put upon their desires, whether these desires are legitimate or illegitimate. Mr. Giffen refers in his recent article to the possibility of the growth of a barbarian class among the rich of the community. The danger is not a slight one. Just as an uncertain hold of the means of living destroys among our workers the spirit of foresight and of rectitude, so a superfluity of these means encourages among our rich the growth of a class brutal in its instincts

and indifferent to the ordinary moralities of life. It is a lesser evil, though not an unimportant one, that this superfluity is the direct cause of that caprice in fashion which every day affects the happiness of some portion of the million workers who make up for us the materials with which we cover our bodies.

These facts and these considerations seem to justify the conclusion that capital would not necessarily fly away from us if some portion of the return now made to it were taken from it and added to the wages bill of the country.

But how about foreign competition? Will not the proposed change enable our foreign competitors to undersell us both in our own and in foreign markets? A partial answer to the question has already been given. Those who believe, looking at our wealth as a whole, that we have sufficient resources within ourselves to bear such a readjustment of labour as is made necessary by the modern development of mechanical processes, will not be much moved by the fear of foreign competition. But there is another consideration that has a bearing upon the question. Theoretically the production of wealth has a limit, but practically we know nothing of that limit. We have never come within sight of it. It constantly recedes before the advance of intelligence and the growing power of work. Competition, therefore, whether it be foreign or domestic, will always in the long run turn upon intelligence and energy. The possession of these qualities in a high degree by a people means the power to produce at a low cost, the power to produce more in proportion to the capital invested than can be produced by a people less highly gifted. But these qualities cannot exist, or—to put the point in an unassailable form—they cannot increase, except in a country where stable employment and a high standard of life prevail. Irregular employment, an uncertain standard of life, degrade intellect, lead to slovenly, defective methods of work, and therefore destroy the power to compete.

So far I have sought to establish two main points. The first is that the lines upon which our industrial development has gone tend to increase the population of the country and the uncertainty of the means by which a large section of that population gains its subsistence. The second is that it would not be economically unjustifiable to meet the evil by the adoption of a shorter labour day. I proceed now to discuss the question as to the means by which the shorter day ought to be gained. Should we trust to the action of employers, to their power of recognising that, though it might cause some difficulty at first, nothing in the long run would more tend to give stability to their prosperity and to the prosperity of the country than the regular employment of their workmen? I take for granted that as a rule no employer in a particular trade could adopt the change without loss, unless all the employers in the same trade adopted it at the same time. Now most men are influenced in their

actions by considerations that are near and obvious. In this case the consideration that is nearest to the individual employer is the loss that would follow to him if he alone adopted the change, not the gain that would ultimately come to him from the co-operation of more intelligent and more contented workmen. That is a gain which he would probably be inclined to regard as extremely problematical, and, in any case, as one which could never be definitely estimated in his annual profit and loss account. Besides this, and indeed for the same reason, capitalists have always been in the habit of regarding any gain secured by the labourers as a loss to themselves. Nothing could be more economically false or more prejudicial to their true interest; but the habit has been too long acquired to be got rid of all at once; and it is not, therefore, probable that they will voluntarily effect a change which would cause them to readjust the conditions of labour, and which would give rise at first to some inconvenience, and possibly temporary diminution of profits.

Ought it then to be left to the men to force the change? Let me repeat that the object of the change is to find regular employment for some or all of those who at present suffer from want of it. It is not intended directly to benefit those who have regular work, though the change would no doubt involve this as an indirect effect, just as the position of the male adult factory hand was improved by the Factory Acts. But if the men themselves are to secure it, they must do so by combination. And the combination must be composed either (1) of those who are to be directly benefited by the change, that is, of the whole body of the unemployed throughout the country; or (2) of those who are to be indirectly benefited, that is, of those in employment; or (3) of both together. The possibility of a universal labour combination, that is, of a combination embracing both employed and unemployed, is so far distant that we do not need to discuss it. And a combination composed only of the unemployed throughout the country must always be hopeless. It is of the essence of their position that they lack the means necessary to sustain a great organisation. Besides, men who are forced together by poverty can have neither the patience nor the loyalty to each other required for the successful pursuit of an end more or less remote. But even if they succeeded in forming a combination, to whom are they to appeal? Is each branch to appeal to the employers in its own locality? The supposition is absurd. But this being so, their only resort would be to appeal, as the chance collections of the unemployed have hitherto done, to the Government of the country. This appeal, whatever else may be said of it, is not what is intended by those who recommend workmen to secure the shorter day by combination. Would then a combination of the employed have greater chances of success? This would involve a number of combinations, each including the workers engaged in the separate trades of the country;

and it implies that the movement is to be carried to a successful issue, trade by trade. Now, with trade in a buoyant state, the more skilled classes of labourers might, and probably would, succeed. But if trade were stationary or falling, it is very doubtful if there are half a dozen trade unions in the country strong enough to force the change against the capitalists. If this is the case with skilled labour it is hardly worth while to discuss the chances of a trade by trade victory in the case of unskilled labourers. The power of the capitalist over men and women who are starving from enforced idleness is so great that a victory here would mean, practically, the non-existence of that very evil of which it was the object of the struggle to get rid. So long as there is a supply of unemployed labour, the chances of remedying an evil of this kind are very remote. Those in employment and those out of it will generally act on the same principle, namely, that work, even if the conditions are hard, is better than starvation; and with such a principle in operation, successful combination is impossible. Recent strikes afford sufficient proof of this. Those that have attracted the greatest amount of public attention have been the Dockers' Strike, the strike of the Manchester and Salford Gas Stokers, that of the South Metropolitan Gas Stokers, and the Silvertown Strike. In the three latter cases the men have been defeated entirely because of the superabundant supply of labour, and this, too, at a time when the volume of trade was daily expanding. In the case of the Dockers a victory was gained, but whether that victory will have permanent results is at this moment extremely doubtful. The supply of labour is abundant, and all that is required in order that the Dock Companies may retrieve their position, is complete organisation among themselves. In view of the action recently taken by the representatives of the docks, wharves, warehouses, and granaries of the Port of London, it is not too much to say that we have not yet seen the end of the dispute. With such an experience before us, then, it does not seem as if we would be justified in expecting much from combinations of unskilled labourers, formed for the purpose of forcing on the employers a shorter day. Besides this, those who advise that the shorter day should be secured by combination, do not seem to me fully to understand the point at issue. They take for granted that the main object of those workmen who urge the adoption of the limitation is that simply of acquiring more leisure. This does, no doubt, influence them, but I have never yet heard a workman advance it as the main reason for his support of the movement. That reason always is that the change would secure employment for a greater number of workmen than at present, and at the same time tend to secure a greater permanence of work.

If then we cannot expect either that the employers will voluntarily grant the shorter day, or that the workers will be able so to combine

as to force it, should the State interfere? It is the object of this article to suggest that it should do so. But though I have attempted to prove the economic justification of a universal eight hours day, it is not my object to suggest that the State should attempt to force its adoption. A much more moderate policy would, I believe, meet our needs. The State, moreover, ought perhaps to limit its interference by a strict reference to the evil of irregular employment. Now there are branches of work in which it is said that the adoption of an eight hours day would not lessen the amount of work done, even if the number of hands engaged in them were not increased. The workers would, it is said, do as much in an eight hours day as at present. I have been told by one of the largest cotton manufacturers in the kingdom, that he has for some time been considering the propriety of reducing the day's labour in his mills to eight hours. He gave as his reason, that the strain on the workers, consequent upon the increased complexity of the machinery, was so great that the power of attention was exhausted before the day was over. He found as a fact that the work done during the last hour of the day was less satisfactory and less profitable than the work done during the earlier part. It was therefore a serious question with him whether it would not be more profitable to shorten the day than continue it at its present length. There are other industries in which the same thing no doubt applies. In these industries the adoption of an eight hours day would not directly tend to the employment of a greater number of workers. If, therefore, the State interfered with them, it would have to do so on some other ground than that of remedying the evil of irregular employment.

But there are branches of work in which a shorter day would necessarily involve the employment of a greater number of labourers. I am not concerned to enumerate these branches of work. State interference in all of them would be, at present, so far as I can see, impossible; and it is a possible present policy that I desire to prove practicable. I select the works carried on by Railway and Tramway Companies, by Gas and Water Companies, and by Government and Local authorities. I do so for two reasons. First, because, taking these together, the number of additional workers which an eight hours day would bring into employment would be so considerable as very materially to diminish the margin of unemployed labour, while at the same time it would tend, by lessening competition, to improve the condition of the labour world as a whole. And secondly because the State already interferes in the conduct of all these works. They all enjoy monopolies: subject to certain conditions imposed by the State, they are all safeguarded against competition. What then is there in principle to hinder the State extending its powers of interference in these works so as to include within its scope the length of the labour day? If I am right as to the causes of irregular employment; if it is

due (1) to the enormous growth of mechanical appliances in the production of wealth, and (2) to the fact that the surplus wealth of the country has no defined channels in which to flow, but is largely subject to the caprices and whims and vices of the small body of men who hold it; and (3) if this surplus wealth tends to create a large population dependent upon it, whose fortunes vary as the caprices or the amount of wealth at the disposal of this small body of men varies, and lastly if this condition of things tend to induce a competition for work of so severe a kind as to demoralise our people,—then surely the State may justifiably interfere in the interests of the mass of the people for whom it acts, so as to deepen the channels of labour in those great permanent and necessary employments with the working of which it has already interfered.

J. A. MURRAY MACDONALD.

FRENCH FISHERY CLAIMS IN NEWFOUNDLAND.

THE English public would almost lose count of our ancient colony of Newfoundland, were it not for the periodic recurrence of the French Treaty controversy. This long-standing dispute has lately come again to the front, through, from an international standpoint, an apparently trivial and local cause.

The unromantic and unsentimental question whether the French people have a right to fish for lobsters and can them for exportation as preserved food, in the seas and upon the shores of a great part of Newfoundland, and whether, if they have, they may exclude British subjects from participation in the business, is the last phase of the vexed controversy regarding the construction of certain ancient treaties between England and France.

Newfoundland nowadays is not familiarly known even by reputation to the people of the old country. Most persons, save the extremely ignorant, are aware that an island of that name is numbered amongst the vast possessions of Great Britain; but all literate people are not even cognisant of that fact, for it came under my observation some years ago that instructions were sent from a solicitor's office in England to have certain papers certified by the *British Consul* there.

The Newfoundland dog (becoming, I regret to say, a rare animal in the colony itself) does more to keep alive familiarity with the name of the island than anything else. Considerable an object as Newfoundland is upon any map of the world, being one of the twelve largest islands upon the globe, and scarcely to be overlooked when the eye is directed to any part of the North Atlantic, I fear there is only a vague and uncertain impression upon the minds of most people in England as to its whereabouts. That impression favours the idea of proximity to the north pole, but I have known it wander to the West Indies and the neighbourhood of the equator. I have seen the credulity of a clergyman-schoolmaster rather shocked, and requiring to be satisfied by reference, when informed that England's oldest colony was almost as large as itself, and stood nearly facing,

but rather south of it, at the nearest point on the other side of the Atlantic.

This used not to be so. Newfoundland, rough diamond though it might be, was at one time one of the most valuable jewels of the Imperial crown. The first colonial possession of Great Britain, it long held a foremost place as a mart of industry and a source of wealth to the numerous adventurers by sea who annually left this country to profit by its great fisheries; and it formerly was, as it is now allowed to be for France, a great naval nursery for England. Then it was a very familiar name; then few households, particularly on the sea-board of England and Ireland, were without a direct interest in the island through the bold and hardy adventurers who, as merchants, masters and men, annually sailed to the fisheries in the spring, to return to the old country in the autumn.

The amount of wealth drawn from those fisheries to England was enormous, and a good deal of it is yet to be traced in families and fair estates in the mother-country.

After Henry the Seventh missed being the patron of Columbus in his search for the New World, he thought better of the offer of John Cabot of Bristol to follow up the discoveries made by the former, and so commissioned John Cabot and his sons to search for islands and territories for the English crown. One of those sons, the famous navigator Sebastian Cabot, in command of the expedition, discovered the coast of Labrador and then of Newfoundland in 1497, and so by right of discovery these lands became the property of the English crown. The earliest cosmographers set them down as appertaining to 'Inglaterra.'

Henry the Seventh, amongst other disbursements on account of the discoveries, made a munificent present of 10*l.* from his privy purse 'to hym that found the New Land,' and he paid 13*s.* 4*d.* to one Clays 'for going to Richmond with wild catts and popinjays of the New-found Island.'

In the reign of Henry the Eighth we read of an English expedition under Captain John Rut, who, in August 1527, wrote from the Haven of St. John (St. John's, the present capital of Newfoundland) to Henry, saying, 'pleasing your Honourable Grace to hear of your servant Rut with all his company here in good health, thanks be to God and your Graceship.'

Up to this time, and for some years after, little heed was paid to the fisheries by the English as compared with the continental Europeans (Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and Bretons), but, as writes one of the merchant adventurers in a letter dated in 1578, quoted by Hakluyt, 'nevertheless the English are commonly lords of the Harbors, where they fish and help themselves to boat-loads of salt and such, in return for protection against rovers and other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbors.'

In the reign of Edward the Sixth an Act was passed for the encouragement of the Newfoundland fisheries.

In 1582 Sir Thomas Hampshire arrived in Newfoundland under authority from Queen Elizabeth to secure to every master of a fishing crew the property of that fishing station which he might make the object of his choice, so long as he kept it employed for the use of the fishery.

On the 5th of August, 1583, took place the first formal assumption, upon the spot, of English rights of government in Newfoundland. The ill-fated Sir Humphrey Gilbert, invested with letters patent from Elizabeth, landed at St. John's and took possession of the island in the queen's name, and set up the royal arms; and the subjects of other nations then did homage and paid tribute in acknowledgment of the sovereign rights of England.

The English dominion continued to be exercised, with some intervals of suspension arising from troubles at home and abroad, until the making of that Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, in which is to be found the root of the present difficulties.

In the reign of James the First, Lord Bacon and a number of noblemen and gentlemen, including Mr. John Guy, Mayor of Bristol, obtained from the king a grant of a large part of Newfoundland. This company commenced a hopeful settlement, but the happy relations Mr. Guy had established with the aborigines (now wholly extinct for over half a century) having been stultified by the cruelties and deadly encounters of some parties of English settlers, the charter was abandoned.

Captain Whitbourne, who for a period of forty years had resorted to Newfoundland, both before and after Gilbert's occupation, was in 1615 commissioned by the Admiralty to assume powers of control over and remedy abuses among the people resorting to Newfoundland, and to hold a court and try causes there. In his quaint, delightful work, 'A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland,' he speaks in rapturous terms of the country and climate.

In 1624 Lord Baltimore (Sir George Calvert) obtained from James the First a grant of the island, where he settled with his family and followers on the peninsula of Avalon, and there, having built a handsome residence for himself and dwellings and storehouses for his people and a fort for their protection, he lived for some years; but as war broke out between France and England his establishment became so harassed, and the difficulties attending trade and cultivation became so great, that Lord Baltimore abandoned his settlement in Avalon, and, obtaining a grant and charter from Charles the First, founded the state of Maryland. (The Baltimore family afterwards endeavoured to resume their former rights in Newfoundland, but they were held to have been ceded to the crown by their subsequent grant of Maryland.)

In 1637, the Marquis of Hamilton and other noblemen and gentlemen, with Sir David Kirke, who assumed the government, and settled, lived, and died at Ferryland (or Verulam), in Avalon, Newfoundland, became grantees under the crown of 'the whole continent, island, and region of Newfoundland;' and it was declared by the letters patent as follows: 'And that all other kings, princes, and potentates may know our just and undoubted right and interest in and to the said continent, island, and region of Newfoundland, and in and to all and every the islands, seas, and places to the same belonging,'—there were to be levied from all strangers that made use of any part of the shore for drying fish 'five fishes out of every hundred fish in the seas, rivers, or places aforesaid, to be had or taken.'

In 1634 France made an agreement with Charles the First, for the privilege of fishing on part of the coasts of Newfoundland, upon payment of a royalty of five per cent. In 1675 Charles the Second was persuaded by the French king to remit this duty.

The French, being thus in possession of part of the coast, strengthened their position, particularly at Placentia and the contiguous territory.

In the meantime, however, the English sovereignty had never been ceded or abandoned, and, for example, in the reign of Charles the Second, letters patent and orders in council were issued for the regulation of the fisheries in Newfoundland.

After his accession, William the Third, in his declaration of war, declared that 'it was not long since the French took licence from the governor of Newfoundland to fish upon that coast, and paid a tribute for such licences as an acknowledgment of the sole right of the crown of England to that island, but of late the encroachments of the French in trading and fishing there had been more like the invasions of an enemy than becoming friends who enjoyed the advantage of that trade only by permission.' But, whatever footing the French may have by frequent incursion established in Newfoundland, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 disposed of their pretensions by declaring that Newfoundland, with the islands adjacent, 'shall, from this time forward, belong of right wholly to Britain,' and 'to that end the town and fortress of Placentia, and whatever other places are in possession of the French, shall be yielded and given up, and the French king, his successors, and subjects shall not at any time hereafter lay claim to any right to the said island or islands, or to any part of it or them.'

No language could be plainer than this in admission of the sovereignty of England over Newfoundland, and of its previous although invaded right to the entire territory.

Unfortunately, however, some qualified privileges were reserved to the French, and by the thirteenth article of the treaty it was pro-

vided that 'it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish and to dry them on land,' upon a specified part of the coast.

Nothing but difficulty and evil could result from an incongruous arrangement which permitted an alien people to participate with the proprietors of the soil in a common industry, or, indeed, to possess any status either by land or sea within their borders. The evil, however, was perpetuated and even aggravated by the Treaty of Versailles (1783), which, after making some change in the limits of the coast within which the French might fish, was accompanied by a declaration from his Britannic Majesty that he would 'take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French, and that he will for that purpose cause the fixed settlements (*les établissements sédentaires*) which shall be formed there to be removed.'

I may mention here that the treaty limits within which the French were thus allowed to fish are from Cape St. John on the east coast, thence north and west to Cape Ray at the south-west angle of the island.

Out of this continued concession to the French, and the royal declaration above mentioned, the constantly recurring difficulties between the subjects of the two nations have arisen.

Three or four different and irreconcilable views are taken of these documents. The extreme advocates of the colonial case contend for a concurrent right on their part with the French to the extent of fishing in common with them. The French claim an exclusive right of fishing. The British Government is understood to take a middle position as more consistent, in its judgment, with the language of the treaty and declaration, viz. that its subjects cannot prosecute the fishery in common with the French at the particular stations to which the latter may resort for their summer's fishery, so that it may not be endangered by interruption, but that they may do so at other places within those limits; but the Imperial Government maintains the position of absolute sovereignty, and has permitted all the functions of government and the administration of law to be exercised by the colony upon that part of the coast, and the inhabitants to be represented in the local legislature.

As a matter of fact, the French fishery on the Newfoundland coast had, notwithstanding their Government bounties, been reduced to a few ships and crews at some points within the treaty limits, and their fishing pursuits and their operations had been chiefly confined to sending from France to the Great Banks fishing ships, which made the little French colony of St. Pierre and Miquelon (islands off the coast of Newfoundland reserved to France by treaty) their summer headquarters.

Notwithstanding the gradual decrease of French operations on

the Newfoundland coast, France carefully maintained its footing and preserved its claim by a yearly naval protection of its fishermen and their ships and of such stations as they occupied during their temporary right of summer fishery.

In the meantime the force of nature was, as might be expected, so strong that much of the coast and several of the bays and harbours within the treaty limits became peopled and settled by British subjects in places to which the French either never resorted or which they had abandoned. Moreover, many British colonial vessels often made endeavours to fish at stations and upon ledges which the French either occupied or claimed as necessary to their season's pursuits; and in this way the state of contest has been chronic, and difficulties annually more or less recurrent.

In 1884 and the following year one of the many attempts made for some generations by the high contracting parties to come to a satisfactory working arrangement under the treaties took the form of a convention, subject to the approval of the colony through its legislature; the colony (be it understood) being invested as the active proprietor with every right possessed by England in the island of Newfoundland and its dependencies.

To pass over for the present some other objections on the part of the colony to this convention, it was rejected, amongst other things, and chiefly, because it provided for an absolute right in the French to purchase bait fishes from British subjects upon the entire coast of Newfoundland, for the purpose of supplying the French with bait for their fishery on the Great Banks and otherwise.

Now about this time the bank fishery of Newfoundland, which had died out, had begun again to be prosecuted on a large scale, and moreover France, by its enormous bounties to their outfitters for the fishery (representing nearly half the value of its produce), had become in European markets a formidable competitor with the British fish merchant.

The government and legislature of Newfoundland therefore considered it of vital importance to check the French, and declined to yield to them the right of purchasing bait from the British colonists. The colony reserved the control of this matter to itself, and indeed, very shortly after, its legislature passed the 'Bait Act' for the purpose of excluding foreigners from the right of such purchase.

This proceeding gave an immediate stimulus to French operations on that part of the Newfoundland coast within the treaty limits, particularly for the purpose of securing bait for their Great Bank fishing, which is over a hundred miles off the Newfoundland coast.

At this juncture, too, British factories for the canning of lobsters were being established on that part of the coast, and the French asserted their right to catch lobsters and carry on that business; but not only so, they also insist that the English have no right to fish for

lobsters and possess factories for canning them, upon the ground that they thus interfere with the French summer fishery.

The case for the colony is that the French have no right whatever to carry on this trade and industry in lobsters; and it is claimed by it also that the French have no right to take bait fishes within the treaty limits for any purpose other than a cod-fishery on that part of the coast to which they have the privilege of resorting—in other words, that they have no right to take bait for export.

Now there ought to be no question that, as these treaties are to be read and interpreted in view of the existence of absolute British sovereignty and proprietorship, any privilege or usufruct allowed in derogation of the absolute and unqualified enjoyment should be rigidly confined to the original object, and within the strictest terms of its definition.

Therefore when, within very recent years, these new phases of the long-vexed question were brought under my notice on circuit, as the presiding judge of the Supreme Court, and complaints preferred and directions asked by the grand juries on the coast, I instructed them that, with regard to the lobster factories established by the French, I was of opinion, for reasons set forth hereafter, that they were not within the treaty privileges accorded to the French. That with regard to our own subjects and their lobster-fishing and factories, unless the business was so conducted as to interrupt French cod-fishery actually and *bonâ fide* exercised, the French would have no right of complaint.

It is only at the point where interruption by competition or molestation comes in that the French possess any right to resent the presence and operations of the British; and if the French privileges are confined to cod-fishing, it would require the action of a wilfully aggressive spirit on one side or on the other to create a case of disturbance of French cod-fishery by English lobster-fishing upon a coast so extensive and where there are so few French cod-fishery stations, or rooms, as they are called.

Now the only fishery originally contemplated by the high contracting parties, and to which by agreement between them the French were to be admitted, was the cod-fishery; this was the 'fishery' of the treaties. Moreover, the language of the treaties not only did not include, but by express and significant terms excluded, all others; and therefore I directed the juries, as to the assertion of right by the French to make an industry of lobster-catching and to erect lobster factories, that it was a right never contemplated or intended by the treaties, because—

1. It was declared by the Treaty of Utrecht that it should be unlawful for the French to erect buildings except those 'necessary and usual for drying of fish.'

2. The Treaty of Paris (1763) restricted the liberty to 'fishing and drying.'

3. The Treaty of Versailles (1783) speaks of 'the fishery assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht.'

4. The declaration speaks of 'the fishery,' and that 'the method of carrying on the fishery, which has at all times been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there.' (The method of carrying on the fishery meant, in my opinion, the prosecution of the industry in all its stages.)

5. The French king's counter-declaration speaks of 'the fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland which has been the object of the new arrangements.'

6. The Treaty of Paris (1814) declares that the French right of fishery 'shall be replaced upon the footing on which it stood in 1792.'

There was no such industry as a lobster-fishery in Newfoundland at any of these periods, and no such thing as a lobster factory heard of until within a few years past.

Moreover, the language used to describe 'the fishery' the French were entitled to pursue is utterly inapplicable to lobster-catching or the erection of factories for preserving and canning lobsters. The prescribed modes of fishing and curing could have no possible relation to such an industry.

With regard to the French claim to fish in and bar the rivers and lakes of the island and to erect weirs, it seemed to me to be in direct violation of the sovereign and territorial rights of Great Britain, for reasons which would be apparent from the comments upon the treaties above made, and from the further fact that all the treaties and declarations uniformly speak of the right of fishing allowed to the French (whatever it may be) as being 'on the coasts.'

That, finally, it appeared to me to be a sound principle of law, applicable to the territorial as distinguished from the maritime status of this part of Newfoundland, its ownership and usufruct, that, while the French should as grantees enjoy every facility for the exercise of their temporary fishery, there is by necessary implication reserved to the grantor all reasonable means essential to the enjoyment of the property remaining in the grantor, such as the right of access to and from the sea, and the use of the shore for ordinary purposes of intercourse and business not affected by the treaty.

I have thus, as concisely as the subject would admit, set forth in this article the history and terms of the treaties, which, as might have been anticipated, have been a *quæstio vexata* between France and England for generations, and will be an ever-recurring source of disagreement and danger as long as they subsist.

They form a barrier to the natural settlement of a large, and in some respects the most favoured, part of the great island of Newfoundland.

They are, in view of this British possession having long ago taken the status of a large and wealthy colony of British subjects now numbering 200,000, utterly unsuited to the conditions of the present time. As the *Times* has recently observed in one of its articles upon the 'French Treaty' question in Newfoundland—'If the altercations about bait and lobsters should be pacified, others on fresh subjects would speedily leak out. The final result must be as evident to Frenchmen as to Englishmen. In the nature of things it is plain which will have to succumb, a transient company of foreign fishermen or the entire body of inhabitants whom the strangers shut out of the improvement of half their coast. French statesmen cannot be blind to the certain determination of such a dilemma, and should be anxious to devise an arrangement for cutting the knot painlessly and advantageously.'

Any Newfoundlander must have observed with much satisfaction the large interest and the favourable hearing recently accorded to the case of the colony by the English press, and the unanimous sympathy and support extended to it. It has very shortly disposed of the absurd claim to 'veritable sovereignty,' and 'right to exercise jurisdiction' within the treaty limits set up in the French chamber by some of the more ardent advocates of French claims, happily not the responsible ministers.

There seems to be little or no difference of opinion upon the construction to be placed upon the treaties with regard to the issues just now particularly pending. A quotation from the *Standard*, in commenting in a leader upon a letter of mine, perhaps gives voice to the general pronouncement of the press as fairly as any excerpt I can make. 'But we defy any fair-minded student to read the various provisions, without being forced to the conclusion that the right was carefully and deliberately limited. What, in short, French fishermen were entitled to do was to fish for cod and for nothing else, and to erect only such buildings on shore as were necessary for drying cod. They were definitely debarred from putting up anything that was not essential to fishery—as the fishery was practised at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht.'

The *Daily News* advocates the buying out of the French claims by England as the simplest solution of the difficulty, and this wise suggestion has been favoured by several other leading English journals.

With the support of the English press as the exponent of the opinions and sympathy of the people of the mother-country, with a Government able and willing, as well as bound in honour, to protect

its colonial subjects in the possession and enjoyment of such rights as, itself possessing, it has transferred to the dominion of the colony, and solicitous to set it forward on the path of that progress which has been retarded by the diplomatic blunders of the past, as well as, desirous for the nation's sake to be relieved of a chronic source of difficulty and danger,—it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when means shall have been devised of for ever getting rid of the miserable anomaly of the French Treaty Rights in Newfoundland.

ROBERT J. PINSENT.

WAS I HYPNOTISED?

I HAVE been reading Mr. S. Laing's *Problems of the Future* lately, and a chapter in it, on Animal Magnetism, has made my mind revert to certain experiences many years since, carefully noted down at the time, which appear to me to be worth recording: inasmuch as they are difficult to be accounted for by any of Mr. Laing's theories. If the subject merits scientific inquiry in all its branches, which the wonderful results arrived at in one particular branch by eminent French surgeons, in connection with the hospital of Salpétrière, warrant one's assuming, it is obvious that only well-attested facts—not the vulgar juggleries of experts, at a guinea an hour—should be admitted for discussion. In this respect Mr. Laing does himself injustice. No cause is ever served by *ex-parte* statements. I am no believer in Spiritualism: it is *prêcher un converti* to assure me that nearly all professors of it are impostors: and, as will be seen presently, my faith in the particular medium through whose agency I witnessed the facts I shall here state was absolutely *nil*. But Spiritualism is one thing: Animal Magnetism, another. The man, who is a humbug in evoking spirits, and 'materialising' them, may possess a strange magnetic power which it is unscientific to relegate to the region of imposture, because it coexists with fraud in another department, practised at the same time. Now, either Mr. Laing does not know of any cases similar to mine, or he does not choose to state the case fairly, as against his preformed convictions. He argues all along upon the assumption that everything takes place in the dark, when the medium can 'easily move the chairs himself, without being seen.' He goes on to say, 'in all the accounts I have read, the articles moved do not exceed the weight which the medium might move, either in his natural condition, or with his muscular strength excited by hypnotism.' Finally, after speaking of 'the preliminary conditions of the *séance*, such as darkened rooms, clasped hands, and strained attention,' as though these conditions were invariable, he dismisses this part of the subject thus: 'It is questionable whether, when all the more refined tricks of spiritualistic mediums have been so thoroughly exposed, it is worth while to seek for any other hypothesis than that of ordinary conjuring, to account for those mere

childish and unmeaning manifestations, the *modus operandi* of which has not yet been fully explained.'

It is because I regret, with Mr. Laing, that men of really scientific attainments should not 'have proceeded in the way of scientific experiment pursued by the French school of Salpêtrière, even as regards the first rudimentary alleged facts of moving heavy bodies at a distance without apparent contact'—because I regret this, and because, whether to be explained by hypnotism or not, such experiences as mine are far away from the possibility of 'conjuring,' that I give, after referring to my note-book, the following account of an evening more than twenty years ago.

It was at Nice, and in the house of a Russian lady of distinction, that I first met Mr. Home—the 'Sludge' of Robert Browning, the defendant in the case of 'Lyon *v.* Home,' the man whose *very* physical manifestations, I was told, had caused his expulsion from more than one private house. My prejudices were naturally against the man, and personal intercourse did little to remove these. There was neither the glamour of esoteric power, such as we imagine Cagliostro to have possessed, nor that subtle fascination to which we find ourselves occasionally subject in the person of some one our better judgment disapproves. He was a sickly young American, looking probably younger than he was, given to recitation, and fluid in talk of the vacuous kind. He seemed amiable: he might be cunning: he was entirely unimpressive in any way. I had met him several times, when a friend of mine came to me one day, and said, 'There will be an interesting *séance* at Monsieur ——'s to-morrow night, given in order that Alphonse Karr may meet Home, and, if possible, test his powers. Will you come?' I said I would; anticipating some fun from the encounter of the spiritual agent—whom I had as yet only seen in a convivial capacity—and one of the hardest-headed, the wittiest, and most sceptical men in France.

It was a wild, tempestuous night, as my friend and I drove up to Monsieur ——'s villa in the hills, some distance from Nice: such a night as that on which Macbeth met the witches, and charged them with doing 'a thing without a name.' Possibly the performance at which we were about to assist might be similarly designated. At all events, as we laughingly said to each other, the spirits of darkness, being probably abroad, might be the more ready to 'drop in' upon Mr. Home, if supplicated by him to do so.

We were the first to arrive, and found the courteous owner of the villa alone, awaiting us in a large and brilliantly lighted saloon—such an apartment as is of unusual dimensions in any except very large houses in England, but is common enough in an old Italian villa. The room was uncarpeted, and sparsely furnished with heavy chairs, settees, consoles, and tables, mostly of marble, and none of them *having any cloths upon them.* It was lit by sconces round the

walls, with wax candles—certainly not less than twenty—in them, and by a moderator lamp in the centre of the ponderous round rosewood table, at which we were to sit. I had leisure to examine the room carefully: and I am ready to swear that there was no possibility of wires being attached to the cumbrous furniture, which was ranged stiffly along the wall. Such wires must have been detected at once upon the polished wooden floor. I also examined the table, and found it impossible to raise it with both hands; nor was there any appliance in the smooth painted ceiling, by which it might have been lifted, even supposing the room had not been lit *à jour*. It was not till I had had time to satisfy myself upon these points, that some of the other guests began to arrive.

The number of those present, including Mr. Home, was nine. They were, every one of them, gentlemen and ladies of untarnished repute; but that is beside the question at issue, which I contend is this. Had all been scoundrels, including myself, could our eyes have deceived us? could we have deceived each other? was there any possibility, by combination (the conditions being what they were), of our producing the results which we believe we witnessed? Listen, and decide.

I sat on the right of M. Alphonse Karr. To my left was a well-known lady, since dead, much given to spiritualism. Thus I was between a sceptic, and a believer. Mr. Home sat opposite us. He was voluble, as usual, and begged us not to desist from conversation upon ordinary subjects, or consider it incumbent on us to be 'impressed'—which I, for one, certainly was not. He observed that he knew as little as any of us about the secret forces, sometimes at his command, but over which, at others, he had no control; that he courted investigation, and that, supposing the company were favoured by any 'manifestations,' he should only be too glad if any one present could explain how they were produced. Of course, there was a great deal about the 'spirits,' their obstinacy, their mischievousness, &c. &c.; but he was good enough to add that if what was done (supposing anything to be done) could be accounted for upon another hypothesis than that of their agency, it was open to us to believe it, and he should be interested to hear the suggestion. He was but a student, seeking for the light, as we were. All this was probably said with a special eye to Alphonse Karr: I doubt if Mr. Home always assumed so modest and deprecatory a tone. All our hands were on the table; Mr. Home requested that, as far as possible, the circle might remain unbroken: but Karr at once stated that he would not make one of it, except upon the understanding that he might break the circle at any moment, and get under the table, or pursue such other investigation as might seem good to him. This Home made no objection to; and thereupon a general conversation ensued, which continued, uninterrupted, for nearly half an hour.

Of the rappings—the so-called 'spiritual communications' that followed—I am not concerned to speak. Though I did not pretend to explain how they were produced, going *round* under the table as they did, fluttering hither and thither in a way difficult to account for by the dislocation of the medium's toe (the common explanation), still they stirred in me no more than a mild curiosity, and left me wholly unmoved. My faculties were never more on the alert; in support of which assertion I may mention that I watched every hand that moved round the table, and when one lady asserted that the spirits had snatched the bracelet from her wrist, I was quite aware that she had—perhaps unconsciously—shaken it off into her lap, from which it certainly was removed, and danced about under the table in a curious, though perhaps not unaccountable, way. Again, when several persons complained of feeling a cold wind passing round the back of their heads, neither Monsieur Karr nor I felt anything. I name these puerilities only to show that I was in no abnormal condition, and, far from feeling 'impressed,' was slightly disgusted at the triviality of the proceedings, so far.

Then suddenly came to pass something which startled us all. A heavy arm-chair, placed against the wall at the further end of the *salotto*, ran violently out into the middle of the room, towards us. This was shortly succeeded by another piece of furniture, placed against the opposite wall, which moved in the same direction with still greater velocity. Similar disturbances occurred from time to time throughout the *séance*. But an incident even more inexplicable was to follow before long. The polished rosewood table round which we were seated, and on which were a moderator lamp and some pencils and paper, began to oscillate, and then tilted up on one of its three claws. As there was no table-cloth, and the room was so brilliantly lit, it was easy to see under the table, which I did. Had there been an acrobatic feat of legs, I must have detected it. Added to this, was the curious fact that though the lamp slid, and the pencils rolled, to the edge of the table, all stopped there: nothing fell off. The table becoming more and more obstreperous, Home said, 'I think it will ascend. We had better all rise from our seats, but *keep our hands upon the table*.' On hearing this, Alphonse Karr claimed his right to break the circle, and go down upon all-fours, which accordingly he did. We rose, pushing our chairs back, and standing as far away as possible, consistently with keeping our hands upon the table, which then began slowly to ascend. It did so to a sufficient height to enable Karr to get under it, after he had grovelled round, examining everybody's feet. The length of time that the table remained in mid-air was, I should say, from two to three minutes, though it was probably not as long as that at its extreme altitude—between three and four feet from the ground. It was high enough for us all to see Karr, and to see also that no one's

legs moved: while our hands never shifted, the fingers being pressed downwards upon the table. Then, after Karr's investigation was well over, it began equally slowly to descend.

Of the rest of the *séance* I need say nothing, for it does not bear upon the point I have here proposed for discussion. Were all present on this occasion in the full possession of our senses, or were we deluded? hypnotised, as it is now called, into believing we saw what we did not actually see? Is there any instance on record of every person in an assembly of eight proving equally sensitive to such magnetic influence? Here were individuals of various nations, and very various temperaments, gathered together to witness a curious piece of jugglery, as some were predisposed to regard all Mr. Home's performances. Speaking for myself, I may say that I am remarkably obtuse to magnetism. I have been experimented upon, over and over again, both before and since this experience, and never with the slightest effect. Of course that does not prove that I was not under its influence upon this particular occasion; but it will be admitted that the probability of such having been the case is thereby considerably lessened.

Monsieur Alphonse Karr, upon whom I called the next day, confessed himself fairly baffled; and he did this with some little degree of annoyance. He was not disposed to think well of Mr. Home: he was persuaded that chicanery played a considerable part in his performances; but it was impossible to resist the evidence of our senses, in this matter of the furniture, and especially of the table-lifting. Trick it could certainly not be. Either we were all 'electro-biologised'—as the imposition of one will upon others was then termed—into believing we had seen this thing, or we had actually witnessed a phenomenal exhibition of magnetic force, reversing all the laws that have hitherto been understood to govern it.

I have told the facts of this strange experience as accurately and minutely as I could; because the circumstances surrounding it appear to me to be distinctive: the scene having been a brilliantly lighted room in a private house, which I had carefully examined before the *séance* began; and one of those present having avowed himself so incredulous, that he insisted on testing, and did test by every means in his power, the phenomena apparent to us all. Moreover, the table hoisted from the ground *did* 'exceed the weight which the medium might move, in his natural condition, or with his muscular strength excited by hypnotism.' Sandow, himself, could not have lifted it evenly, standing on one side, even had his hands *not* been above the table, as Home's were. Such an experience cannot be placed in the same category with those glanced at, and airily dismissed by Mr. Laing.

I have no objection to believe that we were hypnotised, if scientists are agreed that this can befall eight persons simulta-

neously, three of whom, at least, were not generally sensitive to such influence, and one distinctly antagonistic to it. Besides—and this is not to be overlooked—as to every other occurrence that evening, the senses of those three persons were fully on the *qui vive*. They were not the least 'impressed' by those messages from the other world, by the accordion-playing, and the rest of it. But that table rising in the air! It was a puzzle to them then, and has remained a puzzle to at least one of them, ever since.

HAMILTON AÏDÉ.

CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH PAINTING.

PARIS in 1889 opened the doors of an exhibition in which a century of French art was presented at a glance to our view—an exhibition so displayed as to allow of its being contrasted with modern French art of the last ten years and selections of contemporary painting produced by rival Continental schools of the same time.

The impression which this unique display has everywhere produced is that of a decided superiority of French artists over their competitors in most schools on the French side of the Channel. It has been made almost absolutely clear that European art is in many ways dependent on the expansion of French art, and that, pictorially, France imposes her law upon most of her neighbours. If one exception can be pointed out, it would be perhaps that England has not quite followed in the wake of other nations; she certainly has shown no tendency to adopt pure French styles and French impulses, but wherever she commingled French elements with her own the result was usually an assimilation which left to Englishmen their own peculiar stamp and originality.

Looking back into the history of the past we easily observe that there was a time when France herself was content to send for craftsmen from abroad, and either went to Italy to borrow Da Vinci, Solario, Del Sarto, or Primaticcio, or to Belgium and Holland to get the small masters who were required to produce what Frenchmen were not able to create. A later phase is that of the days when the great Frederick obtained in Paris the pictures of Watteau, Lancret and the Arcadian school with which he adorned his palaces at Potsdam and Sans Souci. These were times which only live in history or tradition; pictures now travel in any direction. But the seats of art have become numerous; and the central seat on the Continent has remained in Paris ever since the period of the great French revolution. Just before that memorable outbreak the study of the classic and of the antique had made its way into the literature of France, and under the influence of the dramatists French art again turned to the study of the pre-Christian epochs. Poussin and Claude manifested a special affection for every form of the old heathen legend, and then came the more modern hands of Mengs and Carstens

and Jean Louis David. The two first laboured for Germany and Austria, Mengs cultivated a new form of Italian eclecticism, Carstens prepared to import into Berlin the traditions of Giulio Romano and the pseudo-Michael Angelesques. David, who headed a similar period of change in France, was destined much more than his rivals to give life to the movement which arose on his return to his native country. What he accomplished was something entirely new, based on a combination of select and ideal form with an application of powerful contrasts of light and shade.

Naturally an exhibition like that of 1889, which was only centennial for France, gives us no opportunity of comparing the influence of David on the school which he formed at home with that of Mengs, Carstens and others, on the art of other places abroad. It is very well known that after the restoration the King of Prussia asked David to preside over the Academy of Painting at Berlin; and though David refused, it seems not doubtful that his influence was widely felt beyond the French frontiers.

At the very time when the classic naturalism of David began to spread England held quite an original and independent position in art. Hogarth had gone to his rest after founding the school of satirical genre; then had come Gainsborough and Wilson and their compeers, admirable alike in landscape and in portrait, opening the way to Reynolds and his contemporaries and followers, men who owed something indeed to the Italian school as represented by Claude Lorraine, but whose work bore an unmistakable stamp of its own. Other countries, unlike Great Britain, had already then adopted French ideas in preference to their own; and though it is possible to distinguish in Belgium, Austria, and Germany a national art, varying somewhat from that which was taken directly from the French, still, painting on the whole acquired a general Parisian character, modified here and there, for the sake of originality, by slight reflex appearances.

It is not the object of this paper to follow out a special vein of thought in respect of early forms of painting. It may be possible presently to show, by some examples, how, even now, the independence of the English schools has been preserved.

The art of the last hundred years in France is represented in the centennial display not only by the works of deceased masters but by those of men who are still living. We see on one set of walls the creations of David and his disciples, Girodet, Gérard and Gros, with a special place for Gros's realistic follower Géricault. Prudhon comes next– a grand and solitary figure; then Ingres, with Amaury Duval and Flandrin, his pupils. Cogniet, Couder, Gigoux form a powerful group by the side of Horace Vernet, Paul Delaroche and Ary Scheffer. Delacroix stands forth a fine individual colourist, and near him Decamps, on whom he had some influence. Charlet and

Raffet represent the military element of their time, whilst the animal world is shown on the canvases of Troyon and Brascassat. Millet devotes himself to the humble life of the laborious peasants of the French home counties, whom he follows as they delve in the dust of endless fields at eventide and pursue their daily avocations in the gloom of the farmer's yard. Courbet alternately paints the solitudes of woods and the gambols of deer and the labours of poverty-stricken workmen. A chosen band of landscape-painters fills the walls of an entire hall. Corot, the Claude of the present age, appears supported by Cabat, Rousseau, Dupré, Daubigny and Diaz. Isabey rules over coasts and shipping.

Of a later age, and quite on the verge of our time, Baudry and Cabanel are represented by portraits not less perfect though less important than the monumental works with which they decorated the walls of Paris edifices and private houses. Regnault and Delaunay are prominent by their side as masters of colour and natural movement. De Neuville recalls Raffet, so far as he is inimitable in the rendering of troopers, so French withal that when he has painted Englishmen and Germans they always look like Frenchmen in borrowed clothes. Marilhat and Fromentin in different forms give us, in rivalry with Decamps, the lovely tints of Oriental landscapes, the picturesque dresses of Levantine caravans, or the flashing arms and powdery dust of Arab fantasias in Algiers.

Of greater influence on the art of France, Bastien Lepage is a poet of the humbler spheres, a painter of shaded grounds where people are sheltered from the sun either by clouds or projections, and present themselves without even a rim of light about them in a grey uniform key. All in his pictures is homely—the tone, the subject, the detail. It is a melancholy and depressing art.

And now we come upon the living who contribute to the centennial and not to the decennial series; prominent amongst whom Rosa Bonheur shows her inimitable ox-team at the plough, Breton his peasants of Brittany, and Puvis de Chavannes his decorative designs.

Bonnat, who spent his youth at Rome, figures in both places, in the first with Roman pilgrims and the like, in the second with the grand portraits of later make, which in themselves are work of which it is impossible to overestimate the power and the value. Bouguereau likewise in both places, and always equal to himself, has clearly been away in England. He returns to France to find his art, so admirable and sprightly in its academic grace and silvery finish, no longer in harmony with that of the French moderns. Carolus-Duran, a portraitist throughout, reveals his mastery in rapid touch and the representation of every sort of stuff, be it silk or satin, or velvet or lace, which modern looms produce. Near him are Lévy and Chaplin with melodies in white, of gauze, of satin, and kid gloves. Detaille's best compositions are in the century room; his Dream of the Bivouac

elsewhere is a pictorial monstrosity. Harpignies furnishes quick-made landscapes in all materials.

Heilbuth, the Alsacian, whom the French have not yet pardoned his German name, still paints those delicate subject pieces in which he rivals Meissonier. Meissonier himself contributes to the centennial his celebrated Retreat of 1814, which belongs to M. Delahante, whose portrait is also here with that of Thiers on his deathbed. In the other room are Meissonier's 'Guide,' some portraits, and a recent study of the interior of San Marco, in Venice.

Raffaelli, a painter of tramps and vagabonds and wretched people in sordid surroundings, may be noted in company with Roll and others of the same class forming the large school of impressionistic naturalists whose gift, like that of Manet, appears to be to make humble nature almost a caricature. They deem it sufficient, at all events, to depict the prominent features of any object—the more commonplace it is the better—in a quick succession of rough brush strokes with crude colours thrown into focus by mere juxtaposition. Courbet had done something like this in his roadside stonebreakers of many years ago, but he at least proved that he could also do something more; and Manet remains the great model impressionist of his time, warning all who approach him that this sort of bravery may be striking or impressive, yet is quite insufficient to constitute true art.

Where Manet has his apotheosis there is Gérôme necessarily absent. Of this great master not a canvas is to be seen; but all the more those of Henner—nudes chiefly—women bathed in blurs of light with tremulous edges relieved on almost impenetrable darkness.

All the moderns that follow display in their everyday work the triumph of a new French naturalism which extends alike to subject painting, historical painting, landscape, and even still life. We see this naturalism in the tendency to represent things as they look in the open air, in the sun or in shadow, or in the varying gloom of rooms and cottages, as nature presents them, and not as eclectics temper them in the equable illumination of the northern light of painting-rooms. Realism at the same time continues, as we observe the low-life subjects of Raffaelli, as clearly as in the better class of peasants delineated by Dagnan-Bouveret, or the working men of Roll or the executioners of Rochegrosse. The scientific rules of design and balanced composition are neglected or in a fair way to be forgotten altogether. But the coarse impressionism of Courbet and Manet having had its day, it would not be necessary to mention it were it not that its effects are still apparent on the disciples of schools outside France, showing that foreign painters come to Paris to study novelties, and later on reproduce them in their own homes at the very time when they have been entirely cast off by the French themselves.

Of these phenomena it is very curious to cite some examples

which naturally find a place when we contrast the pictures of the French exhibition-rooms with those of the foreign sections in the same building.

Belgium, the nearest neighbour of France, received its first art impulses after the Revolution of 1830, which gave it independence. These impulses have been attributed to the familiar examples of Rubens and Van Dyck, and the results of academical teaching, chiefly in the schools of Antwerp; yet the current which runs through the works of Wappers and Gallait is, in the main, undoubtedly French, and neither of these masters would probably have concealed that his early style was shaped in accordance with French ideas. Most Belgian artists, indeed, appear to have one foot in France and another in Belgium, unless it should happen that they have given up their own country to elect domicile across the frontier.

Van Beers is one of the Belgians who has settled in Paris—a wonderfully clean and precise painter of burnished miniature work, who is represented in the international exhibition by numerous canvases which bear on the face of them evidence of their French origin; but he is not alone of his class. And amongst his competitors there are many men of French education. Wauter's portraits prove that the realistic rendering of stuffs, which is so prominent in Carolus-Duran, has made rapid strides over the northern border, and Knopff reveals that he can paint in the decorative keys which mark the still broader decorative pieces of Puvis de Chavannes. But Stevens, who is a painter of the boudoir, after the fashion of the delicate Frenchman Toulmouche, has also looked at the gauze and kidglove painting of Chaplin, though he varies his surfaces at times with the more coloured but highly technical tricks which once characterised the Austrian Makart. In contrast with A. van Hove, who falls back on the old style of De Bruyn, as Bastien Lepage once did on that of the Clouets or Amberger in gemlike portrait finish, Verstraet takes us back to Millet in his Evening Moonlight on a Heath, or his Evening in Autumn, and Spring Morning.

Bavaria at one time had the advantage of possessing a ruler who was passionately fond of old Greek architecture, and who rebuilt in the Greek taste the principal edifices at Munich. The decorations of Schinkel's palaces and arcades gave life to the school of Cornelius and Kaulbach, who carried their art from the South to the North and left important traces of their passage at Berlin. This was the period of German art which showed a minimum of French elements. Yet even amongst the followers of the monumental painters of Munich we find Schorn, in whom the study of the Greek classicism of Ingres is conspicuous. When there were no more monuments to paint, the masters who had cultivated art after the fashion of the Italian renais-

sance either lost their practice or fell back on easel pictures. This is what happened to Kaulbach in his later days. But the new school which now reigns at Munich, and spreads its branches into Austria, is no longer that of Cornelius, Overbeck, or Kaulbach. It is the school founded by Piloty, whose style was distinctly based on the French as practised by the Belgian Gallait. Since Piloty's time French ideas have made notable progress in Bavaria and in Austria as well as in other parts of Germany.

The Dusseldorf and Berlin schools are too feebly represented in this exhibition to allow of a fair comparison between the works of Frenchmen and Prussians. But no one can deny that by the side of those who cultivate Germanic art with a feeling of absolute originality there are many others who are as distinctly led by French impulses. Berlin in its patronage of artists is cosmopolite, consults by turn Vienna, Munich, Weimar, Dusseldorf, and gives hospitality to many artists of considerable original power. But with Werner, who treats monumental courtly subjects, and Camphausen, who portrayed electors, kings and emperors, we have also seen Menzel and Meyerheim, who certainly studied Meissonier, and Hildebrand, whose earlier creations were hardly distinguishable from those of Isabey.

At Dusseldorf we have had Gebhardt, who transfused into a modern age the deep earnestness and pathetic gloom of early Christian painting, wandering at times into reproductions of scenes from the Passion, in which even the dress of the middle ages was copied. Uhde has a 'Last Supper' at Paris which recalls Gebhardt in the grave simplicity of its effects, but we also see on the Champ de Mars something that reminds us of France in the canvases of Liebermann, who re-echoes Lepoittevin and Isabey, or those of Stetten, who shows a tendency to repeat the naturalism of Bastien Lepage. In the absence of further examples we may point to such Dusseldorf masters as Hunten, the admirable designer of artillery skirmishes and battle-pieces, who studied in Paris with Flandrin, and Ludwig Knaus and Benjamin Vautier, who are two of the most powerful genre painters of the Dusseldorf school; and both of them lived long years in the ateliers of Paris.

Amongst the Austrians the first place must needs be given to Munckacsy, whose admirable 'Crucifixion' and 'Christ before Pilate' are perhaps better known than any modern pictures in any part of the world. These masterpieces are stamped with a very original character in types of a distinct and remarkable mould, and something of the Slavonic in masks and faces makes them subtly distinguishable from French works; yet they were painted in Paris, and a French impress of breadth and power undoubtedly dwells among them. Makart, who died young, though perhaps not too soon for his fame, was a descendant of the French through Piloty. Influenced by Venetian art, he came to know as much of brush tricks and mere-

tricious effects as any artist of his time in Paris. His contemporaries Lenbach, Angeli, and Hermann Kaulbach all more or less felt the influence of French pictorial polish, which is also apparent through the medium of Knaus in the Tyrolean subjects of Defregger.

Passing by the Swiss, who are neutral in politics but certainly French in their painting, we next come to Spain, where it seems clear that the style of Fortuny and his congeners, Alvarez and Escosura, had its roots in France, whilst Madrazo has the aspect of a Hispanised Frenchman competing in portrait on the Parisian field with Carolus-Duran himself. Domingo again clothes impressionism in a Spanish dress. But it is needless to multiply examples. Italy exhibits a host of landscapes where touch, often of the coarsest kind, takes the place of modelling and outline. This is also the mode of the French impressionists. Boldrini as a pastellist walks in the footsteps of Gervex, and Maccari, in a remarkable series of cartoons, emulates the power, the finish, and the truth of Gérôme.

No painters, however, have clung so closely to the models of French masters as those of the United States. Their skill is various and quite exceptional, yet in no sense national. Americans have an absolute predilection for French art, as is shown in their purchase of Millet's 'Angelus' for upwards of 24,000*l*. But they also think pictures a luxury only admissible into the States at an enormous custom-house duty, and it seems to be of no consequence whether the duty is required from Frenchmen or Americans who painted their canvases in France. Is it that the custom-house cannot be trusted to discern between the rapid sweep of Sargent's brush and that of his master Carolus-Duran, or between the compositions of Pearce and work of Bastien Lepage or Millet? A Frenchman would probably accept as French the society pieces of Mr. Stewart, which are presented with all the artifice of the most accomplished manipulators of Paris. Under the hands of Gifford a 'Kansas Ranche' is not unlike a stretch of landscape in the valley of the Marne. Chase is an impressionist painter of portraits.

In the Russian section M. Wereschagin is not represented. Had any work of his been displayed it would have revealed the discipline of the school of Gérôme. Admirers of Meissonier may find something to recall his art in Pranishnikoff, and we contemplate without surprise the series in which the late Mlle. Bachkirzeff gave some reproductions of Bastien Lepage. We saw that in one phase of his art Lepage produced shadowless pictures, in which everything is subdued except the fire of an eye or the ruddy cavities of half-open lips. Mlle. Bachkirzeff, having taken her first lessons from the master, reproduced the painting-room, enlivened by model and pupils, with all the care and minute fidelity of a beginner who has no style. In an incredibly short time she had entirely caught the master's manner. She applied it with surprising realism to portraits of her own countrywomen, of whom

she depicted the Russian type, the laugh or the smile. She painted at last the picture of the Children at the Luxembourg Museum, where, but for the catalogue, one might say the hand is that of Lepage himself. Is this faculty of imitation admirable? It can hardly be called a precious gift, but it is a proof of the wide extent of the influence of French art.

Is it necessary to trace the matter further? French lessons have effect in very distant places—in Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and even in Greece; but in these and other places the French spirit has spread unequally and with varying rapidity. Old styles which once had a charm for Paris still find adherents at a distance long after they have fallen into absolute neglect in the French capital. Some people in England recently complained that British youths got astray when, travelling to Paris, they looked at and perhaps imitated, the French impressionists. This might be evidence to prove that English artists of the present generation are falling into the French current. But as yet there is no trace of the effects which such a cause might be expected to produce. In France meanwhile, as we have seen, the impressionism of Courbet and Manet is already to Frenchmen a thing of the past.

English painting was better represented in Manchester in 1887 than it was in the Paris Exhibition of 1889; but even in Manchester, where the British art of half a century was concentrated, it would have been difficult to find more than three out of three hundred artists who showed any signs of foreign teaching. Armitage naturally took us back to the model-room of Paul Delaroche, to which he belonged for so many years. Alma-Tadema did not allow us quite to forget the lessons he once took from Gérôme. Crofts and Caton Woodville were clearly traceable to Dusseldorf, whilst Herkomer scarcely revealed that he was German born. Yet even these had come to look essentially British. For the rest, when English craftsmen temper their art with any alloy they seldom temper it with anything very modern, as we observe in the pre-Raphaelites or in Burne Jones, or perhaps even in Sir Frederick Leighton.

But of a French influence, generally speaking, in the English school we find no particular trace. At the Champ de Mars Sir F. Leighton is represented by some well-known subject pieces chiefly derived from the classic legend, bright with a truly English feeling commingled with some reminiscences of the Venetians and of Paris Bordone. Sir John Millais, who has fallen away from the pre-Raphaelitism of his early time, appears to have acquired some of the peculiarities which mark the style of Gainsborough. Burne Jones reminds us of Filippino and the Florentines, Briton Rivière's leopards recall bygone days when Edwin Landseer still wielded a brush. Orchardson's drawing-room scenes rival, yet in no way resemble, the boudoir subjects of the Parisians. Fildes is senti-

mental, and Marcus Stone dainty, in truly British fashion. Pettie perpetuates the school of Ward. Holl, Ouless and Watts furnish portraits of original breadth and powerful colour. Leader and Vicat Cole are unapproached in France as landscape-painters. In the same sort of military scenes as those of Crofts, Mr. Gow produces, with delicate gradations of tone, something more subtle even than the work of his Düsseldorf rival. Whistler stands alone and in contrast with every painter about him in an impressionistic portrait. His impressionism is essentially his own, and no one would think of discovering in him any influence of Manet.

It would be difficult to frame a satisfactory reply to the question which might now be put—why the British and Continental schools have shown such a remarkable divergence. The cause may be found in diversity of modes of teaching and variety of habits in masters. In France, as in Germany, art is taught in large painting-rooms, sometimes in academies, sometimes under private management. In every case the pupils are swayed and controlled by one person. Fifty years ago the ateliers of Cogniet, Delaroche, Drolling, or Schnetz were nurseries of artists; students might be counted by hundreds. The best men wandered by turns into the private painting-rooms of the chief who employed them to prepare pictures. Here the talented disciple acquired the last polish preparatory to competing for the Roman prize or launching an independent boat on the stream of Paris. It has happened that men of this sort became perfect imitators of their master's style. Trouillebert, it is said, prepared the underground of works which were afterwards finished and signed by Corot. How many Trouilleberts have since been sold for Corots no one can tell; the fact is, they could scarcely be distinguished. The same thing happened to Van Beers; it doubtless occurred to many more besides. But in England such accidents were hardly possible. Sir Joshua Reynolds employed Northcote to paint in his canvases; he always gave the decisive touches himself; but, as to this, it is probable that Sir Joshua's practice was not general. Few British artists of our time, it may be thought, are willing to divulge the subtlest secrets of their profession; their security is all the greater because habitually they have no journeymen.

In Munich, Cornelius and Kaulbach favoured the system of under-painting by pupils; it was their way of bringing young talent forward; they took into their workroom those assistants whom they judged to be the cleverest, and so bequeathed a system to disciples who carried it on to following generations. The result of this system in Germany has been very curious; the academies have been partly emptied by the action of masters of repute whose private lessons were preferred to those of the academical professors. The State has paid large salaries to a set of teachers whose schools were attended by a very few pupils.

In England we have the Academy and the London and provincial schools, carried on by the Science and Art Department. Painters of note have hitherto been men who made their own way in the world, without being disciples of any one master, school or academy. Mr. Herkomer, it appears, carries on a private school; in this he is only attempting what Etty and others tried before him. Little may be expected to come of it. Our great masters still dislike the principle of employing disciples as subordinates; such secrets of art as they possess die with them. If, after all, we achieve something that is original and good, we do so by individual effort in a perpetual variety of style and methods, and without any school tradition. It may be that, endowed with these qualities, we shall end by wielding influence on the French schools. Some critics appear to think that this has already taken place.

One thing, to conclude, should not be overlooked: the great teaching centre of South Kensington is called the 'Department of Science and Art.' There is some reason to fear that art is at times sacrificed to science. If both are to be cultivated, it were better they should be kept more distinctly apart, and not so completely confounded as they are at present.

J. A. Crowe.

HORSEFLESH.

'A BILL to regulate the sale of horseflesh for human food!' I hear the exclamation and I see the look of distaste. That was the title of a Bill bearing my name which passed through Parliament early last session, a Bill, however, not aimed at promoting, but at regulating, the sale of horseflesh for human food. Just as the object of the Margarine Bill was to prevent sellers from passing off imitation butter upon those intending to buy butter, so the object of the Horseflesh Bill was to prevent them from passing off horseflesh upon those intending to buy beef or mutton.

I do not propose to defend the taste for or to investigate historically the eating of horseflesh, but to confine myself to our own times.

In the first place, let me refer to France and especially to Paris, and in doing so put together, in as concise a form as possible, the information which I have obtained, arranging it in chronological order.

Before the sale of horseflesh for human food was allowed in France, the French Government referred the subject, in 1856, to the Conseil d'Hygiène, or Council of Public Health and Sanitation, and, from that body they received a report in its favour in which it was stated that flesh coming from healthy horses could without disadvantage be handed over for consumption.

In 1866 a butcher obtained authority to open a shop in Paris for its sale. At the same time the condition was imposed upon him that he should construct a special slaughter-house, to be placed under the superintendence of a specially appointed inspector. In 1867 the number of butchers' shops at which nothing but horse flesh was sold was 17 or 18, and in 1868 it was 23. During the first half of the year 1870, that is to say, before the Franco-German war, 1,992 horses were slaughtered in Paris for human food. During the second half of that year, that is to say, during the terrible winter of 1870–1, so many as 65,000 horses, 1,000 asses, and 2,000 mules, called by the Parisians 'siege venison,' are said to have been used for food. During the first half of 1873 the number of horses, mules, and asses eaten there was but 5,186: the siege having apparently created a temporary dislike to hippophagy.

In Paris there has been a steady increase for the last fifteen years in the consumption of horseflesh, and at the present time it amounts to about five per cent. of the meat consumed there by the people. The increase is not confined to Paris. At a recent meeting of the National Acclimatation Society it was stated that in the Department of the Seine there are 132 butchers' shops where horseflesh is sold, and it is known that the number of shops in that Department is not exceptional.

The annexed table is from official sources, and comprises only the animals killed at the slaughter-house of Villejuif. There is also a special slaughter-house at Pantin, and it is estimated that 3,462 kilogrammes (or, 7,616 lbs.) of horseflesh were brought into Paris from Pantin in 1883.

Table of the number of Horses, Asses, and Mules killed for the purpose of Food in Paris.

	Horses	Asses	Mules	Total
1874	4,258	318	6	4,582
1875	4,267	234	—	4,501
1876	5,698	297	—	5,995
1877	6,764	330	1	7,095
1878	7,829	296	27	8,152
1879	7,491	336	22	7,849
1880	6,658	230	25	6,913
1881	6,487	261	25	6,773
1882	7,546	233	22	7,801
1883	9,485	307	40	9,832
1884	10,323	306	21	10,650
1885	11,354	333	33	11,720
1886	13,377	304	27	13,708

The amount of flesh for meat obtained from each animal is generally calculated to be 250 kilogrammes or 550 lbs. from a horse; 85 kilogrammes or 187 lbs. from an ass; and 200 kilogrammes or 440 lbs. from a mule.

The price of the meat is less than half that of ordinary butcher's meat: that of the horse being 60 centimes per kilogramme (or sixpence for 2½ lbs.) and of the ass and mule 70 centimes per kilogramme (or sevenpence for 2½ lbs.). No octroi duty is levied, and no duty for slaughtering is charged on horses in Paris.

A special sale of animals destined for the butcher's shop has been for some years established at the Horse Market of the Boulevard de l'Hôpital. In 1886 the number of horses sold there was 7,725. Taking 250 kilogrammes as the weight of flesh obtained from a horse, this would give about 1,931,250 kilogrammes or 4,248,750 lbs. of meat as coming from the Horse Market.

The total quantity of horseflesh consumed in Paris in recent years is as follows:—

1884	3,500,000	kilogrammes.
1885	3,831,206	„
1886	4,500,053	„

or reckoning a kilogramme as 2⅕ lbs. :—

	lbs.	cwt.
1884	7,700,000	68,750.
1885	8,428,053	75,250.
1886	9,001,436	88,406.

According to the Police Regulations in Paris, horses intended for food must be slaughtered in specially authorised slaughter-houses.

The transport, exposure for sale, or sale of horseflesh coming from other slaughter-houses or from skin yards is prohibited in the city and in the rural communes.

Horses intended for food must be slaughtered in the presence of a veterinary surgeon or an inspector, commissioned for the purpose by the Prefect of Police, who must inspect them before they are slaughtered, and the meat when it is cut up. The viscera must also be subjected to the same examination, in order that a complete estimate of the state of health of the animal may be formed.

The meat must not be removed from the slaughter-house until it has received a stamped mark of inspection, and, in order to make check-inspections easy, the carcasses must not be divided, except into halves or quarters, and the feet must not be detached until the moment that the meat is cut up in the butchers' shops.

Horses which have died a natural death, or which have been killed in a feverish condition in consequence of injuries, and horses suffering from disease, purulent wounds, or abscesses, even in the hoof, are considered unfit for consumption. So too are horses in an extremely worn-out condition.

When the opinion of the officer in charge, upon the health of a horse intended for slaughter or the wholesomeness of the meat, is contested, a report is drawn up by one of the veterinary assistants, nominated as experts, after he has heard all parties, and if that report confirms the opinion of the officer in charge, the expense of it is borne by the owner of the horse or meat.

Horses and meat unfit for food must be sent at once, and at the expense of the owner, to an establishment at Aubervilliers, and the ticket describing the consignment must be shown to the officer who drew it up, after it has been marked at the place of destination with a formal receipt.

Meat which has been marked with the stamp of inspection must be carried direct from the slaughter-house to the butcher's shop in a closed carriage, unless it is covered up in such a manner as to leave no part of it exposed.

Butchers' shops for the retail of horseflesh must have signs in big letters, advertising their speciality. The hawking of horseflesh is forbidden and so is the sale of it anywhere than in specially authorised establishments.

Keepers of restaurants and all other dealers in made-up eatables

who sell horseflesh cooked or disguised, without indicating its nature, or who mix it fraudulently with other meat, are liable to proceedings before a police magistrate under Article 423 of the Penal Code or under the law of the 27th of March, 1851, according to the nature of the charge.

Lastly, offences against the above provisions are established by procès-verbal or summary proceedings, and the carrying out of the regulations is in the hands of the Chief of the Municipal Police, the Police Commissioners, and the Inspector-General of Market-halls and Markets or their agents.

So long ago as in 1847, establishments for the public sale of horseflesh as an article of human food were opened in the German capital, and so great was the success which attended the enterprise, that the number of horses slaughtered rose from 613 in 1860 and 700 in 1861 to 1,742 in 1864, and 2,241 in 1865.

Under the Berlin Police Regulations the sale of horseflesh as meat other than horseflesh is visited with severe punishment, and under those Regulations a heavy fine was imposed upon the owner of a renowned Berlin sausage-shop for mixing horseflesh in the delicate wares concocted in his alluring establishment.

A central slaughter-house is soon to be built in Berlin, to be administered by the municipal and police authorities. The present one is in private hands. At that establishment over 7,000 horses are slaughtered yearly. A police official resides on the premises to superintend the organisation and working of the business, and three huge mastiffs, of ferocious aspect, guard the place. The Berlin Municipality intend to take over this business and expect to make a considerable profit out of it.

At the present time from twenty to thirty horses, taking a general average, are slaughtered daily at the central establishment, which is situated about three miles out of the town. Its operations extend to the suburbs of Berlin and embrace a circumference of about seven German, or nearly thirty-three English miles. There are, according to the Directory, eighteen registered horse-slaughterers at Berlin; but I am told that there are several more in the city. They are all licensed and under police regulations. There are also thirty-six horse-butchers. There are, moreover, many shops registered for the exclusive sale of horse-meat and sausages, &c., made from it, and some of them are old establishments. In fact, one of the oldest of these shops, which is still in its original place and state, dates actually from 1847–8, the year of the dearth.

When a horse is injured or too old to be fit for work, the owner sells it to the horse-butcher, who takes it for slaughter to the 'Central Slaughtering Establishment.' After slaughter at this establishment, it is skinned and hung up before it is sold by retail

in the horse-butchers' shops. The blood is placed in casks and is subsequently prepared elsewhere for use as varnish and dyes and for certain chemical purposes. The payment for the slaughter of a horse is about 1*s.* 6*d.*, and 35*s.* is about the average value of a carcass. Each retail establishment deals weekly with from three to ten carcasses, the maximum consumption being reached by the contractor to the Zoological Gardens, and the minimum by the small retailers in suburban districts.

According to a report furnished by Her Majesty's Consul-General at Berlin and drawn from the Metropolitan Police Office, the number of animals entered for examination with a view to being slaughtered for food consumption and the number of animals rejected in each year are as follows:—

Year	Animals (horses, asses and mules) entered	Animals rejected	Animals passed and slaughtered free	Percentage of animals rejected
1881	6,604	120	6,484	1·817
1882	6,272	131	6,141	2·089
1883	6,154	157	5,997	2·551
1884	5,675	167	5,508	2·943
1885	5,894	124	5,770	2·104
1886	5,723	165	5,558	2·883
1887	5,999	179	5,820	2·984
1888	7,051	206	6,845	2·922

The figures comprise horses, asses, and mules without distinction. That, however, is immaterial, inasmuch as the number of asses entered does not exceed three to five annually, and but one mule has been slaughtered for years past.

The horseflesh is prepared for sale in the shops of the horse-butchers on the return of the carcass from the central slaughter-house after it has been stamped by the medical officer as fit for human food. It is then made into steaks, undercut, roasting-meat, mince-meat, salt or pickled meat of various sorts, hams, sausages of various kinds, &c. The average retail price in Berlin of horseflesh for human food for the best parts of good quality—such as steak, roasting-joints, loin, &c.—is about forty pfennig or 5*d.* the pound, and for ordinary boiling pieces twenty-five to thirty pfennig or 3$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to 3$\frac{3}{4}$*d.* the pound. Dogs' meat sells at fifteen to twenty pfennig or 1$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to 2$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* the pound. The undercut sells at about 3$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* per pound, and is considerably prized by the middle and lower classes, so much so that several families, especially poor French residents in Berlin, give standing orders for a choice fillet of horseflesh to be reserved for their weekly Sunday's dinner.

In Berlin the run of the custom for horseflesh is not maintained by the poor and indigent, nor by the working classes properly speaking, but chiefly by all manner of subordinate officials drawing small salaries, and by people obliged to live on a par with them, on

account of their moderate earnings, narrow circumstances, and social condition.

About 400 horses per annum are taken straight from the slaughter-house to the Zoological Gardens of Berlin. These gardens are owned by a limited company. They used to buy the horses alive, and kill them for their carnivora in a slaughter-house of their own. Now they prefer the supply of ready-killed horse-meat from the Central Horse Abattoir, contracted for by some of the butchers. There are also some dog-breeding concerns and kennels supplied in the same way as the Zoological Gardens.

It frequently happens that gentlemen leave directions by will that their favourite horses shall not be worked. In such cases the horses are usually sent to be killed at the Central Horse-slaughter House. In England, too, we often hear of horses which are fit for work being sent to the kennels, rather than that they should be worked to death when they are no longer fit for domestic use.

The Police Regulations in Berlin to which I have already referred are dated the 30th of August, 1887, and contain the following provisions:—

Horses, mules, and asses intended for human food must be slaughtered at the Central Horse Abattoir.

The importation of horseflesh, as well as of sausages and other articles of food containing it, is forbidden.

Horseflesh, or sausages or other victuals made of it, such as fried mince-meat, corned joints, or chops, must not be kept, sold, or otherwise disposed of except in shops or other places registered for the purpose, and no other kind of meat or victuals may be kept, &c., in any shop or place so registered.

Every such shop or place must have above or upon its public entrance the distinct inscription *Rossfleischkauf* or *Rossfleischwaarenverkauf* (or *horseflesh sale*), in letters not less than fifteen centimetres (or six inches) in height. This applies also to the cases or baskets, &c., of hawkers, which must bear the inscription legibly painted upon them, and in such a way as to prevent its removal at pleasure.

Horses must be examined, both before and after slaughter, by the veterinary surgeons of the police, in order to ascertain the state of health of the animals. Twenty-four hours is the maximum space of time allowed to intervene between the preliminary examination and the slaughter. Every animal not slaughtered within the twenty-four hours must be re-examined.

No animal may be passed for slaughter unless it is found to be perfectly free from all symptoms of a nature likely to render its flesh in the least unfit for human food. Meat which is good for man and beast is warranted by the affixing of the official stamp of the slaughter-house.

Unsound meat, which is suitable only for industrial purposes, and

also the flesh of horses suffering from any infectious disease, which is to be destroyed, are made over to the fiscal flayers.

Every horse-butcher must keep a slaughter-book in the following form:—

Serial number	Description of the horse, ass, or mule, stating its age, size colour, and special marks	Day of purchase	Name of the seller and note of his title	Police veterinary surgeon's certificate regarding the state of health of the animal examined	6 Day of slaughter or sale if redis-

These books must be stamped by the head police-officer of the nearest station-house in the district in which the butcher concerned carries on his business.

The leaves of the books are through-stitched and thread-sealed, so as to forestall irregularities. The remarks in columns 1 to 4 are filled in by the police-officer in charge of the slaughter-house, with the co-operation of the examining veterinary surgeon, and according to the statements of the butcher on presentation of the animals for examination, in order to obtain the needful slaughter-permits for them. The note in column 6, which is also made by the police-officer, is made on the day of either the slaughter, rejection, or redisposal of a horse, as the case may be.

The entry in column 5 is made by the police veterinary surgeon, either upon rejecting the animal examined, or upon the re-examination of the meat, subject to stating the number of hours having intervened between the first examination of the horse when alive and its slaughter.

With regard to the origin of horses, the butchers must be prepared to verify their statements in a credible manner, and, if not personally present, their attendants must produce a written statement, signed by the butcher concerned, as to the origin and description of the animals.

The slaughter-books always remain in the keeping of the police-officer stationed at the horse abattoir. Upon special request, however, butchers may take out their books for a short time, not exceeding twenty-four hours in each instance.

The trade of making up victuals from horseflesh can be carried on only upon the business premises and workshops of horse-butchers, and those premises and shops must be marked by a clearly legible description denoting their purpose, of which the letters must measure at least 15 centimetres (or 6 inches) in height. In like manner, all carts and vehicles for carrying articles of food made from horseflesh must bear tablets distinctly showing words which might be translated into *Horsemeat* or *Horsemeat Victuals*.

Horseflesh sausages are not allowed to contain any other kind of meat except that of horses, mules, or asses; but they may contain an addition of hog's fat or of suet (*Talg*).

The horseflesh butchers, as well as the hands working upon the premises, are bound to follow the orders of the police-officers and veterinary surgeons and officials in charge, while employed at the slaughter-house.

The working premises and shops for the sale of horsemeat, and places for the manufacture of horsemeat victuals, are under the control of the police-officers and veterinary officials charged to look after them.

Any person breaking any of these regulations is liable to a fine not exceeding 30 marks (or 24s.), or, in default of payment, to fourteen days' imprisonment, provided no higher penalty is forfeited under the common law.

The flesh of horses slaughtered in contravention of these regulations, as well as victuals containing such flesh, either exposed or sold, or in any way utilised or carried about, is confiscated and made over to the fiscal flayers.

In Italy the sale of horseflesh for human food is not prohibited; but it is subject to the general law laid down in the Code and Regulations and to local municipal regulations, of which the principal dispositions are that the animals must be slaughtered in the public slaughter-houses, and that the flesh must be sold in special butcheries. There is no official return of the quantity of horseflesh consumed in Italy.

As regards Rome, it may be said that there are no horseflesh butchers there. In Turin horse-butcheries were opened, but without success. Milan seems to be the only place in Italy where horseflesh is still consumed to any considerable extent.

In Austria the slaughter of horses for human food is permitted only in places where thoroughly competent butchers are established, and it can be effected only by persons entitled to exercise that trade, and in places approved of by the trade authorities in conformity with special regulations. According to those regulations there must be posted on the outside of shops or stalls where horseflesh is sold a bill containing in legible words 'Sale of Horseflesh,' and no other meat may be sold in those places.

Not only must the horseflesh be inspected, but before being slaughtered the horses must also be examined and found sound by the veterinary surgeons. Moreover, the horses must not be very old or in an emaciated condition.

The following statistics are from Vienna:—

Year	Number of horses slaughtered	Number of horse-butchers	Number of shops or stalls where horseflesh is retailed
1883	5,086	9	19
1884	5,034	7	19
1885	5,268	9	18
1886	5,833	9	22
1887	6,271	8	30

Asses and mules are included in the above figures, but only two or three asses are slaughtered a month and hardly any mules. The number of horses seized by the market authorities for sanitary causes were as follows :—

Year	Number of horses seized	Year	Number of horses seized
1883 .	. 61	1886	39
1884 .	. 26	1887	32
1885 .	. 40		

The retail prices per kilogramme (or per 2¼ lbs.) of horseflesh in Vienna are shown in kreuzers, Austrian currency, in the following table, the figures in brackets representing English pence and their fractions, calculating 25 kreuzers as equivalent to sixpence :—

	Forequarters	Hind quarters	Best parts
1883	24 to 32 ($5\frac{1}{5}$*d.* to $7\frac{1}{25}$*d.*)	28 to 36 ($6\frac{1}{25}$*d.* to $8\frac{1}{25}$*d.*)	32 to 40 ($7\frac{1}{25}$*d.* to $9\frac{1}{25}$*d.*)
1884	24 to 32	28 to 36	32 to 40
1885	24 to 28 ($5\frac{1}{5}$*d.* to $6\frac{1}{25}$*d.*)	28 to 32 ($6\frac{1}{25}$*d.* to $7\frac{1}{25}$*d.*)	32 to 40
1886	24 to 28	28 to 32	32 to 40
1887	24 to 28	28 to 32	32 to 40

And now let me refer to the use of horseflesh for human food at home. Perhaps some of my readers can call to mind the horseflesh banquet given in London in 1868, *Banquet Hippophagique*, as it was called. So far as I remember, the only dish on that occasion to which it was said that exception was taken was the jelly, which was pronounced to be rather strong.

Three horses were killed for the occasion. Two had been cart-horses, and one had been driven in a brougham and in his prime had been worth 700 guineas. Their respective ages were four, twenty, and twenty-two years. A baron was carved from the four-year-old. Sir John Lubbock, one of the guests, referring recently to the great age of the horses, informed me that no matter how great the age of a horse, provided that it had a few weeks' rest and that it was fed up before being slaughtered, its flesh should be quite good for human food, and that it should not be tough, as one might naturally expect. Sir Henry Thompson was also one of the guests, and his opinion of horseflesh as human food may, I think, be gathered from the statement which he made shortly afterwards that he had carefully com-

pared liquid extracts made as *tea*, from beef and horse respectively, and that he considered the latter equal to the former both in flavour and in nutritive quality.

It is not generally known that a large amount of horseflesh is sold in this country for human food. The reason for this ignorance is that the carcasses of the horses are kept out of sight and that the meat is sold secretly. This fact makes it difficult to ascertain the extent of the sale.

Moreover, it frequently happens that horses are slaughtered and cut up in one town and the flesh sent for consumption to another. For instance, Manchester butchers say that a large quantity of horseflesh comes into Manchester from the neighbourhood of Oldham, while the Oldham authorities say they are not aware that horseflesh is sold for human food in their town. Again, according to the town-clerk, horseflesh is not known to be sold for human food at Bradford, but is known to be sent from Bradford to Manchester, where it is sold as butcher's meat. It is supposed to be sent as food for animals, but no questions are asked about it. One of the Bradford slaughterers, who kills above 2,000 horses and cows annually—the cows being fewer in number than the horses, and being such as butchers would not venture to kill or sell—says that a very small proportion of his horses would be fit for human food —perhaps one a month—that is to say, such horses as have met with an accident. The rest of the animals are all diseased or decayed. Again, large quantities of horseflesh are sent from Newcastle to London; and this horseflesh is sent ostensibly as cat's meat, in order to disarm suspicion and that carriage for it may be paid at a cheap railway rate. This fact is strangely suspicious; for, when one considers how many horses there are in and around London and how large a number of those horses must die or be killed annually, and when one remembers that there is no large and open sale for the flesh of those horses, except as cat's meat, it seems that London might as well send coal to Newcastle as Newcastle send cat's meat to London. The flesh is boiled at the knacker's yard and the fat is collected from the pots when boiling and sold to grease-merchants or to manufacturers for lubricating machinery. It is only the lean that is sent to London.

As regards the traffic in horseflesh in Glasgow: in 1884 the medical officer discovered that at that time considerable quantities of raw horseflesh were being sent from that city, invoiced as such, to a certain slaughter-house at Barnsley, whence it was sent, after being salted, to Kingston-upon-Hull and to London. It was supposed at the time that this salted raw flesh was used as human food. On a particular day in December that year, the slaughterer at Barnsley had forty tons of horseflesh steeped in brine on his premises, which he was going to send to Hull for transhipment to Norway, &c. The

place of consignment was Stockholm, where it was said to have been made into German and Russian polonies. Since that time no horseflesh is supposed to have been sent from Glasgow or sold there in a raw state or in any state for human consumption. Instead the flesh is parboiled, packed in open crates, and sent to London for cat's meat. The price in March last was 7*s.* per cwt. In the winter time it was 5*s.* per cwt. A small portion is sold in a raw state to the proprietors of menageries for their wild beasts, and about 7*s.* per cwt. is paid for it. A complaint is made by the horse-slaughterers of Glasgow that dealers from Newcastle go there and give 10*s.* more per animal than they say that they can afford to pay, working legally with the products. The meaning which may underlie this complaint should be investigated by the authorities, and inquiry should at the same time be made about a trade in old horses between Newcastle, &c., Antwerp, Hamburg, &c.

As regards London, the medical officer of health for the city informs me that some years ago an attempt was made in Smithfield to pass off the hind quarters of a donkey as veal, and that on another occasion the carcass of a horse was sent for sale as beef: but in both instances the meat was recognised and at once seized by the inspectors. The medical officer also informs me that there is no doubt that horseflesh is largely used by low-class sausage-makers under the technical trade-name of 'Jack.' The flesh is covered with salt, in order to absorb external moisture and to purify the meat from any disagreeable smell or taste. Next it is well soaked in water to get rid of the salt, and then it is ready for the mincing machine. One notorious sausage-maker, who was a large buyer of beef before he took to the use of horseflesh, afterwards purchased only the 'back fat' of pigs to mix with the horseflesh and bought no more beef.

From this information, and other such from the best sources, we may certainly conclude that the sale of horseflesh for human food in this country is considerable, and that possibly it is even greater than we suppose, owing to the manner in which the meat is sold and the secrecy of its sale. In Manchester large quantities are sold at about twenty different shops in the lowest parts of the city, and in Salford at about twelve shops and to a large extent. Those figures were given me by the town-clerks: but higher figures have been furnished by authorities scarcely less credible. Cases occasionally crop up in the police courts. They come before the magistrates under what are known as the 'unsound meat' sections (sections 116 to 119) of the Public Health Act, 1875, and the magistrates are able to deal with them when the horseflesh is diseased or unfit for human food.

In England horseflesh is sold for food in small pieces or in steaks. It is sold by weight—so much per pound—and as ordinary meat. The lean of horseflesh is less easy to distinguish from the lean of

beef than the fat of the one from the fat of the other. When, therefore, horseflesh is sold for human food, the fat is frequently removed from it, and beef-fat or mutton-fat skewered on to the lean in its place. In this way the meat is made to look more tempting, and can be more easily sold to unsuspecting purchasers. A poor person goes into a shop, points to a pound or a half-pound of meat, pays for it, takes it away, and then finds, under a layer of white beef-fat or mutton-fat, a piece of lean horseflesh.

My information generally upon this subject and kindred subjects comes from the officials of the nineteen large towns which were first added to the schedule of county boroughs in the Local Government Bill of 1888, and from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Limerick, Waterford, and elsewhere.

It is a curious fact that from only one of those towns did I receive the answer 'Yes' to the question, Could healthy horseflesh be sold for human food at a profit? and from the rest I received almost unanimously the answer 'No, unless the horse was killed by an accident.'

The Manchester and Salford District Butchers' Association calculate that the cost price of the carcass of a horse, dressed for sale to a retailer, would be about 2½*d.* per lb., and of a heifer about 6*d.* per lb. But, if the carcass were that of a healthy rough horse, killed for food, the cost price would be, instead of 2½*d.*, at least 10½*d.* to 1*s.* per lb. In technical language a horse weighs about eight or ten score per quarter, and carries about fourteen to twenty per cent. of bone. At the present time the price which is generally paid in England for horseflesh for human food varies from 3*d.* to 9*d.* per lb. Those are the extreme prices, and they coincide very accurately with the last-mentioned figures.

The horses are sold by the owners to the slaughterers at 25*s.* and upwards each, they are sold by the slaughterers to the retailers at 1*d.* to 2*d.* per lb., and they are sold by the retailers to the public at 3*d.* to 9*d.* per lb. In the north of England the meat is not infrequently called 'knackerine,' a name which suggests from its derivation in connection with meat more than the name 'margarine' in connection with butter.

Unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain how many horses die or are killed annually in any of our large towns, as the skins at the skin-yards are collected from the neighbouring towns and from the country districts around, and at the present time no census of horses is taken in the United Kingdom. Such a census might be taken at a cost of perhaps 4,000*l.* to 5,000*l.*, and, apart from all other considerations, it would be of much value for civil as well as for military purposes. The War Office cannot take it; the charge could not be properly defrayed from army votes. The Board of Trade have not the figures. The Registrar-General has not the requisite staff. The Government should take the matter in hand.

It is also impossible to estimate how many horses are slaughtered in this country in consequence of old age, disease, or accident.

According to the Agricultural Returns presented to Parliament in 1888, there were in that year 1,420,350 horses in Great Britain, of which 971,835 were horses used solely for agriculture and 448,515 were unbroken horses and mares kept solely for breeding.

Parliamentary returns also give us the number of horses annually infected with glanders and farcy, but the figures are not satisfactory. In looking at them one is struck by the low returns of the country as compared with the high returns of the towns, and by the low returns of the towns farthest from London as compared with the returns of towns nearest London or with the returns of London itself.

We can, however, conclude that the number of horses in the United Kingdom must be very large, and when we are told that in 1868 it was calculated that there were 75,000 horses free from disease and available for human food, slaughtered in the United Kingdom every year, we may reasonably suppose that the number is much larger now.

The Secretary of the London Zoological Society informs me that the superintendent at the Zoological Gardens has had no difficulty for many years in obtaining a sufficient supply of healthy horses for food for the carnivora. Most of them are gentlemen's horses and many of them are presented to the Society. It is part of the superintendent's duty to examine all horses offered for sale before they are slaughtered, and they are not purchased until this has been carefully done. In the event of any disease being discovered when an animal is being cut up, the carcass is rejected and destroyed, but not more than once in three or four years has this been found necessary. The superintendent refuses to receive horses brought by doubtful individuals or by those who cannot give a good account of their ownership. Horses that have been physicked are declined, whenever it is known that they have been so treated. The price paid per horse at the Gardens varies from 1*l.* to 3*l.* according to size and condition. So far as the Secretary of the Society knows, none of the carnivora at the Gardens have suffered from eating horseflesh, but of course this means wholesome horseflesh.

The owners of the Manchester Zoological Gardens, so well known as the Bellevue Gardens, pay 2*l.* to 3*l.* per horse for food for their animals. Five or six years ago they paid only 15*s.* to 25*s.* This rise in price in recent years is, in their opinion, due to an increase in the sale of horseflesh for human food. They never give their animals flesh from a horse which has been treated for disease or which has been physicked. They fatten the horses which they give to the animals and kill them upon their own premises. If they are unable to buy healthy horses for slaughter direct, they buy them from slaughterers, after satisfying themselves that the horses were healthy when alive. These

facts point to the necessity of stringent regulations for the sale of this flesh for human food, and suggest a necessity, which is apparently admitted in foreign law, of having special regulations for the examination by experts of horses intended for human food, both before as well as after they are slaughtered. It is quite possible that many an illness, the cause of which may have been traced by a medical officer of health to a particular meat-pie or the like, has been caused by eating the flesh of a horse which has been saturated with physic before receiving its *coup de grâce*.

When a horse is physicked, or 'coped,' for sale, the drug used is not unfrequently arsenic. The flesh of such a horse may look and smell quite good after being cooked, but let it get cold and in an hour the meat will turn quite blue. In such a case the meat is not fit even for wild beasts, let alone human beings. Occasionally arsenic is given to horses by grooms, because it is supposed to increase their power of assimilating food, and so to improve their condition and their coats. When this is done the doses have gradually to be increased, for if they are withheld a horse rapidly loses its condition.

The trade of a horse-slaughterer is lucrative enough. He pays about a pound a horse. From the hoofs are made glue, combs, &c., from the shank-bones the hafts of knives, &c., from the entrails Prussian blue, &c. Then the bones generally are ground down in the manufacture of manure. The skin sells at so much a pound, realising perhaps twelve to fifteen shillings. The meat as cat's meat brings in three-farthings to a penny a pound. In fact, a dead horse is worth to the slaughterer about 1*l.* a leg, or four or five times more than the slaughterer paid for the horse when alive. The knacker, therefore, need not starve.

There are at least three ways in which horseflesh may be recognised—anatomically, physically, and chemically. By anatomically I mean that, provided a horse is not cut up into small pieces, an ordinary mortal ought to be able to recognise the joints, bones, and muscles.

Physically, it may be distinguished from beef or mutton by its appearance. It is coarser in the grain than beef. In this respect it resembles bull-beef more than any other. It is darker in colour and looks more moist than beef. It has a peculiar smell and a peculiar sweetness of taste. Its flavour is generally considered to be halfway between the flavours of beef and game: it is something like the flavour of hare. One reason why horseflesh is as a rule darker in colour than beef is that horses which are poleaxed, or which have died from injury, disease, or old age, are not properly bled and dressed by the slaughterer. It is, however, by its fat that horseflesh is most easily distinguished. The fat of horseflesh is not generally mixed with the lean. It is yellow in colour. It looks

more moist than the fat of beef. It soon melts and soon becomes rancid. Consequently, unless a rapid sale is effected or the fat removed, an advanced price must be charged in order to secure the butcher from loss on unsold meat.

Lastly, horseflesh can be distinguished from beef by its chemical characteristics, and it is in this way that it may be recognised when mixed with other substances. Who can tell, except the chemist, what are the component parts of a sausage, polony, or saveloy? Or who can tell by taste what those parts are? We do not judge by taste, we judge by flavour, and in the making of flavour—to use Sam Weller's phrase—'it's the seasoning as does it.'

Until quite recently the sale of horseflesh in this country has not been recognised as it has been abroad. We had not prohibited its sale when fit for human food, but we had not recognised and regulated it. This, however, was done by the Sale of Horseflesh, &c., Regulation Act, 1889 (52 & 53 Vict. c. 11). Its provisions in effect are shortly as follows:—

No person may sell horseflesh for human food elsewhere than in a shop, stall, or place over which there are painted in legible characters, of not less than four inches in length and in a conspicuous position and so as to be visible throughout the whole time, whether by night or day, during which such horseflesh is being offered or exposed for sale, words indicating that horseflesh is sold there.

No person may supply horseflesh for human food to any purchaser who has asked to be supplied with some meat other than horseflesh, or with some compound article of food which is not ordinarily made of horseflesh.

A medical officer of health, an inspector of nuisances, or an officer duly appointed by a local authority may inspect any meat which he has reason to believe to be horseflesh exposed for sale or deposited for the preparation for sale and intended for human food, in any place other than in such a shop, stall, or place as above mentioned. And if such meat appears to him to be horseflesh he may seize it and have it dealt with by a justice.

On complaint made on oath by a medical officer of health, &c., a justice may grant a warrant to enter any building, other than such a shop, stall, or place as above mentioned, in which such officer has reason for believing that there is kept or concealed any horseflesh which is intended for sale or for preparation for sale for human food, and to carry away any meat which appears to him to be horseflesh, in order to have it dealt with by a justice.

Any person who obstructs such officer will be deemed to have committed an offence under the Act.

If it appears to a justice that meat so seized is horseflesh he may make such order with regard to its disposal as he may think desirable, and the person in whose possession the meat was found will be

deemed to have committed an offence under the Act, unless he proves that the meat was not intended for human food, contrary to the provisions of the Act.

Any person offending against any of the provisions of the Act will be liable for every offence to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner.

If any horseflesh is proved to have been exposed for sale to the public in any shop, stall, or eating-house other than such a shop, stall, or place first mentioned, without anything to show that it was intended for sale for human food, the onus of proving that it was not so intended rests upon the person exposing it for sale.

Finally, for the purposes of the Act 'horseflesh' includes the flesh of asses and mules, and means horseflesh cooked or uncooked, alone or accompanied by or mixed with any other substance.

The Act defines a local authority, and it extends to Scotland and Ireland.

Such is an outline of the first Act of Parliament in which horseflesh is recognised as an article of human food in this country.

Further legislation is still wanted, and to promote such legislation it would, in my opinion, be desirable to obtain an enquiry—such as a Parliamentary enquiry—with a view to an amendment of the law, so as to prevent one kind of article of food from being passed off for another, and specially as to an amendment of the law in regard to the sale of unsound or diseased meat and meat which is unfit for human food. At the same time the law as to hawking might be put upon a more intelligible footing than it is at present.

LEIS KNOWLES.

ON JUSTICE.

(*Concluded.*)

IV. The Sentiment of Justice.

Acceptance of the doctrine of organic evolution determines certain ethical conceptions. The doctrine implies that the numerous organs in each of the innumerable species of animals, have been either directly or indirectly moulded into fitness for the requirements of life by constant converse with those requirements. Simultaneously, through nervous modifications, there have been developments of the sensations, instincts, emotions, and intellectual aptitudes, needed for the appropriate uses of these organs; as we see in caged rodents that exercise their incisors by purposeless gnawing, in gregarious creatures which are miserable if they cannot join their fellows, in beavers which, kept in confinement, show their passion for dam-building by heaping up whatever sticks and stones they can find.

Has this process of mental adaptation ended with primitive man? Are human beings incapable of having their feelings and ideas progressively adjusted to the modes of life imposed on them by the social state into which they have grown? Shall we suppose that the nature which fitted them to the exigencies of savage life has remained unchanged, and will remain unchanged, by the exigencies of civilised life? Or shall we suppose that this aboriginal nature, by repression of some traits and fostering of others, is made to approach more and more to a nature which finds developed society its appropriate environment, and the required activities its normal ones? There are many believers in the doctrine of evolution who seem to have no faith in the continued adaptability of mankind. While glancing but carelessly at the evidence furnished by comparisons of different human races with one another, and of the same races in different ages, they ignore entirely the induction from the phenomena of life at large. But if there is an abuse of the deductive method of reasoning there is also an abuse of the inductive method. One who refused to believe that a new moon would in a month become full, and, disregarding observations accumulated throughout the past, insisted on watching the successive phases for three weeks before he

was convinced, would be considered inductive in an irrational degree. But there might not unfairly be classed with him those who, slighting the inductive proof of unlimited adjustability, bodily and mental, which the animal kingdom at large presents, will not admit the adjustability of human nature to social life until the adjustment has taken place: nay, even ignore the evidence that it is taking place.

Here we shall assume it to be an inevitable inference from the doctrine of organic evolution, that the highest type of living being, no less than all lower types, must go on moulding itself to those requirements which circumstances impose. And we shall, by implication, assume that moral changes are among the changes thus wrought out.

The fact that when surfeit of a favourite food has caused sickness, there is apt to follow an aversion to that food, shows how, in the region of the sensations, experiences establish associations which influence conduct. And the fact that the house in which a wife or child died, or in which a long illness was suffered, becomes so associated with painful states of mind as to be shunned, sufficiently illustrates, in the emotional region, the mode in which actions may be determined by mental connexions formed in the course of life. When the circumstances of a species make certain relations between conduct and consequence habitual, the appropriately-linked feelings may come to characterise the species. Either inheritances of modifications produced by habit, or more numerous survivals of individuals having nervous structures which have varied in fit ways, gradually form guiding tendencies, prompting appropriate behaviour and deterring from inappropriate. The contrast between fearless birds found on islands never before visited by man, and the birds around us, which show fear of man immediately they are out of the nest, exemplifies such adaptations.

By virtue of this process there have been produced to some extent among lower creatures, and there are being further produced in man, the sentiments appropriate to social life. Aggressive actions, while they are habitually injurious to the group in which they occur, are not unfrequently injurious to the individuals committing them; since, though certain pleasures may be gained by them, they often entail pains greater than the pleasures. Conversely, conduct restrained within the required limits, calling out no antagonistic passions, favours harmonious co-operation, profits the group, and, by implication, profits the average of its individuals. Consequently, there results, other things equal, a tendency for groups formed of members having this adaptation of nature, to survive and spread.

Among the social sentiments thus evolved, one of chief importance is the sentiment of justice. Let us now consider more closely its nature.

Stop an animal's nostrils, and it makes frantic efforts to free its head. Tie its limbs together, and its struggles to get them at liberty are violent. Chain it by the neck or leg, and it is some time before it ceases its attempts to escape. Put it in a cage, and it long continues restless. Generalising these instances we see that in proportion as the restraints on actions by which life is maintained are extreme, the resistances to them are great. Conversely, the eagerness with which a bird seizes the opportunity for taking flight, and the joy of a dog when liberated, show how strong is the love of unfettered movement.

Displaying like feelings in like ways, man displays them in other and wider ways. He is irritated by invisible restraints as well as by visible ones; and as his evolution becomes higher, he is affected by circumstances and actions which in more remote ways aid or hinder the pursuit of ends. A parallel will elucidate this truth. Primitively the sentiment of property is gratified only by possession of food and shelter, and, presently, of clothing; but afterwards it is gratified by possession of the weapons and tools which aid in obtaining these, then by possession of the raw materials serving for making weapons and tools and for other purposes, then by possession of the coin which purchases them as well as things at large, then by possession of promises to pay exchangeable for the coin, then by a lien on a banker, registered in a pass-book. That is, there comes to be pleasure in an ownership more and more abstract and remote from material satisfactions. Similarly with the sentiment of justice. Beginning with the joy felt in ability to use the bodily powers and gain the resulting benefits, accompanied by irritation at direct interferences, this gradually responds to wider relations: being excited now by the incidents of personal bondage, now by those of political bondage, now by those of class privilege, and now by small political changes. Eventually this sentiment, sometimes so little developed in the negro that he jeers at a liberated companion because he has no master to take care of him, becomes so much developed in the Englishman that the slightest infraction of some mode of formal procedure at a public meeting or in Parliament, which cannot intrinsically concern him, is vehemently opposed because in some distant and indirect way it may help to give possible powers to un-named authorities who may perhaps impose unforeseen burdens or restrictions.

Clearly, then, the egoistic sentiment of justice is a subjective attribute which answers to that objective requirement constituting justice—the requirement that each adult shall receive the good and evil effects of his own nature. For unless the faculties of all kinds have free play, these results cannot be gained or suffered, and unless there exists a sentiment which prompts maintenance of the sphere for this free play, it will be trenched upon and the free play impeded.

While we may thus understand how the egoistic sentiment of justice is developed, it is much less easy to understand how there is developed the altruistic sentiment of justice. On the one hand, the implication is that the altruistic sentiment of justice can come into existence only in the course of adaptation to social life. On the other hand the implication is that social life is made possible only by maintenance of those equitable relations which imply the altruistic sentiment of justice. How can these reciprocal requirements be fulfilled?

The answer is that the altruistic sentiment of justice can come into existence only by the aid of a sentiment which temporarily supplies its place and restrains the actions prompted by pure egoism —a pro-altruistic sentiment of justice as we may call it. This has several components which we must successively glance at.

The first deterrent from aggression is one which we see among animals at large—the fear of retaliation. Among creatures of the same species the food obtained by one or place of vantage taken possession of by it, is in some measure insured to it by the dread which most others feel of the vengeance which may follow any attempt to take it away; and among men, especially during primitive stages of social life, it is chiefly such dread which secures for each man free scope for his activities, and exclusive use of whatever they bring him.

A further restraint is the fear of reprobation shown by unconcerned members of the group. Though in the expulsion of a 'rogue' elephant from the herd, or the slaying of a sinning member of the flock by rooks or storks, we see that even among animals individuals suffer from an adverse public opinion; yet it is scarcely probable that among animals expectation of general dislike prevents encroachment. But among mankind, 'looking before and after' to a greater extent, the thought of social disgrace is usually an additional check on ill-behaviour of man to man.

To these feelings, which come into play before there is any social organisation, have to be added those which arise after political authority establishes itself. When a successful leader in war acquires permanent headship, and comes to have at heart the maintenance of his power, there arises in him a desire to prevent the trespasses of his people one against another; since the resulting dissensions weaken his tribe. The rights of personal vengeance and, as in feudal times, of private war, are restricted; and, simultaneously, there grow up interdicts on the acts which cause them. Dread of the penalties which follow breaches of these, is an added restraint.

Ancestor-worship in general, developing as the society develops into special propitiation of the dead chief's ghost, and presently the dead king's ghost, gives to the injunctions he uttered during life increased sanctity; and when, with establishment of the cult, he

becomes a god, his injunctions become divine commands with dreaded punishments for breaches of them.

These four kinds of fear co-operate. The dread of retaliation, the dread of social dislike, the dread of legal punishment, and the dread of divine vengeance, united in various proportions, form a body of feeling which checks the primitive tendency to pursue the objects of desire without regard to the interests of fellow-men. Containing none of the altruistic sentiment of justice, properly so called, this pro-altruistic sentiment of justice serves temporarily to cause respect for one another's claims, and so to make social co-operation possible.

Creatures which become gregarious tend to become sympathetic in degrees proportionate to their intelligences. Not, indeed, that the resulting sympathetic tendency is exclusively, or even mainly, of that kind which the words ordinarily imply; for in some there is little beyond sympathy in fear, and in others little beyond sympathy in ferocity. All that is meant is that in gregarious creatures a feeling displayed by one is apt to arouse kindred feelings in others, and is apt to do this in proportion as others are intelligent enough to appreciate the signs of the feeling. In two chapters of the *Principles of Psychology*—'Sociality and Sympathy' and 'Altruistic Sentiments'—I have endeavoured to show how sympathy in general arises, and how there is eventually produced altruistic sympathy.

The implication is, then, that the associated state having been maintained among men by the aid of the pro-altruistic sentiment of justice, there have been maintained the conditions under which the altruistic sentiment of justice itself can develop. In a permanent group there occur, generation after generation, incidents simultaneously drawing from its members manifestations of like emotions—rejoicings over victories and escapes, over prey jointly captured, over supplies of wild food discovered; as well as laments over defeats, scarcities, inclemencies, &c. And to these greater pleasures and pains felt in common by all, and so expressing themselves that each sees in others the signs of feelings like those which he has and is displaying, must be added the smaller pleasures and pains daily resulting from meals taken together, amusements, games, and from the not infrequent adverse occurrences which affect several persons at once. Thus there is fostered that sympathy which makes the altruistic sentiment of justice possible.

But the altruistic sentiment of justice is slow in assuming a high form, partly because its primary component does not become highly developed until a late phase of progress, partly because it is relatively complex, and partly because it implies a stretch of imagination not possible for low intelligences. Let us glance at each of these reasons.

Every altruistic feeling presupposes experience of the correspond-

ing egoistic feeling. As, until pain has been felt there cannot be sympathy with pain, and as one who has no ear for music cannot enter into the pleasure which music gives to others; so, the altruistic sentiment of justice can arise only after the egoistic sentiment of justice has arisen. Hence where this has not been developed in any considerable degree, or has been repressed by a social life of an adverse kind, the altruistic sentiment of justice remains rudimentary.

The complexity of the sentiment becomes manifest on observing that it is not concerned only with concrete pleasures and pains, but is concerned mainly with certain of the circumstances under which these are obtainable or preventible. As the egoistic sentiment of justice is gratified by maintenance of those conditions which render achievement of satisfactions unimpeded, and irritated by the breaking of those conditions, it results that the altruistic sentiment of justice requires for its excitement not only the ideas of such satisfactions but also the ideas of those conditions which are in the one case maintained and in the other case broken.

Evidently, therefore, to be capable of this sentiment in a developed form, the faculty of mental representation must be relatively great. Where the feelings with which there is to be sympathy are simple pleasures and pains, the higher gregarious animals occasionally display it: pity and generosity are from time to time felt by them as well as by human beings. But to conceive simultaneously not only the feelings produced in another, but the plexus of acts and relations involved in the production of such feelings, presupposes the putting together in thought of more elements than an inferior creature can grasp at the same time. And when we come to those most abstract forms of the sentiment of justice which are concerned with public arrangements, we see that only the higher varieties of men are capable of so conceiving the ways in which good or bad institutions and laws will eventually affect their spheres of action, as to be prompted to support or oppose them; and that only among these, therefore, is there excited under such conditions that sympathetic sentiment of justice which makes them defend the political interests of fellow-citizens.

There is, of course, a close connexion between the sentiment of justice and the social type. Predominant militancy, by the coercive form of organization it implies, alike in the fighting body and in the society which supports it, affords no scope for the egoistic sentiment of justice; but, contrariwise, perpetually tramples on it, and at the same time the sympathies which originate the altruistic sentiment of justice are perpetually seared by militant activities. Contrariwise, in proportion as the *régime* of *status* is replaced by the *régime* of contract, or, in other words, as fast as voluntary co-operation, which characterizes the industrial type of society, becomes more general than involuntary co-operation, which characterizes the militant type

of society, individual activities become less restrained and the sentiment which rejoices in the scope for them is encouraged; while, simultaneously, the occasions for repressing the sympathies become less frequent. Hence during warlike phases of social life the sentiment of justice retrogrades, while it advances during peaceful phases, and can reach its full development only in a permanently peaceful state.[1]

V. The Idea of Justice.

While describing the sentiment of justice the way has been prepared for describing the idea of justice. Though the two are intimately connected they may be clearly distinguished.

One who had dropped his pocket-book and, turning round, finds that another who has picked it up will not surrender it, is indignant. If the goods sent home by a shopkeeper are not those he purchased he protests against the fraud. Should his seat at a theatre be usurped during a momentary absence he feels himself ill-used. Morning noises from a neighbour's poultry he complains of as grievances. And meanwhile he sympathizes with the anger of a friend who has been led by false statements to join a disastrous enterprise, or whose action at law has been rendered futile by a flaw in the procedure. But though in these cases his sense of justice is offended, he may fail to distinguish the essential trait which in each case causes the offence. He may have the sentiment of justice in full measure while his idea of justice remains vague.

This relation between sentiment and idea is a matter of course. The ways in which men trespass on one another become more numerous in their kinds, and more involved, as society grows more complex; and they must be experienced in their many forms, generation after generation, before analysis can make clear the essential distinction between legitimate acts and illegitimate acts.

A special reason for this should be recognized. Ideas as well as sentiments must on the average be adjusted to the social state. Hence, as war has been frequent or habitual in nearly all societies, such ideas of justice as have existed have been perpetually confused by the conflicting requirements of internal amity and external enmity.

Already it has been made clear that the idea of justice, or at least the idea of human justice, contains two elements. On the one hand there is that positive element implied by recognition of each man's claims to unimpeded activities and the benefits they bring. On the

[1] Permanent peace does in a few places exist, and where it exists the sentiment of justice is exceptionally strong and sensitive. I am glad to have again the occasion for pointing out that among tribes called uncivilized, there are some, distinguished by the entire absence of warlike activities, who in their characters put to shame the peoples called civilized. In *Political Institutions*, §§ 437 and 574, I have given eight examples of this connexion of facts taken from races of different types.

other hand there is that negative element implied by the consciousness of limits which the presence of other men having like claims necessitates. Two opposite traits in these two components especially arrest the attention.

Inequality is the primordial idea suggested. For if the principle is that each shall receive the benefits and evils due to his own nature and consequent conduct, then since men differ in their powers there must be differences in the results of their actions. Unequal amounts of benefit are implied.

Mutual limitations to men's actions suggest a contrary idea. When it is seen that if each pursues his ends regardless of his neighbour's claims, quarrels must be caused and social co-operation hindered, there arises the consciousness that bounds must be set to the doings of each; and the thought of spheres of action bounded by one another, involves the conception of equality.

Unbalanced appreciations of these two factors in human justice lead to divergent moral and social theories, which we must now glance at.

In some of the rudest groups of men the appreciations are no higher than those which we see among inferior gregarious animals. Here the stronger takes what he pleases from the weaker without exciting general reprobation; while, elsewhere, there is practised and tacitly approved something like communism. But where habitual war has developed political organization, the idea of inequality becomes predominant. If not among the conquered, who are made slaves, yet among the conquerors, who naturally think of that which conduces to their interest as that which *ought* to be, there is fostered this element in the conception of justice which asserts that superiority shall have the benefits of superiority.

Though the Platonic dialogues may not be taken as measures of Greek belief, yet we may reasonably assume that the things they take for granted were currently accepted. Socrates inquires—'Do you admit that it is just for subjects to obey their rulers?' 'I do,' replies Thrasymachus.[2] Though otherwise in antagonism, the two agree in this conception of what is just. At a later stage of the inquiry, Glaucon, describing a current opinion, says:—

'This, as they affirm, is the origin and nature of justice:—there is a mean or compromise between the best of all, which is to do and not to suffer injustice, and the worst of all, which is to suffer without the power of retaliation; and justice, being the mean between the two, is tolerated not as good, but as the lesser evil.' And immediately afterwards it is said that men 'are only diverted into the path of justice by the force of law.'[3]

[2] *The Republic*, Book I., translated by Jowett, p. 159 (edit. of 1871). Instead of 'Do you admit,' the rendering given by Messrs. Llewelyn Davies and Vaughan is 'You doubtless also maintain.'

[3] Book II. p. 229.

In this significant passage several things are to be noted. There is first a recognition of the fact, above indicated, that at an early stage the practice of justice is initiated by the dread of retaliation, and the conviction, suggested by experience, that it is on the whole the best to avoid aggression and to respect the limit which compromise implies: there is no recognition of intrinsic flagitiousness in aggression, but only of its impolicy. Further, the limit to each man's actions, described as 'a mean or compromise,' and respect for which is called 'the path of justice,' is said to be established only 'by the force of law.' Law is not considered as an expression of justice otherwise cognizable, but as itself the source of justice; and hence results the meaning of the preceding proposition, that it is just to obey the law. Thirdly, there is an implication that were it not for retaliation and legal penalties, the stronger might with propriety take advantage of the weaker. There is a half-expressed belief that superiority ought to have the advantages of superiority: inequality occupies a prominent place, while equality makes no definite appearance.

The conception here indicated that justice consists in legality, is, towards the close of Book IV., developed into the conception that justice consists 'in each of the three classes doing the work of its own class:' carpenter, shoemaker, or what not, 'doing each his own business, and not another's;' and all obeying the class whose business it is to rule.[4] Thus the idea of justice is made to include the idea of inequality. Though there is some recognition of equality of positions and claims among members of the same class, yet the regulations respecting community of wives &c. in the guardian-class, have for their avowed purpose to establish, even within that class, unequal privileges for the benefit of the superior.

But now observe that while in the Greek conception of justice there predominates the idea of inequality, while the idea of equality is inconspicuous, the inequality refers, not to the natural achievement of greater rewards by greater merits, but to the artificial apportionment of greater rewards to greater merits. It is an inequality mainly established by authority. The gradations in the civil organization are of the same nature as those in the military organization. Regi-

[4] On another page there is furnished a typical example of Socratic reasoning. It is held to be a just 'principle that individuals are neither to take what is another's, nor to be deprived of what is their own.' From this it is inferred that justice consists in 'having and *doing* what is a man's own;' and then comes the further inference that it is unjust for one man to assume another's occupation, and 'force his way' out of one class into another. Here, then, because a man's own property and his own occupation are both called his own, the same conclusion is drawn concerning both. Two fallacies are involved—the one that a man can 'own' a trade in the same way that he owns a coat, and the other that because he may not be *deprived* of the coat he must be *restricted* to the trade. The Platonic dialogues are everywhere vitiated by fallacies of this kind, caused by confounding words with things—unity of name with unity of nature.

mentation pervades both, and the idea of justice is everywhere conformed to the traits of the social structure.

And this is the idea of justice proper to the militant type at large, as we are again shown throughout Europe in subsequent ages. It will suffice to point out that along with the different law-established positions and privileges of different ranks, there went gradations in the amounts paid in composition for crimes according to the rank of the injured. And how completely the idea of justice was determined by the idea of rightly-existing inequality, is shown by the condemnation of serfs who escaped into the towns and were said to have 'unjustly' withdrawn themselves from the control of their lords.

Thus, as might be expected, we find that while the struggle for existence between societies is going on actively, recognition of the primary factor in justice which is common to life at large, human and sub-human, is very imperfectly qualified by recognition of the secondary factor. That which we may distinguish as the brute element in the conception is but little mitigated by the human element.

All movements are rhythmical, and among others social movements, with their accompanying doctrines. After that conception of justice in which the idea of inequality unduly predominates, comes a conception in which the idea of equality unduly predominates.

A recent example of such reactions is furnished by the ethical theory of Bentham. As is shown by the following extract from Mr. Mill's *Utilitarianism* (p. 91), the idea of inequality here entirely disappears.

> The Greatest-Happiness Principle is a mere form of words without rational signification, unless one person's happiness, supposed equal in degree (with the proper allowance made for kind), is counted for exactly as much as another's. Those conditions being supplied, Bentham's dictum, 'everybody to count for one, nobody for more than one,' might be written under the principle of utility as an explanatory commentary.

Now though Bentham ridicules the taking of justice as our guide, saying that while happiness is an end intelligible to all, justice is a relatively unintelligible end, yet he tacitly asserts that his principle—'everybody to count for one, nobody for more than one,' is just; since, otherwise, he would be obliged to admit that it is unjust, and we may not suppose he would do so. Hence the implication of his doctrine is that justice means an equal apportionment of the benefits, material and immaterial, which men's activities bring. There is no recognition of inequalities in men's shares of happiness, consequent on inequalities of their faculties or characters.

This is the theory which Communism would reduce to practice. From one who knows him, I learn that Prince Krapotkin blames the English socialists because they do not propose to act out the rule popularly worded as 'share and share alike.' In a recent

periodical, M. de Laveleye summed up the communistic principle as being 'that the individual works for the profit of the State, to which he hands over the produce of his labour for equal division among all.' In the communistic Utopia described in Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, it is held that each 'shall make the same effort,' and that if by the same efforts, bodily or mental, one produces twice as much as another, he is not to be advantaged by the difference. At the same time the intellectually or physically feeble are to be quite as well off as others: the assertion being that the existing *régime* is one of 'robbing the incapable class of their plain right in leaving them unprovided for.'

The principle of inequality is thus denied absolutely. It is assumed to be unjust that superiority of nature shall bring superiority of results, or, at any rate, superiority of material results; and as no distinction appears to be made in respect either of physical qualities or intellectual qualities or moral qualities, the implication is not only that strong and weak shall fare alike, but that foolish and wise, worthy and unworthy, mean and noble, shall do the same. For if, according to this conception of justice, defects of nature, physical or intellectual, ought not to count, neither ought moral defects, since they are one and all primarily inherited.

And here, too, we have a deliberate abolition of that cardinal distinction between the ethics of the family and the ethics of the State emphasized at the outset: an abolition which must eventuate in decay and disappearance of the species or variety in which it takes place.

After contemplation of these divergent conceptions of justice, in which the ideas of inequality and equality almost or quite exclude one another, we are prepared for framing a true conception of justice.

In other fields of thought it has fallen to my lot to show that the right view is obtained by co-ordinating the antagonist wrong views. Thus, the association-theory of intellect is harmonized with the transcendental theory on perceiving that when, to the effects of individual experiences are added the inherited effects of experiences received by all ancestors, the two views become one. So, too, when the moulding of feelings into harmony with requirements, generation after generation, is recognized as causing an adapted moral nature, there results a reconciliation of the expediency-theory of morals with the intuitional theory. And here we see that the like occurs with this more special component of ethics now before us.

For if each of these opposite conceptions of justice is accepted as true in part, and then supplemented by the other, there results that conception of justice which arises on contemplating the laws of life as carried on in the social state. The equality concerns the mutually-

limited spheres of action which must be maintained if associated men are to co-operate harmoniously. The inequality concerns the results which each may achieve by carrying on his actions within the implied limits. No incongruity exists when the ideas of equality and inequality are applied the one to the bounds and the other to the benefits. Contrariwise, the two may be, and must be, simultaneously asserted.

Other injunctions which ethics has to utter do not here concern us. There are the self-imposed requirements and limitations of private conduct, forming that large division of ethics treated of in Part III.; and there are the demands and restraints included under Negative and Positive Beneficence, to be hereafter treated of, which are at once self-imposed and in a measure imposed by public opinion. But here we have to do only with those claims and those limits which have to be maintained as conditions to harmonious co-operation, and which alone are to be enforced by the society in its corporate capacity.

Any considerable acceptance of so definite an idea of justice is not to be expected. It is an idea appropriate to an ultimate state, and can be but partially recognized during transitional states; for the prevailing ideas must, on the average, be congruous with existing institutions and activities.

The two essentially-different types of social organization, militant and industrial, based respectively on *status* and on contract, have, as we have above seen, feelings and beliefs severally adjusted to them; and the mixed feelings and beliefs appropriate to intermediate types, have continually to change according to the ratio between the one and the other. As I have elsewhere shown,[5] during the thirty—or rather forty—years' peace, and consequent weakening of the militant organization, the idea of justice became clearer: coercive regulations were relaxed and each man left more free to make the best of himself. But since then, the re-development of militancy has caused reversal of these changes; and along with nominal increases of freedom, actual diminutions of freedom have resulted from multiplied regulations and exactions. The spirit of regimentation proper to the militant type, has been spreading throughout the administration of civil life. An army of workers with appointed tasks and apportioned shares of products, which socialism, knowingly or unknowingly, aims at, shows in civil life the same characters as an army of soldiers with prescribed duties and fixed rations shows in military life; and every further act of parliament which takes from the individual, money for public purposes and gives him public benefits, tends more and more to assimilate the two. Germany best shows this kinship. There, where militancy is most pronounced, and where the regulation of citizens

[5] *Principles of Sociology*, §§ 266-7; *Political Institutions*, §§ 573-4 and 559.

is most elaborate, socialism is most highly developed; and from the head of the German military system has now come the proposal of regimental regulations for the working classes throughout Europe.

Sympathy which, a generation ago, was taking the shape of justice, is relapsing into the shape of generosity; and the generosity is exercised by inflicting injustice. Daily legislation betrays little anxiety that each shall have that which belongs to him, but great anxiety that he shall have that which belongs to somebody else. For while no energy is expended in so reforming our judicial administration that everyone may obtain and enjoy all he has earned, great energy is shown in providing for him and others benefits which they have not earned. Along with that miserable *laissez-faire* which calmly looks on while men ruin themselves in trying to enforce by law their equitable claims, there goes activity in supplying them, at other men's cost, with *gratis* novel-reading!

Evidently, then, amid this chaos of opinions the true idea of justice can be but very partially recognized. The workman who, in pursuance of it, insists on his right of making his own contract with an employer, will continue to be called 'a black-leg;' and the writer who opposes the practice of forcibly taking A's property for B's benefit will be classed as an '*à priori* bigot.'

HERBERT SPENCER.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF JAVA.

THE Island of Java was ruled by England for five years. In 1811 that magnificent dependency of Holland, which now owns a population of 19,000,000 souls, possessed a history full of interest for the antiquary, great commercial possibilities, and perhaps the worst colonial government ever devised.

Its inhabitants, 6,000,000 in number, were Mussulmans of a debased type, or aboriginals whose gods and griffins were like realised nightmares. Its peasantry were ground down by degrading servitude to half a dozen masters, and were often the mere slaves of the Chinese who farmed the revenue, and who—too lazy to keep accounts, or finding the back of a slave a more permanent record than a sheet of paper—would brand on the wretched cultivator's back the 47 per cent. of duty which his crop of rice had to bear in the passage from his fields to Batavia. The Government derived its revenue chiefly from the monopoly of rice and coffee. This process removed all stimulus to industry on the peasant's part, while it turned the Government into a shopkeeper, and made it dependent on the state of the market. As might have been expected, there came a time when both crops had accumulated to excess, and their possession was a burden to the Government rather than an advantage. In the meanwhile, the Governor-General had met his troubles by a reckless issue of paper, while all spare cash was lavished on the military defences of the island. At the moment when one silver dollar was worth 6½ paper dollars, when the very stores of the army had been pawned, when the peasants were on the verge of revolt, and the native Sultans in a merely nominal dependence, the British power appeared.

In 1811 Java, partly Hindu, partly Malay, and partly Mohammedan, though officered chiefly by Dutchmen, and soon to fall into British hands, was in fact French. On the 5th of June, 1806, Napoleon raised his brother Louis to the throne of Holland, and Java was speedily fortified in the French interest. It was, then, against the power of the French Emperor, that the Governor-General of India equipped his expedition. The fleet numbered 90 sail, and

bore with it Lord Minto (the Governor-General) and—as his agent, and the man who was destined to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Java—Thomas Stamford Raffles.

Raffles was at this time in his thirtieth year. He was born at sea off Jamaica. He entered the service of the East India Company in 1796 and early distinguished himself by the ease with which he won the sympathies of all Eastern races, and in particular of the Malays, whose character and language he soon learned. His book to the Malay nation, written when at Malacca on sick leave in 1880, attracted the attention of the Governor-General, and his fortune was made.

The conquest of Java is set down to Lord Minto, who was made an Earl by the Prince Regent in honour of the event, but it was Raffles who suggested the expedition and pointed out the immense value to us of this island—the other India, as he called it. At this time, indeed, most people even in India itself were loth to believe that so large an expedition could be destined to the conquest of so insignificant a place. However, to convince the Governor-General was as much as was needed, and the troops which sailed showed that Lord Minto fully understood the situation, and the strength of the enemy. Four thousand red-coats, with the same number of native infantry, 300 cavalry, and some other troops, landed at Batavia on the 4th of August, 1811. While the fleet was on its way down the Straits of Malacca, Marshal Daendels, who had done so much for the army and the defences, had, to his great chagrin, been displaced in the Viceroyalty of Java by General Janssens, who now commanded the troops. This soldier had an unfortunate record. It was he who surrendered the Cape of Good Hope to the English. The Emperor's parting charge, as he sent him to the command of Java, had been, 'Souvenez, Monsieur, qu'un général français ne se laisse pas prendre une seconde fois.' He gave battle on the 26th of August at Fort Cornelis, a strong position, strongly entrenched and defended by 280 pieces of cannon. His army numbered about 13,000 men, and included a regiment of *voltigeurs*. He was totally defeated, losing 5,000 in killed and wounded, and as many more prisoners. Colonel Gillespie led the victorious troops. His loss was about 900, but the action did him the greatest credit, both in plan and attack. General Janssens fled to Buitenzorg, whither he was pursued. On the 18th he had fled still further, and reached Samárang, a large port on the north side of Java. Here he capitulated to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, who was Commander-in-Chief of the army. A week before Lord Minto had issued his proclamation declaring the change of rule.

Raffles' new charge was an island lying nearly due east and west, with a coast-line of 700 miles, and an area of about 36,000 square miles, or four times the size of Holland. It contained within its

four seas as many inhabitants as the United States of America, and its dependent islands counted as many more. It had been French for five years, in which time the Batavians had conceived a hearty disgust for their military masters. Before 1806 it had been Dutch for 200 years. During these two centuries Holland had managed the island exactly like a shop. Batavia was the shop-door, and all other ports were carefully closed. They did not possess even a map of Java, or any part of it. The interior was given up to growing coffee on lands of every imaginable kind, suitable and unsuitable. Later, under French rule, the gardens of the Javanese, and even their grave-yards, were given up to its cultivation. The wretched peasant, when not busy doing Government work, was delivered over to the Regent of his province. The Regents, thirty in number, including two or three quasi-independent princes, were relics of the Mohammedan rule of Java, which lasted from 1400 A.D. till the advent of the Dutch. Before 1400 A.D. was the golden age of Javan tradition—the time of a Hindu dynasty. The Regents, originally tax-collectors, had assumed the dignity, and really possessed much of the power of feudal chiefs. The Dutch had made extensive use of them in their administration, and greatly increased their importance. In 1811 they were all in a state of barely disguised revolt.

The Lieutenant-Governor decided to leave the chiefs' discontent to smoulder, confident in his power to deal with it whenever it should burst into flame, and his first efforts were directed to the state of the peasantry and the revenue. Fortunately Raffles understood the Javanese. Without losing time in experiments, he could see his way to steady his finances and strengthen his Government through their support. Had they been mere savages, like their neighbours in Borneo, he must have proceeded differently.

With rare insight into character, however, he saw at once that the true strength of his Government would lie in the willing support of the peasantry. Accordingly he determined to abolish all feudal dues, and do away with the oppression which practically reduced the Javanese to slavery.

So wretched was the cultivator's state that three Spanish dollars was held a sufficient sum to maintain him and his family for a whole year. The peasantry were sober and hard-working, and—like most peoples fallen from high civilisation and resigned to their fate—greatly tolerant of oppression so long as life was left them; they were, perhaps, even more so than any other conquered nation known to history. They numbered 6,000,000 in Java, and another 6,000,000 in the dependencies on the chief island. Between them and the Government there stood, of right, no one. By custom, however, the Regents intervened.

A weaker man might have been daunted by their truculent array,

a more cautious man would have wasted much precious time in determining their rights; and, indeed, but for his Indian experience, Raffles might well have been deceived as to their position. But the Lieutenant-Governor was neither weak nor ignorant, and was possessed of a high courage. He waited only long enough to take a rapid survey of the situation, and to get the views of his seconds in command. At a stroke of his pen he then abolished the Regents. They were henceforth treated with respect, and permitted to retain and use all their titles. They were allowed large emoluments, in consideration of the lucrative but oppressive dues of which they were now deprived. Those who consented to help the Administration by exercising police functions—for which their local influence and information well fitted them—were liberally paid for their work. From all share in the administration of revenue or justice they were absolutely excluded.

Their place was taken by the Residents. These were Englishmen appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor from the body of assistants lent him from the Indian services. Their business was to collect the revenue, adjust claims, settle disputes, and make themselves the friends and confidants of every peasant in trouble. A lucid code of rules was drawn up for their guidance by the Lieutenant-Governor himself. These established the condition of tenure now prevailing in Western India, where no authority intervenes between the Government and the owner of the soil.

Their happy results on the revenue fully justified Raffles' bold step, and their publication alone was enough to change the position of the people greatly for the better. In two Regencies, those of Bantam and Preanger, in the west of the island, the old system was retained. Here the sway of the Regents, who had married with the children of the soil, was less oppressive than elsewhere. All classes spoke a different language from Javanese, and the land was chiefly given up to growing coffee, which species of cultivation the modified feudal system made very easy.

There was much trade in human flesh in Java. On some of the savage islands round, there were tribes who made expeditions to secure human victims for their feasts and sacrifices, and Raffles found it necessary to lay down the 42nd article of his code of revenue regulations as follows: 'The residents are enjoined to be watchful that no free Javanese are taken or given in pawn, and that no money be ever advanced on the persons of such people on any pretence whatever.'

At the same time he abolished torture, which had hitherto prevailed as a mode of legal procedure.

While this work of reform was in progress the Sultan of Jokjokarta took alarm. His country lay in the south of the island, he himself was the most violent and intriguing of all the native princes, and

was followed by an army of over 100,000 men, untrained but savage and warlike, and entirely devoted to their leader.

Raffles was averse to a military demonstration so soon after he had taken the reins of Government, and determined if possible to check the Sultan without having recourse to arms. He took a step which, in a less determined man, would have been of the most extreme rashness. He entered the Sultan's territory with his bodyguard and announced that he had come to receive his allegiance. He proposed an audience. The Sultan accepted, and the interview took place in the great reception hall of the Sultan's Kraton. This was a large square building with sheer impregnable walls of masonry.

The great courtyard in the centre, partly open to the sky, showed at one end the Sultan's throne, and round it, and half filling the space, his crowd of undisciplined warriors. 4,000 men of the fiercest tribes of the East surrounded the chief in his tawdry, but by no means unimposing pomp. The hall was half lighted by the fitful glare of torches, half by the dying day, as Raffles rode into the castle.

Unattended save by half a dozen troopers, the Lieutenant-Governor reined in his horse, and awaited from the Sultan some sign of his fealty. None was given. Raffles spoke first in Malay. He had come, he said, to receive the submission of a vassal who had forgotten his duty, not to treat with a rebel in arms. The Sultan replied that he was no vassal of a usurped Government, but an independent chief who meant to remain so. Raffles rejoined that the British could recognise no power on the island that was not—as had always been the case in past times—the vassal of the rulers of Java, and warned the Sultan, that if it came to force of arms, the British were unconquered in the East, and would remain so. An angry murmur rose from the armed crowd round the throne, and some swords were drawn. But the Sultan, though with difficulty, held them in. If he thought of murder as a step to power, some impulse of craft or chivalry restrained him. It would be easy to kill this haughty man, but would he be any nearer his end? The other chiefs were not ready. He had himself, in fact, only moved to embarrass the Government, and was disconcerted at the sharp alternative thus offered him of instant submission or instant war with the English. When he next spoke it was to temporise, and Raffles felt the game was won. The Sultan repeated the oaths of fealty he had sworn to the French, apologised for the offences he had committed against the Dutch settlers, and promised to receive a Resident at his court.

Raffles turned, and rode slowly out of the courtyard. A glance behind him, as he passed into the night, showed a dusky mob of angry savages, furious but quelled, waving their scimetars in the torchlight, and calling angrily for blood. He reached his camp in

safety, and continued the work he had barely interrupted by his daring exploit. Though he had failed to secure peace his visit had been by no means fruitless. The Sultan was quelled for the moment by the Lieutenant-Governor's bearing, and the other chiefs were baffled for some time to come. But the storm must burst sooner or later, as Raffles very well knew, and the time for the rebellion was skilfully chosen by the Sultan and his fellow conspirators.

Early in 1812 it had become necessary to send an expedition to Palembang, a place on Sumatra, to avenge the murder by its Sultan of all the Dutch residents there. Gillespie started in command of most of the forces in Java, and with his accustomed dash and firmness soon conducted to a close a campaign which Lord Minto afterwards pronounced 'very glorious.'

While the troops were fully occupied in this work, the Sultan of Jokjokarta rose in arms. He was supported by the open discontent of the Regents of Solo in the North, and the secret aid and sympathy of all the other Regents. The Regents of Bantam and Cheribon, districts to the east and west of Batavia, had only been hitherto kept down by the near presence of the capital and the victorious British troops. They now again broke out into mutinous murmurs. Raffles was at Samárang, and the only troops in the island were his escort and the Residency guard, but the news of the rebellion had hardly reached him when he heard that Gillespie had landed at Batavia. The commandant brought only his staff with him, but was a host in himself. He had hurried on before his troops, and now joined Raffles at once. On June 17, with every trooper they could raise, they were before the Sultan's lines. Their army numbered about 1,200, and so prompt had been their movements, that as yet only one army was in the field against them, but that numbered over 10,000 men. There was some skirmishing with the outposts, and then the main body of the Sultan's army came into collision with the British troops, and was driven into the Kraton. This was a regular fortified position, about three miles in circumference, defended by a wide and deep ditch, a wall forty-five feet high, and garrisoned by 11,000 men. It was very gallantly stormed on the morning of June 20, but Gillespie was dangerously wounded in the assault. Throughout the fighting our loss was sixty-five.

The rebellion was at an end, and terms of peace were dictated. 'For the first time,' wrote the Lieutenant-Governor to Lord Minto, June 25, 'the British power is paramount in Java.'

The Lieutenant-Governor, his military troubles over, now turned his attention to the currency. There was no gold in the island, and silver was rapidly disappearing. The metal coinage was represented by a few shapeless copper lumps, and the ordinary medium of exchange was paper. This had been guaranteed by Lord Minto at the rate of 6½ paper dollars for one silver dollar. Within a year, silver was twice

as dear, and still rising. If prompt measures were not taken, buying and selling must soon cease altogether.

In casting about for some Government asset which he could turn into cash, the Lieutenant-Governor could find nothing marketable but the land. Had he power to sell any? The inquiries of his land commission had certainly shown that there was no authority between the Government and the soil, and in dealing with the Regents he had accepted and acted upon this conclusion. For Government to sell what it owned was only another step on, and a perfectly logical one. He, therefore, proposed to his Council to redeem some of the paper with the proceeds of a sale of land. But the Dutch members of Council—Cranssen and Muntinghe—who had gone with him in his dealings with the Regents, shrank from this step as too bold and hasty, and Gillespie, the other member, was violently opposed to it. In the end, and as no other plan could be devised, the Dutchmen were won over, but the Commander-in-Chief shut his ears to all reason. He assailed the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and out, publicly quarrelled with him, and conducted himself with such indecorum, that at one time Lord Minto feared it would be necessary to institute an inquiry into his conduct. However, the Commander-in-Chief in India interceded, for Gillespie was a daring and skilful commander. Sir William Nightingall was sent to Java, Gillespie being transferred to Bengal. Before leaving Batavia a reconciliation was effected, and the Lieutenant-Governor was left in Java in peace, as he thought, with all men.

When work did not call him elsewhere, the Lieutenant-Governor was always by choice at Buitenzorg. This house, the official residence of the Viceroys, roomy and light after the fashion of large houses in the East, had long stood in the uplands of Java, surrounded by trim gardens. Here Raffles loved to surround himself with society. In the abstract he had a low opinion of the Dutch, and he did not hesitate to extend his mistrust of their character to business relations. The Chinese, too, shared his cordial animosity. In abolishing the farms of taxes, he was delighted to be able to record that he had thus 'struck the deathblow to the pernicious influence which the Chinese had been permitted to acquire.' His estimate of both nations is summed up in the following passage from his pen. 'The Chinese, in all ages equally supple, venal, and crafty, failed not at a very early period to recommend themselves to the equally crafty, venal, and speculating Hollanders.' Of the Malay he had a high opinion, and thus analyses his character. 'Accustomed to wear arms from his infancy, to rely on his own prowess for safety, and to dread that of his associates, he is the most correctly polite of all savages, and not subject to those starts of passion so common to more civilised nations.' But in spite of his aversion from business relations with the Dutch nation, and his strong and well-founded distrust of their

politics, he loved the specimens with whom his work brought him into daily contact—Cranssen and Muntinghe, for example, the members of his Council.

Wherever he happened to be, his house was always full of Dutch merchants, English visitors, Malay chiefs, the officers of the army and navy, and anyone else who liked to come, to the number of many score. When not entertaining his friends, or writing minutes, he spent his time in collecting materials for his history, and in studying the fauna and flora of Java. The Asiatic Society counted him among its most able and zealous members. Even in the midst of the stir and excitement of the expedition to Java in 1811, he had found time to hold a meeting of the Society at Malacca as they sailed through the Straits. In Java itself there had once been some intellectual life, as shown by the existence of a Society of Arts and Sciences, which was established on the 24th of April, 1778, with the motto, 'The Public Utility.' It was dead by Raffles' time, but he formally re-established it on the thirty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. He also superintended the translation of the Bible into the Malay tongue.

By the end of 1813 he seemed to have completed his work. The revenue was reformed, and in all its branches yielding good results. Under Dutch rule the island had yielded yearly about 49,000*l.*—hardly enough to pay the expenses. The French forced the revenue up to 90,000*l.*, but they collected it on a vicious system, and by precarious means. Raffles' management increased the revenue to 536,000*l.* by means which relieved the peasantry, abolished vexatious dues, and determined responsibility, and this while maintaining an army of occupation at the cost of 30,000*l.* a month, and in spite of the loss of the American trade by the war with England. After the revolt of Jokjokarta the chiefs gave him no more trouble. The peasantry had always been devoted to him. The services worked with him like one man.

From this clear sky fell a thunderbolt.

In 1813 Lord Minto's term as Viceroy expired, and he left India late in the same year. In April 1814 the Lieutenant-Governor was entertaining one of his usual large parties of guests at Buitenzorg. The officers of his staff were engaged in preparing some private theatricals. The Lieutenant-Governor was the centre of a busy crowd, bent all day on pleasure or business, and himself the busiest of them all. He appeared to be free from anxiety or preoccupation of any kind, and not till long after the party had broken up, was it known to any man that in the intervals of promoting his guests' amusements, he had been writing his defence to a charge of corruption and maladministration in office. He was accused of selling Government lands when several other courses would have answered equally well, and of marking out the best lots for himself, thus nefariously profiting at the public cost.

Gillespie was his accuser.

The Commander-in-Chief had returned to Bengal chafing with wounded vanity. He found a new Governor-General disposed to listen to him, and himself looked on as the hero of the expedition to Java. He allowed himself to use the most intemperate language, and was soon committed either to formulate a regular charge or to withdraw his words. He chose the former course, and drew up his accusations. They were no very formidable array, and at this distance of time the details possess little interest. One charge, however, may be cited as a fair specimen of the rest—the charge, viz., that Raffles might have employed the funds of the Orphan Chamber to buy up the depreciated paper instead of selling land. The Orphan Chamber had, indeed, at one time contained a large sum in silver. But it had been withdrawn by Marshal Daendals to pay for war material, and replaced by paper. The step which Gillespie proposed amounted therefore to buying up paper with paper of the same value. This was the childish course which Gillespie had urged over and over again in Council, and which he held Raffles culpable for not adopting.

The charge that Raffles shared in the sales himself, thus nefariously profiting at the public expense, deserves notice because it was in part true. It was true that Raffles bought some land in the auction, but he did not do so nefariously, and he did not profit by the transaction: he lost considerably. The facts were as follows. When the sale was announced, the party opposed to it industriously started the rumour that it was illegal. It was in vain pointed out that such sales had often been held before, and that Raffles only followed Dutch precedent. They replied—with reason, it must be allowed—that it was not as yet certain that Java would be retained by the English at all; and even if it were retained there was the chance that it would be retained as a Crown Colony, and in that case a Governor and Council would probably be sent out from England.

In only one event, then, out of three might the sale be expected to stand. This view gained ground, and the Lieutenant-Governor saw that his plan would soon be fatally blown upon. In this extremity a chance presented itself for retrieving the market. A former Viceroy of Java—a Mr. Engelhard—settled in the country, proposed to Muntinghe, one of the Council, that they should share the purchase of a lot together. Muntinghe examined the proposal and declined it, seeing no chance of profit in it. Engelhard then proposed the same transaction to the Lieutenant-Governor. He accepted it without a moment's hesitation, and the sale went forward as announced, with perfect satisfaction. Lord Minto pronounced the sale to be 'an able expedient in a moment of great emergency.' As soon as the Lieutenant-Governor heard of Gillespie's charge, he resold the lot at cost price, and challenged investigation.

Now it is well to note, viewing the charge made, firstly, that

the sale was made in open day in the Stadthaus of Batavia, and, secondly, that there was no profit to be made in it, as a shrewd business man had already declined it on that very ground.

It is also well to note that Raffles' partner was a former Viceroy, a man of dignity and repute. All this was doubtless weighed by the Court of Directors, who in their resolution on General Gillespie's charges gave an unqualified testimony to Raffles' uprightness. But the reader with the views of to-day is most struck by the extreme impropriety of the whole transaction, which honesty of intention does not in the least modify. Although Raffles was very properly protected by the difficulties of the situation, and his own patent disinterestedness and great services, yet his excess of zeal brought down on him a certain amount of censure, which was perhaps more implied than expressed.

He had no difficulty in showing the absurdity of the other accusations, and he speedily did so to the satisfaction of the Court of Directors.

For the time, however, Lord Moira, who had succeeded Lord Minto as Viceroy, was so prejudiced against Raffles that he forbade the latter to come to Calcutta.

In the Goorkha war of the same year Gillespie was shot through the heart, at the head of his troops, in leading the second attack on Kalanga Fort. His military talents were great, and after his death Parliament erected to his memory the statue by the south door of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Between Gillespie's charges and the surrender of Java to the Dutch Raffles suffered two heavy personal losses, in the death of Lord Minto and the death of his wife. He found relief and distraction in the unfailing panacea of English exiles in the East—work. He spent his days on horseback or at his desk, working always with an energy that nothing could destroy, neither misfortune, nor misunderstandings, nor the ill-health engendered of twenty years' residence in the tropics. He laboured to interest influential men in England in the fate of Java; he strove to open up a trade with Japan; he tried hard to abolish slavery. He knew the island better than his assistants, and often rode sixty or seventy miles a day. He once travelled from Samárang to Batavia and back merely to be present at a ball. Two years passed away thus, while he watched his measures take root and bear fruit.

On the 26th of March, 1816, Raffles left Java. In five years he had built up a prosperous colony out of anarchy. He was spared the pain of seeing it restored to the Dutch, his successor being charged with the duty. In England the only man of weight who understood the value of Java was Lord Minto, and he died soon after his term as Viceroy was over. There was thus no one left to enlighten the Egyptian darkness which shrouded the question, and the Court of

Directors, if truth be told, would not even read Raffles' despatches from Java. Doubtless, too, the Cape of Good Hope, which we had also conquered from Louis Bonaparte, seemed the more important place at that time. It was on the route to India, and the Suez Canal and the Canadian Pacific Railway were yet undreamt of. So on the 13th of August, 1814, Castlereagh signed away Java, and Henry Fagel left us the Cape of Good Hope, and some other places. There seems no reason why we should have given up anything, since all were ours by conquest from the Bonapartes; but the Dutch were pressing, and a statesman who was rearranging the map of Europe could not be expected to disoblige a plenipotentiary for the sake of an island somewhere in the Pacific. Still one may be pardoned for one moment reflecting on what might have been if we had kept the 'Other India,' as Raffles called it. On his return to England the late Lieutenant-Governor was knighted. He also received the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen 'as a signal mark of the Directors' approbation.' If it did not appear from Lord Minto's correspondence that Raffles much desired this last appointment, the Directors' remark would assume the garb of a grim satire. For Bencoolen was a solitary, grass-grown, pestilential fort in Sumatra, a land of savages, and the lieutenant-governorship was an extremely small post after Java. But it was not in Raffles' nature to measure dignities or rate very highly the comforts of civilisation, and he was quite contented with Bencoolen.

Here he laboured from 1818 to 1824. Once more the name of Raffles heralded the reign of progress, firm government, and consideration for all sorts and conditions of men. To him England owes the establishment of British influence in the Malay Archipelago, extinct since the surrender of Java.

The Dutch hated and feared him, and rightly looked on his policy as a menace to their own power. In 1820 the Resident of Batavia refused admittance to Java to 'all persons who may anyways be supposed to be connected with Sir Stamford Raffles and his views.' In 1823 Baron van der Capellen, then Governor-General, declined to receive Raffles, whose ship was then anchored in Batavia roads, or even to allow him to land. He could not be forgiven. His administration had thrown their greedy shopkeeping ways into an ignoble shade, and with such petty affronts was their revenge taken. He left Bencoolen on the 10th of April, 1824, and returned to England. There remained yet one more work for him to carry out. There have been few more lasting contributions to the pleasure and instruction of England than the Gardens of the Zoological Society, which Raffles established in 1826, and of which he was the first President.

He died on the 5th of July of the same year. His statue by Chantrey stands in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, and bears the following epitaph:—

To the Memory of

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, LL.D., F.R.S.

Lieut.-Governor of Java
and first President to Zoological Society of London
Born 1781—died 1826

Selected at an early age to conduct the Government
Of the British conquests in the Indian Ocean
By wisdom, vigour and philanthropy
He raised Java to happiness and prosperity
Unknown under former Rulers
After the surrender of that island to the Dutch
And during his government in Sumatra
He founded an emporium at Singapore
Where as establishing freedom of person as the right of the soil
And freedom of trade as the right of the port
He secured to the British flag
The maritime superiority of the Eastern seas
Ardently attached to science
He laboured successfully to add to the knowledge
And enrich the museums of his native land
Promoting the welfare of the people committed to his charge
He sought the good of his country
and the glory of God.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

HUNTING AT GIBRALTAR.

In 1782 Lord Shelburne advised the giving up of Gibraltar, Mr. Pitt advised keeping it. Mr. Burke agreed with Mr. Pitt: speaking in the House of Commons, he declared the fortress of Gibraltar to be invaluable because impregnable, 'a post of war, a post of power, a post of commerce, and a post which made us valuable to our friends and dreadful to our enemies; that which gave us the command in the district of ocean where it lay; that which was the incontestable evidence of our pre-eminence and power; that of all other places was what we ought, with the most religious determination, to maintain.'

A number of well-informed people will deny, or at all events demur to, very nearly the whole of this overflowing conception, yet it gives a ready-made thesis for discussion in a Review article which, in view of the money Gibraltar has cost, is costing, and will cost this country, and of the changed and ever-changing conditions of the sciences of artillery and explosives, and consequently of fortification, should be at once most interesting and most useful. Perhaps somebody will undertake it.

In a very small way I once contemplated something of the kind myself. 'Animus meminisse horret.' I was at the time quartered at Gibraltar, and Mr. Burke's rhetoric seemed to supply a number of excellent *points d'appui*. But, above and beyond these, I had just completed my military education. The horizon wore a cheerful clearness. No more examinations; in the fulness of time I might become a general; it was a mere question of survival, and I should not be expected to know any more. We all forget things, and a recent perusal of Colonel Clery's *Minor Tactics*, and other garrison course classics, suggested the immediate professional treatment of the subject. I determined upon attacking Gibraltar in its military aspect.

But when I really accosted the 'military aspect,' in spite of bookish array, we seemed to have nothing to say to each other. Even a military aspect must smile upon you a little. There indeed was the Rock of Gibraltar, but where was the mutual understanding on military matters I fancied we should enjoy? I found that a bowing acquaintance with one chapter on guns and projectiles in a comprehensive manual, and a few dimensions of revetments and obstacles,

had not after all fitted me to commune with a system of fortification proceeding from strength to strength—perhaps it may be urged by some from strength to weakness—in costly obedience to the ever-modernising science of war, and which is an illustrated history of artillery since the days of catapults. Gaze as I would at the Rock, its blank grey face stared me down, and pale eyes seemed to wander away from my glances of sympathy to the vain country of

> Old, unhappy, far-off things
> And battles long ago.

So I abandoned then, and I abandon again now the 'post of war, post of power, post of commerce' possibilities of my subject. Some considerable authority says that it is a good thing to confine the exercise of critical observation to the 'immediate neighbourhood of practice,' and this seems to me so nearly true that I shall confine the exercise of mine to Gibraltar fox-hunting, Gibraltar horses, and Gibraltar horse-dealers. I know that in the present day there is positive danger of surfeit in the amount of press and periodical writing upon sporting subjects. We shall soon get tired of the very letters of the word 'sport' in print. Still the peculiar renown attaching to Gibraltar, as the Melton of her Majesty's dominions beyond seas, may be some warrant for what follows.

Over seventy years ago the Rev. Mr. Mackareth, scrambling after one couple of hounds on the rock itself, started fox-hunting in Spain, and to Ranter and Rookwood and this ordained sportsman must be assigned the establishment and present reputation of the Calpe Hunt. A good fox makes a good pack of hounds, and the Spanish fox is not all that can be desired; perhaps from dwelling in such stony rocks he has learned the habits of the conies, and to dodge in and out of every hole and corner of this country of crags and crannies. But in the cork-wood ravines there are greyhound foxes of the right sort, and given a scent and one of these good foxes, the Calpe hounds will drive and stoop and fling over a country of stone and jungle in glad inheritance of speed and stoutness. The huntsman is a very good servant, makes the best of everything, and scratches sport out of a graceless and ineligible hunting country. The whips are active amateurs and always at work. A fustian clad heavy-weight, an old white barb, and the terriers must not be forgotten; a most intelligent and picturesque trinity. Never in the way and never out of the way, like a well-domesticated husband, this little party always debouches from some thicket or clears the skyline just as it is wanted. A bristling magazine of ironmongery is unshipped from the barb, Fustian gets to work, and terriers get to ground. This quarrying is a long business, but you can eat your luncheon, talk to the ladies, and admire the view. The old barb pleases you; and you thank him—unconsciously, perhaps—for his clean white outlines against the blue Spanish sky or the sallow greens of the sage-brush.

You may happen to run against him round the corner of some huge monolith, but the general public see the Spanish fox so seldom as to incline you, like Sir Roger de Coverley's friend, to mistake some hound of reputation for 'a raw dog or a noted liar;' and you never, or hardly ever, see your fox go away. I must say this is a great objection; nothing tempts you so much to sit down and ride as to see a good fox—for they all look good on such occasions—cheating the ridge and furrow of the old fifty-acre ploughing-field. It has been pasture for years, and you can jump out of it anywhere. Stealing away! do they call it? stealth of this kind is an open secret. Stealing away! not he; he's running bang over the middle of the field, with his head straight for the hills, and four miles of the vale before he gets there. Come on with those hounds, catch hold of your horse's head, and go up to the front and stay there.

But I am wandering away from Gibraltar, for we have nothing of this kind there. But we all hunt and we all exchange regrets at there being no jumping. Indeed, in this latter respect many remember Sion sadly who can hardly have felt very much at home there. Still, if there is no jumping it is not an easy country to ride—you can hardly say over—up and down; and you can stop or overpace a horse here as quickly as in Northamptonshire. Science and spurs, light weight and luck, help you to get to hounds here as anywhere else. Yet, strain slowly as they do through the stubborn undercover which clothes the hill-sides, if only hounds keep running on, it takes you all your time to keep with them.

Failing, like Mr. Jorrocks, to be an eagle, let us occupy some coign of vantage. Hounds are running in a hidden ravine; now and again we hear them like a chime of bells. Otherwise you might think the solitary horsemen dotted about on the skylines were the vedettes of yonder convoy dragging in long line up the rugged hill opposite. As, however, we are out hunting with the Calpe foxhounds, we know that the solitary horsemen are no vedettes, except so far as the fox and the main earths are concerned, but elderly gentlemen of weight or cunning, who

> Have mounted the top of the hill
> To see the bold sportsmen exert their skill.

As to the convoy, why, 'all the jolly chase is here.' These pilgrims of painful progress, which, seen from where we are standing, bump, jolt, and seem to groan like a long luggage train, are no others than the gay ladies and gentlemen who met the Calpe hounds this morning at the First Venta or Malaga Gardens.

As they struggle over the skyline of the Queen of Spain's Chin you turn your horse's head for home composedly enough, and why not? Have you not often been left behind before? But, *cæteris paribus*, it is much more discomposing to watch hounds racing over

the grass, half a dozen of your particular friends taking liberties with a strong vale, and a squandered following field. That has too much the look of a good thing to be pleasant.

The Spanish horse (barbs have their qualifications and peculiarities, but we will stick to the horse of the country) takes little or no personal interest in the chase, and observes throughout a kind of enduring lassitude which is most fatiguing. There are good strains of English blood in his veins, but you find it difficult to catch much of the English horse in the true Spaniard. He has never got away from his national type, the type we see in Velasquez' paintings. He stands away behind and under in front, his shoulders look bad and ride bad. If he is up to any weight, your breast-plate—you are more likely to want a crupper—rests on a swelling bosom the reverse of sympathetic to a judge of horse-flesh.

Freshness he announces by a turgid caper; as it discomposes your temper and not your seat, you give him on such occasions 'one for himself.' At all other times he rides what dealers call 'piggy,' and you mentally sell him every day you ride him, for most unflattering amounts. Still he has merits, and at last you get to like him. In his own way he is companionable and sensible as a poodle, and he won't really shut up. Very fond of his home, he will go there as fast as you please; always feed, and his legs, if you buy anything like the right quality, won't fill. On such places as the Queen of Spain's Chin you so often have to commend his caution that you will come to condone his want of freedom. His action will annoy you at first. Be patient; extravagant dishing is the perfection of fashionable action in Spain, and he cannot forget all at once the lessons of a cruel youth. But this early training has forced him on to such hind legs as nature has endowed him with, and he is so far balanced that you can drive him along with a loose rein and teach him to 'get away.' Broken on a savage bit, he never touches his old tormentor; so he seldom pulls and never hangs—that most disagreeable habit of what is known as the snaffle-bridle hunter in this country.

'Think of your horse's mouth as a bit of flaky pie-crust'—a great artist's advice to the writer—but the Spaniard at best has the leathern purse order of mouth, and knows no fine distinctions. When the Mediterranean fleet is 'in' this is just as well.

I have always felt that there is much to be learned from horse-dealers. 'Judge the men, not the horses,' an ornament of the profession once said to me, and a man wants a good deal besides application to business and knowledge of make and shape to make things go easily and profitably with that 'amas d'incertitude,' a gentleman in want of a horse. At Gibraltar a Mr. Frank, a Mr. Harry, and a Mr. Brian devote much industry and admirable temper of mind to helping their fellow creatures.

Mr. F. is a Maltese, and who can help liking Mr. F.? Here we are at Giro's Passage, a narrow flagged court with overhanging houses, and much more suggestive of water-colour than horse-dealing. At the end of it we find Mr. Frank at a

> Savoury dinner set
> Of herbs and other country messes.

As he offers you a choice of stout or brandy, and presents you in turn to the little ones clustered round him, you feel that henceforward you are to be one of the family. There are tones in Frank's voice of no common solicitude for your taste, of a personal vigilance over your interests, above all of grateful deference to your opinion. Conjugal affection, dear little children, an aromatic atmosphere of home life conspire in Frank's favour—and in your own. You buy, and are well pleased, for you will have got a good animal, and the deal has awakened soft and unbidden emotions.

Mr. Harry, a native of the Rock, is quite different, and cherishes no *lampe du foyer*. He wishes to be thought English, and loudly regrets an enforced absence from relatives at Manchester. A good soul, and for a short time amusing. Mr. Harry pushes the chartered freedom of horse anecdote to the verge of license, and recounts quite astonishing liberties taken with the courage, stamina, and soundness of even the least deserving animals which have passed through his hands. He really knows very little about a horse, but possesses a sort of untutored instinct which here and there guides and protects ignorant people quite as well as judgment.

Mr. Brian keeps no horses, but places a superior intelligence at the disposal of all new comers. He is an old soldier. It is a pleasure to hear him talk of a campaign, and, in spite of a light check tourist suit and elastic-side boots, his whole appearance betrays sabre and spur. You are not surprised to hear that he has served with distinction in the cavalry, and, slowly but surely, the conversation turns upon horses. Does he know of a niceish horse to be bought worth the money? The man changes to stone; he eyes you sternly; the lines of his mouth tighten. You feel abashed, almost dishonest; but he is thinking deeply, and thinking for you. At last the prætorian features relax, and he says 'No.' Do not be discouraged; he will call upon you later in the afternoon, and he may bring you some good news.

'The eye on him'—his own graphic diction—reveals at once to Mr. Brian the possibilities of a horse, and the direction in which he will achieve renown. He places them at once. 'It would be a burning shame not to race him!' he cries with emotion of some; 'there's not an one of them will catch him with the hounds,' he predicts of others.

So much—indeed too much—for Gibraltar hunting and Gibraltar horse-dealers. I remember, the day before I left England, asking a

brother officer what sort of a place it (Gibraltar) was. 'Capital,' he declared; 'everything goes down in your mess-bill.' He was quite right; there never was a place where so little ready money was needed, even your *pari mutuel* liabilities going through your mess-bill. But he was most of all right in that his opinion was formed in the immediate neighbourhood of the actualities which make soldiering at Gibraltar so pleasant, and make so many soldiers think of Gibraltar affectionately. But I still think that something should be done by somebody with Mr. Burke and the 'military aspect.'

RIBBLESDALE.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY'S ATTACKS.

In the January number of this Review Professor T. H. Huxley contributes an article 'On the Natural Inequality of Men,' in which he attacks J. J. Rousseau, and the declaration of the rights of man, in so far as they declare man to be born free and equal. As long as Professor Huxley confines himself to the special department of knowledge, to the domain of biology, in which he is of a world-known celebrity, he remains master of the field. His proofs that man is born neither free nor equal are irrefutable.

It is true that a child is a helpless slave when it begins its career in this world, and it cannot be denied that even the children of the same family are by no means equal in their capacities and characters. 'Some are more powerful and honoured than the rest and make themselves easily obeyed.'

So far all right; but the moment Mr. Huxley begins to draw political consequences from these facts I am no more with him. He brings nothing new when he launches his arrows against universal suffrage pointed with the argument that only the capable ought to govern. Even the simile he employs is borrowed from that of Carlyle, in which that great writer declares his opinion of the infeasibility of a ship getting round Cape Horn by calling the crew together and taking a majority vote as to the direction to take, instead of having the competent men decide it by means of their instruments. If a real ship cannot be kept off the rocks by such means, how is the ship of state, with its much more complicated course, to be protected from the dangers besetting it from all sides, if numbers and not competency are to decide its direction?

Alas! it is an old, old question, as old as the world, this question of government given to strength and capacity, instead of being the outcome of majority votes. Hero-worship *v.* popular rights—all the world's history is nothing but an infinite series of variations upon this theme.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, says an English proverb. If we apply this old and simple method to the working of the principles in question we come to a result quite the reverse of the one anticipated by Mr. Huxley. The tyranny and bad government of ages stands arrayed against the system of governing the

masses by the classes. For this is what hero-worship will come to in the end. Even heroes are poor human beings, full of human failings, among which vulnerability to the effects of flattery and adulation stands foremost. The foul emanations of these swamps will finally create a mist around the most pure and upright, through which the sun of truth will find it hard and harder to penetrate. The uneducated common sense of the poor clown finally will see in a clearer light the real purport of the most momentous questions touching the public weal than our poor despot in the midst of the haze by which he is surrounded.

But this is not the worst by any means. As long as the real hero lives, things may work tolerably well; but he is subject to another incurable failing, that o being mortal. Who is to be his successor? We cannot get him elected by the popular vote; for that would be having the crew take a part in the guidance of the ship, which is just the thing to be avoided. The hero himself or the wise ones appointed by him will attend to it. They did so since untold ages. What was the result? Have they always picked out the wisest? Have they, has he, governed for the welfare of the people? Emphatically history answers 'no' in the overwhelming majority of cases. The frailty of our poor human nature brings it about that irresponsible governors and legislators will first think of their own interest before they give way to any other consideration. The final result of aristocratic rule always has been, always must be, that the governing minority will enslave the powerless majority, will make it give up to them the land and the best of its fruits, will make them do all the work for their superiors, who finally believe themselves of a higher blood, born with special privileges, entitled to the right of spending their lives in laziness, and having the masses support them by their labour. Labour becomes a taint, graceful loafing the badge of gentility. Most of the governing done by them is to conserve and, if possible, increase the privileges they enjoy. Commons are inclosed without any regards to the rights of commoners, wars are waged in the interest of the governing classes, whereas its charges are borne by the people. No, no, Messrs. Carlyle and Huxley, that kind of governing the ship of state has not proved a success. May be that the crew will not always pick out the best man to take the rudder; but certain it is that the monopoly of steering given to a privileged minority has mostly failed to bring out the best man. And who would blame the poor slaves in the hold of a slave dhow that they think it better for them if they can get the mastery of the vessel, even though they know that they have not got the captain's science and experience of steering? It is true that he would be much more likely to bring the ship safely into port than they in their inexperience; but what kind of port is it he brings them to? The slave-market, the place where they are to be sold like cattle to hard

and inhuman masters. Do we blame them if they do not care much for the arrival in such a port, and that they rather run their chances of getting into any other place, be it even a desert island or death in the waves of the ocean?

There is only one clear course marked out for a man loving his brethren and mindful of their real good: that is for him to give them the full power over their own destinies, and to work with all his might that they may get sufficient instruction to use this power. Nobody ever learnt how to swim without going into the water, and if we want a crew to know how to steer a ship we must give them a chance to learn it, not by jealously keeping them away from the rudder, but by letting them steer and standing by showing them how to do it. Instruct the people and cease to be afraid of their ignorance if you succeed. Success is impossible, however, unless you look to something else first, and that is their being sufficiently fed, clothed, and housed, for there is no way of getting knowledge into starved brains. And this brings me to the main question, to which Mr. Huxley gets in the course of his article, that of landownership; for there is no possible chance of ever really improving the people's social position without first righting this fundamental question.

Mr. Huxley is drawn to it by criticising the well-known saying of Rousseau, in which he accuses the man who first appropriated land as being the cause of all evil which came into this world, finishing up by proclaiming land as nobody's property, its fruits as everybody's.

Mr. Huxley thinks that this inclusion of the fruits of land in the principle of common ownership is a perfectly rational conclusion from the premises. 'The attempt to draw a distinction between land as a limited commodity and other things as unlimited is an obvious fallacy.' Here is something new. Let us hear how the great scientist proves his condemnation of a theory which forms one of the bottom planks of all the attacks on the principle of private landownership.

> But if the land is limited, so is the quantity of the trees that will grow on it; of the cattle that can be pastured on it; of the crops that can be raised from it; of the minerals that can be dug from it; of the wind- and of the water-power afforded by the limited streams which flow from limited heights.

This argument is worthy of an ancient sophist or of one belonging to a school of philosophers very common in the middle ages, called scholastics. From an abstract point of reasoning the theory is correct. There certainly must be a limit to the possibility of man's productive power; and it is the whole productive power of man which is in question, for there is nothing his hands produce which in the first instance is not derived from land; but is it not a correct habit to consider such to all ends and purposes infinite limits as not being in existence at all? The number of stars, of sand particles, is certainly limited, but for all human purposes they are considered as

without number. Leaving even the extension of the conception 'fruits of land' as embracing all productions of man's work aside, and limiting ourselves to the raw materials raised from land direct, we can practically consider their extension as illimitable. Every new progress of humanity adds a further increase to them. I recommend Mr. Huxley to read that excellent article of Prince Kropotkin in the June number of this Review for 1888, 'The Reign of Plenty.' He will find in it that there have been instances of raising enough beets from one acre of land to feed four oxen on it, that on half an acre as many asparagus were raised as in an ordinary way can be grown from sixty acres, &c. The wonders of scientific culture are only in its beginning.

There is every reason to suppose that we never shall reach the limit which Mr. Huxley sees ahead in the future in accordance with Malthus, the limit of the means of subsistence. No comparison with the organic world will hold good on this field. Man is the only being capable of increasing his means of subsistence and of limiting his fertility. Even if no further advance was made in agriculture, our globe could easily produce food enough for a hundred times its present number of inhabitants. A country is called over-populated in our foolish way of looking at this question, when the land necessary for the raising of breadstuffs is kept away from the cultivator by landlords preferring deer parks to cornfields. England could raise twice as much breadstuffs as its inhabitants could consume, instead of growing only one-quarter. The very fact that over-population and over-production are almost considered as synonymous expressions, or anyhow are indicative of the same state of things, is sufficient to refute the whole doctrine of over-population in its application to the social question. A country is called over-populated to-day, when a part of its people cannot find the means necessary for their subsistence. They cannot find them because they cannot find employment for their labour. They cannot find such employment because there is 'over-production' of all kinds of goods, never mind whether they are produced by agriculture or factory work, whether they consist in the necessaries of life or in luxuries. But if there is over-production of all the necessaries of life and even of luxuries, we cannot have real over-population caused by a deficiency in the means of subsistence. There never was a time yet when this earth or any single country of it was over-populated in the real sense of the word: that is, that they would not have been able to produce their means of subsistence if they had not artificial hindrances put in their way either by ignorance or abuse of power. And there never will be such a time in all eternity to come; for supposing even that prosperity had not its usual effects of regulating family increase, at least a thousand years would elapse, if we consider the past increase, perhaps a million even, before this earth would ever be too small for

its inhabitants. Let us leave this care to the people living at that period, and meanwhile console ourselves with the German proverb, 'Wenn der Himmel einfällt, gehen alle Spatzen zu Grunde' (when the skies fall down all the sparrows will be killed).

The fruits of land are practically unlimited, if by fruits we understand those products of land raised on it by man's labour, or growing wild on it. Of course we must suppose them being given back to the soil by man after having passed through his body, or after he used them in some other way, for this is a necessary condition of keeping the productive powers of the soil unimpaired. Minerals, wind- and water-power, which Mr. Huxley characteristically counts among the fruits of land, certainly do not at all belong to that category. Wind and water are forces of nature which, like all others, can only be made use of by having access to land, and in this way are indirectly owned by those who possess the land. Minerals are parts of the substance of land. Their quantity is certainly limited, but not in the same sense as the surface area of land is limited. Human ingenuity makes it possible to get at deposits which in former times were considered inaccessible, and there can be no doubt that we shall continue in this progressive line. All our ingenuity will never enable us, though, to increase the surface area of land to any noticeable degree. The result of all this must be that the more the inventive skill of man, the increase of his numbers on earth, and better division of labour will enable him to increase the number and value of products he gets out of the land, the more will be the increase of value of the land, the same being incapable of increase. As we see, it is not a question of *limitability* and *unlimitability*, but one of *increase* and *stability*. The fruits can, land cannot, be increased; there is the whole question. I have devoted more attention to this part of Mr. Huxley's paper, not because I think it of great importance in regard to the main argument which now follows, but because Mr. Huxley gave me a feeling of satisfaction which the best proofs of the correctness of the principles land nationalisers are fighting for could hardly increase; because if the best fighting men our enemies can put forward are reduced to this kind of arguments, the beginning of the end must be very near.

Mr. Huxley now comes to the refutation of the theory that force or fraud had been the first foundations of landownership. But even if and where it was, there ought to be 'a statute of limitation,' according to his views. 'There is nothing more fatal to nobility of personal character than the nursing of the feeling of revenge—nothing that more clearly indicates a barbarous state of society than the carrying on of a vendetta, generation after generation. "Musst immer thun wie neu geboren" is the best of maxims for the guidance of the life of states, no less than that of individuals.' I think I am of as forgiving a nature as Mr. Huxley. If I ever should meet a man

whose great-grandfather had killed mine, I do not think this would prevent my enjoying his society in the least, and even inviting him to my house. But if not only the children of the ancestor in question had acted similarly with those of mine, if even the gentleman in my presence himself was to my certain knowledge quietly preparing to put an end to my mortal life, I do not think that I would vote for a statute of limitation limiting my revenge, but not limiting his murderous proceedings, nor do I believe that I would carry personal nobility so far as to invite the gentleman to dinner. If anybody robbed my great-grandfather of some goods produced by his labour, it would be wrong if I wanted to make his innocent grandchild responsible for the action. Human productions are perishable, and ten to one the object in question is no more in existence, would be no more in existence if my great-grandfather had kept it. But supposing the object not only was of an imperishable nature, but its possession was a condition of life and death, not only for my ancestor, but for me, that whoever holds it has it in his power to murder me, as it gave our friend's grandfather the power to murder mine, and supposing that I felt sure of this power being exercised on me as it was exercised on my grandfather, does Mr. Huxley really think that I ought to carry the nobility of personal character so far as to quietly leave the gentleman in possession of the object in question?

Well, land is exactly a thing of this description. The man who owns it has got certain rights over the life of his fellow-men, the extent of which can go, and very often goes, to the taking of this life. Or can it perhaps be denied that the perpetrators of the Sutherland clearances were downright murderers, though they did nothing but what the law allowed them to do and even to this day allows every landlord to do? The man who starves in a London slum, is he not murdered by the landlord who drove him or the man who took his place from the land?

But this whole question of the origin of landownership and that of retribution is a secondary one, to be taken into consideration only when that of compensation comes up for discussion. The first and main point which we have to settle is whether or not our present system of landownership is the cause of the sufferings which the masses are enduring. Whether or not the proofs brought forward by land nationalisers affirming this question emphatically can be invalidated is not the point treated by Mr. Huxley, and, therefore, has not to form part of this reply.

Let us assume the majority of the English nation to have become convinced of the fact that private landownership is at the bottom of all the evils they suffer from, and that these evils get worse from day to day until they are sure to lead to a general catastrophe. Departing from this assumption, I maintain that the people have the right and the duty to change their present land laws, even if as

far as abolishing private ownership altogether. Who will prevent them? Even Mr. Huxley cannot deny that some part of the land was acquired by force. The people are perfectly willing to forgive it; all they claim is the same right for themselves, when strength is on their side, which is now the case, or soon will be.

Let nobody enjoy a special privilege unless he renders a special service for it. If an author, an inventor, is allowed only a limited monopoly for the inestimable benefits he confers upon humanity, if we have got a statute of limitation in such cases, why not apply the same to those who benefited the community by any improvement they brought into the manner of using land?

Mr. Graham Wallas, of Oxford, said, 'that if the old Whig statesmen had been authors, we should certainly have had an entail of ideas, and there would have been a Duke of Shakespeare, to whom we should all have had to pay two or three pounds for the privilege of reading his ancestor's works, provided that we return the copy uninjured at the end of a fortnight.' Would such a privilege not have been much more justified than that given to landlords? Shakespeare created his works. Without him they would never have existed. God created the land. If improvements could give a right to its possession, then a new commentator, who makes us see beauties in the works of that author we did not see before, might by right claim the ownership of the works in question. We only give him a certain right in his improvements; why should a land-improver get more?

Supposing Mr. Huxley is right in saying that the communal system was bound to go to pieces and be replaced by individual ownership, in consequence of the operation of purely industrial causes, does this prove anything against land nationalisation? If experience has proved that individual ownership, after, for a time, being an encouragement to individual exertion, became the very reverse through its finally throwing the land into the hands of the drone and keeping it from the worker, except on terms which leave him a good deal less than he ever got under the communal system; if on the other hand a new system of communal and state ownership has been found which does away with the drawbacks of the old one, without giving up its advantages, by giving full scope and full reward to individual enterprise, without robbing the community, and without the dangers of having the drone step into the shoes of the worker: if this can be done, *and it can*, what weight will such arguments conserve as Mr. Huxley brings forth against the greatest reform humanity has carried through for 2000 years? It is a great pity that a false instinct of conservatism leads such men, who could do so much good, into such a false channel!

In the February number Mr. Huxley publishes another paper on a similar subject, entitled 'Natural Rights and Political Rights.'

I do not care to follow him into the abstract philosophy of his arguments. I always had a kind of horror of abstract philosophy. You can prove anything with it. Didn't I see Mr. Auberon Herbert's argument against land nationalisation, that if the earth belonged to all men, they could only dispose of it by unanimous vote, and that no majority however large had a right to do so? The practical conclusion of such philosophical trash of course is, that a minority is not to be disturbed in the possession of common property, held in accordance with self-made laws, because we cannot get a unanimous vote against the minority, their own vote, of course, being opposed. I wonder how Mr. Herbert acts when, in the capacity of shareholder in a limited stock company, his decision is wanted against glaring abuses enacted by some directors. Will he decide that they cannot be disturbed, because the property of the company belongs to all shareholders jointly, and that therefore no majority of them can arrive at any decision in regard to the common property? As the defaulting directors form part of the property holders, and as their vote cannot be had against themselves, nothing can be done.

The philosophical rigour of Mr. Herbert seems to be very elastic, for in his latest manifesto, issued on the occasion of a new individualistic paper, he says that his programme will be 'to insist upon the fundamental right of each individual to direct his own life in such fashion as seems right to himself, provided only that he does not aggress upon the equal rights of others.' How he can reconcile this with that other part of his programme, in which he says that he will defend property against all attacks, he does not say, and yet it might have been a very interesting subject of abstract or practical philosophy to show how private landownership can be sustained as a right which does not interfere with the equal rights of others.

If a few thousand individuals own the soil of Great Britain, with the power of doing with their property what they like, including their privilege of ejecting the rest of the British nation from their native soil, how are these to exercise their free rights of British citizens; how can the rights of the minority be considered as not interfering with those of the majority?

Mr. Huxley is not quite as philosophical as Mr. Herbert. He does not call for a unanimous vote of all the inhabitants of this earth, but he cannot see how we can claim a right for a nation to demand exclusive possession of this earth, which belongs to all men. 'What right has any community, from a village to a nation, to several property in land, more than an individual man has?' What would English land-nationalisers say, he asks, if a Chinaman were to claim his share of the English soil? I will tell him what they would say. They would not at all object to the principle, just as little as a religious man will object to that of universal love and brotherhood. But just as this same religious man will arm to his teeth to help in defending his country against the attacks of a neighbouring state,

and quietly will shoot his brethren if they take it into their head to come into collision with certain rights of his, just as well must we continue national divisions of territorial rights, until that day of universal peace and brotherhood arrives, when states will be nothing more than provinces of the great empire of man, governed by a general congress, yearly convened at one or the other of the capitals. In that day we may arrive at real common ownership of land property, which all over the world will be let to whosoever bids the highest rent, every state collecting the rents in her dominions, to account for them in the great land-clearing house of humanity, so that each citizen of the world gets his exact share of the rental value of this earth. Until such a perfect state can be reached, we must try to get the best attainable under present circumstances. Having only progressed as far as national unity, we must for the time being leave aside international reforms of this kind, and be glad if we can put our own houses into order. We should in this only follow the laws of development, which certainly ought not to find Mr. Huxley arrayed against them. When in the beginning the family was the largest body politic existing, the land belonged to the family conjointly. When the tribe took the place of the family, tribal common possession took the place of family ownership. When the state has united the tribes under one common rule, why should not state ownership take the place of tribe ownership; until some day, when state rights will be merged into those of the united states of the earth, world ownership may take the place of state ownership, mundanisation of nationalisation?

What have we to think of a kind of reasoning which tells us that because perfection is not attainable improvement ought to be out of the question? A band of robbers have rifled a whole railroad train and the travellers start in pursuit in different parties. One of these parties comes up with the robbers, and before resorting to extremities they parley with them. They claim the restoration of the booty, which the robbers refuse on the pretext that they had robbed the whole train and they could not concede to a fraction of the travellers the right of claiming their property. 'But give us that part of the money you stole which falls to our share,' demand the travellers. 'Oh,' respond the robbers, 'that would be an injustice. It is impossible now to find out what coins belonged to you, and which belonged to the other travellers; common justice, therefore, demands that we should keep all, until the whole of you succeed in catching us.' What would Mr. Huxley say to such reasoning? Yet is it different from his, when he wants to perpetuate the retention of the common land property by a few individuals, because *all* those victims who have been despoiled in the whole world cannot at present be got to act together?

I do not want to enter into his lucubrations about natural rights, preferring to leave such discussions to those who are more fond of

abstract philosophy than I. All those witty similes about the right of the tiger to eat the Hindoo and that of the Hindoo to shoot the tiger are summed up in that simple argument, very natural in the mouth of the great biologist, that the only natural right is that of the stronger. To avoid all discussion let us accept this proposition, and let us ask Mr. Huxley if he contests the natural right of the people to their soil, if they are strong enough to take it from the minority which now has got possession of it. He certainly will be forced to acknowledge this right, and as all that is required in this case would be to teach the people their power together with the natural rights springing from it, he cannot blame land nationalisers in trying to educate them up to this point.

Let us now follow Mr. Huxley into those parts of his reasoning in which he tries to deal with simple questions of political economy, as treated by Henry George. I would have preferred my friend Henry George to answer these attacks himself, but as he has just started for Australia to teach our Antipodes a lesson about their natural rights, I shall try to take his place as well as I can.

Mr. Huxley cannot see how Henry George can separate the right of labour to what it produces from the raw material on which labour exercises its ingenuity. He says to a chronometer maker:

> The gold and the iron of this timepiece, and, in fact, all the substances out of which it is constructed, are parts of the material universe, therefore the property of mankind at large. It is very true that your skill and labour have made a wonderful piece of mechanism out of them; but these are only improvements. Now you are quite entitled to claim the improvements, but you have no right to the gold and the iron—these belong to mankind.

There could be no objection to this speech made by Mr. Huxley to the watchmaker, if he had put the last sentence into the past tense—if he had said, 'Now you are quite entitled to claim the improvements, but you had no right to the gold and the iron—these *belonged* to mankind.'

This they certainly did, as long as they were in their natural state in the ground. A personal right to them was only conceded to the individual who extracted them, when he paid the due to mankind exacted by it in the shape of rent or royalty, not as now to private parties who without moving a finger exact enormous royalties from the workers. The amount of this quit-claim exacted by mankind is fixed by the laws of supply and demand. All humanity would assemble in that great council-hall called the world's market, and there would sell the right of extracting the said metals to those of its members who are willing to pay the highest price for this right. After having conferred the right in question in this just and equitable manner there could be no longer any doubt to the title of the miner, or rather, as things go, of the capitalist adventurer who employs the miner, to all the metals he can find. There can be just as little doubt of the right the proprietor of the rolling mill possesses, when he buys the iron from its owner, paying him with other products of labour, and of the right exercised by the springmaker, who

buys the steel-band from the rolling mill, or of that of the watchmaker who buys the spring from the springmaker. The flint on the ground belongs to the owner of the land until the right to take it is bought and paid for, and after that it is the property of the worker who cuts it. In this way each worker really only enjoys the ownership of the improvement owing to his labour, which sometimes may be quite the reverse of an improvement, leaving a balance against him. For instance, a writer of certain arguments of political economy or of philosophy might find, after having spent a certain amount of labour on the spoiling of paper, that the results of his labour possess less value than the pen, ink, and paper originally possessed, and in consequence may be a loser by the operation, unless some confiding publisher has to suffer for him.

Of course I do not mean Mr. Huxley by this, though even this would be more polite than he is towards Henry George when he answers with the word 'Fudge' the argument in which Henry George contends that those improvements of land which are indistinguishable from the soil ought gradually to be blended with the title of the land, because the greater swallows the less, not the less the greater. I can see no objection to Henry George's proposition, provided the creator of the improvements gets paid for the same by a deduction from his rent or otherwise. I certainly see a much greater objection in the arguments of economists like Carey and Beaulieu, who let the less swallow the greater, by trying to prove that the value of the improvements is the real value of the land which they created, or of others, who want to leave the land to individuals, because it is difficult or impossible to separate it from the improvements.

These arguments always remind me of a funny incident, which once happened in a grocery store. A man comes in and asks for a herring. After he has got it he changes his mind and asks the shopkeeper to give him a piece of cheese instead. Just as he is going away with his cheese, the grocer asks for his money. The man is surprised, saying that he has paid for the cheese by giving the herring in exchange. 'But you did not pay for the herring.' 'You know I did not keep it,' replied the customer.

What has become of the original English virgin soil with its immense forest trees? It has been improved away. Who would not rather have a piece of it than the best farm next to it with all its improvements, provided he could at the same time enjoy the benefit of all those improvements which civilisation and the workers of ages have wrought all around the land—railroads, telegraphs, factories, arts and sciences, &c.? We laugh at the stupid grocer who was so puzzled by the arguments of his customer that he could not make out how it was he had received no money, though he was minus the cheese; but we demurely listen to the same arguments used by the defenders of private landownership. 'You did not pay for your land,'

say the people. 'But, you know, I gave the improvements for it,' says the landowner. 'But you did not pay for the virgin soil.' 'Of course not, as I did not keep it.'

Mr. Huxley does not mention the virgin soil covered with timber of enormous size, which, if we had it in an untouched state to-day, would be worth a good deal more than it really is, provided all those improvements outside of the land existed, which we mostly owe to workers who never owned a particle of land; he, like all those who take to this argument, shows us those cases where improvement seemingly did everything, where the value of land without the improvement would be *nil*, as is the case with the Egyptian land irrigated by the Nile compared with the adjoining desert land. I say 'seemingly,' for there are a few elements besides the surface of the land which are paid with its market-price, viz. the light of the sun, the air, and the rain, all of which natural advantages cannot be enjoyed without land.

If a crop is raised in flower-pots, standing on stages, it is the surface of the land with its portion of sun, light, air, and rain which really produces the crop, unless the flower-pots are carried about in balloons until the crop is matured. When the population of Egypt shall have so increased that desert land will be in demand to be watered either by artesian wells or by new canals, then this desert land will command a price independent of improvements, if it is more convenient than other desert land given over to cultivation. No land nationaliser thinks of having the state demand a rent where there is none to be obtained; it is only when the willingness of tenants to pay rent exists, rather than to take other land which could be had without charge because there is no competition for it—it is only when this willingness to pay rent will enable the state to get rent that land will acquire a value, even if it be nothing but a desert.

I have now done with Mr. Huxley's arguments. When in a future time the student of ours shall come upon such essays written by men of real merit, he will not be able to understand how such men, whom their efforts have placed in high places, from which they ought to have been able better to observe the signs of the times than the multitude in the plains of ordinary life—how such men could be so blind as to waste their strength on hair-splitting sophistries, trying to prove with all their power that white is black and black white, when slowly but surely a catastrophe is preparing the like of which the world never saw. Instead of being warning Cassandras, they prefer the pleasanter office of giving a false security, by proving how we are living in the best of possible worlds, and fortifying themselves against any proposal of reform. Land nationalisers, I am firmly convinced, present the only way out of the danger which we can hope to walk peaceably. Socialism is the only other alternative.

MICHAEL FLÜRSCHEIM.

NOTICEABLE BOOKS.

1.

A NEW BOOK ON THE GOSPELS.

PERHAPS, as a person who finds much pleasure in reading, especially in reading which is concerned with religious history, I may be allowed through this Review to draw the attention of other persons with similar leanings to a book on the first three Gospels which has just appeared. It is a small book, written with great earnestness, but also with great simplicity and soberness. It belongs to a Sunday School series, and that a Unitarian series, and may therefore very easily slip out of notice in our crowded time. Yet it is certainly no ordinary text-book, and the public at large—that public which is so much interested in and excited by religious matters while in general taking so little pains to inform itself about them—would do well to read it and ponder some of the problems which it suggests. The full title of it is *The First Three Gospels: their Origin and Relation*;[1] and the author is Mr. J. Estlin Carpenter, son of Dr. W. B. Carpenter, and now Vice-principal of Manchester New College, the only wholly unfettered school of theological investigation which exists, I believe, in England. It bears witness not only to a minute study of the Gospels and of the earliest Christian literature, but to a wide knowledge of the history of religion in general, especially of Buddhism. The parallels between Buddhism and Christianity which can be so easily made, and are often so misleading and unscientific, are made here with great calmness and judgment, and form a striking feature of the book.

As has been often said, the mass of critical work on the documents of the Bible and on the facts of early Christianity which has been produced, mostly in Germany and Holland, but partly also in England, during the last half-century, has still to be popularised among us, has still to be brought home, in simple form, to the everyday consciousness of the average Englishman. There have been translations from the German, bad and good; there have been adaptations of Renan; there have been Dr. Abbott's books, combining a mystical faith and fearless critical spirit under an imaginative form. Professor Robertson Smith

[1] Published by the Sunday School Association, Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand.

has reached the general reading public, and Canons Cheyne and Driver have endeavoured to throw some of the results of their Old Testament learning into short and popular books. But of an English teaching literature for the people based on the best work of critical theology during the last fifty years, there have as yet been few specimens. The bulk of educational religious books in England, the books which serve for handbooks in the schools of different grades, are quite untouched by criticism, and there has been little or nothing in the field of a different kind. The excellent *Bible for Young People*, written for the liberal schools of Holland, and admirably translated by Mr. Wicksteed, is really too long and discursive for teaching purposes; and the tone of it is throughout singularly foreign. So that the books both on the Old and New Testament which have been lately published in England and America by the Unitarian Sunday School Associations of both countries, and which are in the main based upon advanced Dutch and German criticism, have a special interest and value. They are among the first of their kind, and they meet a real want. The English Life of Christ, which must come, has still to be written, cannot perhaps be written yet. But such books as these, with the teaching they represent, will prepare the ground for it, and will make it fruitful when it comes, not only intellectually but morally and spiritually.

Mr. Carpenter begins his book, as Dr. Westcott begins his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, with a general survey of the ground. Out of 400 small pages, about 250 are devoted to a discussion of the conditions under which the first Christian literature came into being. The habits of mind, the literary traditions, the popular and formative ideas which can be shown to have prevailed among those who gave birth to and wrote the Gospels—these come first, and when the reader is filled with them he is carried on to the Gospels individually. This arrangement of the subject, now so inevitable and even instinctive, is entirely modern. It represents the increasing drift and habit of the critical mind since Strauss. When we have learnt something of the literary habits which prevailed in the first two Christian centuries and in the two centuries immediately preceding them; when we have understood something of the process of 'dramatic personation' which produced the Book of Daniel about 165 B.C., and led to the composition of the fourth Gospel about 120 A.D., and of the Pastoral Epistles later on in the second century; when we have penetrated something of the force and diffusiveness of the Messianic idea under its two forms of 'the ideal King,' and 'the Servant of Yahve;' and when, moreover, we have realised the presence throughout the period of those legend-making forces which attend the birth of all religions: then, and then only, shall we have grasped the first elements of the Christian problem; then, the modern historian tells us, and only then, may

we hope to understand what Jesus of Nazareth said and thought, and why the Gospels are what they are.

Following, therefore, this natural order, we begin with the relation of the Gospels to the rest of the early Christian literature, and with the witness of the second century to the new 'Scripture' growing in its midst. Here the great difference between Mr. Carpenter and the ordinary divine dealing with the same subject is that from his standpoint the writer is able to treat it precisely as he would treat any other similar problem of literary history. He is not, if one may say so, obliged to take Irenæus, Justin or Papias too seriously. He questions them anxiously and fairly, because his heart is in getting at the truth, but at the end he makes us feel, as he has clearly felt himself, that all they can tell us is disappointingly and perplexingly little, and is moreover so marred by a childish sense of evidence, which belonged to their age, that of real historical or literary fact, connected with the first beginnings of Christianity and Christian literature, we should know almost as much if they had not written, however invaluable they may be as witnesses to the state of thought and opinion which existed in their own minds and time.

The result of dealing with witnesses of this kind, therefore, in the ordinary historic spirit, is to remain convinced at the end that the share of ecclesiastical tradition in determining and solving the problems presented by the New Testament can be but a very small one. What Irenæus thought about the Gospel of St. John, or what Papias thought of the origins of the Synoptics, is of little relative importance compared with the results which may be even now gleaned from a careful application of the laws of historical and psychological probability to both cases. The judgment may seem a paradox, but is simply true. 'From the Pythagorean schools,' says Zeller (*Vorträge*, Leipsic, 1865), 'we know, sometimes as wholes, sometimes as fragments, more than sixty writings, which all profess to be by Pythagoras or by Pythagoreans of the earliest time; but, with the exception of two or three, there is not the smallest question as to all the rest, that they were first composed by Neo-Pythagoreans from the last century before Christ onwards, in order in this way to father Platonic or Aristotelian or Stoical sayings, or even the private inventions of the writers on the teacher himself. And this occurred for the most part in that Alexandria which was the centre of literary criticism in the Old World, while the contemporaries of the matter had so little sense for the real connection of things, that the most learned students of the old philosophy in those days accepted and used books as genuine with no difficulty at all which for us bear the brand of falsehood on their foreheads.' Here, therefore, the judgment of the modern critic is worth more than the judgment of the Alexandrian under whose eyes these particular writings were produced; and in the same way the judgment of a Baur or a Harnack

is worth more than the judgment of the second century, when it is a question of the authorship or the credibility of the Synoptics and of St. John.

Zeller goes on to trace the literary and psychological habit he has thus illustrated through the first Christian centuries. Mr. Carpenter does not allow himself so much space. But the incidents he chooses are sufficient, and the passage from Tertullian, 'the most vigorous and original writer of the Latin Church,' on the Book of Enoch which he quotes, is particularly happy. Tertullian, who was very fond of the Book of Enoch, wishes to meet the objections of those who argued that it could not possibly have survived the deluge. Accordingly he points out that Noah was the great-grandson of Enoch, and would therefore have taken particular care to preserve his great-grandfather's preachings, if only for 'the glory of his own house.' The same reasoning must have influenced the writer of the Epistle of Jude where the Book of Enoch is quoted. Yet the earliest portions of the Book of Enoch were written 'in the second century B.C., and it received large additions in subsequent generations, some of them from Christian hands.' The fact is, that the writers and readers of the first and second centuries had neither the inward nor the outward means for arriving at a particular kind of truth. We do violence both to their work and to their time when we suppose it.

The real interest, however, of Mr. Carpenter's study does not lie in his recapitulation of the conditions of the second century. It lies in the patient and to the reader fascinating endeavour which he makes to get behind the Gospels, and behind the Church, to the actual words of Jesus, and to the facts out of which the Church sprang. His leading idea is that in the earliest materials of the Synoptic Gospels the language of the Church is still present, colouring and obscuring the language of the Teacher and the facts, and he attempts to show this in detail by a careful examination and comparison of the First Three Gospels. What was the great idea under which these biographies of Jesus were composed? Unquestionably, the idea of Jesus as the Messiah. 'The apostolic witness all centred round this one great idea. When Jesus had passed away all reminiscence was steeped in this belief. The recollections of his words and deeds were suffused with the glow of feeling which this faith excited. All memory palpitated with emotion, which could hardly fail to impart to imagination a certain quickening power. Under its stimulus the testimony even of eye-witnesses rose unconsciously to meet the high demand for a fit account of the Messiah's work. The magic of a wondrous personality and the ardour of new-born trust, affection, hope, lifted men's thoughts into an activity greater than they knew. All the enthusiasm of the Early Church for Jesus was poured into the Gospel tradition. With singular elasticity it gathered up elements derived from various sources, but all penetrated with the

same assurance, and fused them with more or less completeness into the common mass. . . . So in India, the story of the life of Gotama, the founder of Buddhism, was early cast in the mould supplied by the theory of the "Buddha" or the "Enlightened One," and all his teachings and the incidents of his career were conformed—partly by the unconscious working of creative imagination, and partly by purpose and method—to this type.'

Bound up with the conception of Messiah were the conceptions of 'Son of God,' 'Son of David,' and 'Son of Man.' How these originated in the history and poetry of the nation, it is still comparatively easy to trace. Once there—and that they were all present in the religious thought and language of the Jews before the birth of Jesus of Nazareth we know—it is perfectly explicable that among an oriental people with a genius for religion they should have been applied to a teacher of extraordinary influence, believed to possess the miraculous powers proper to Messiah, whose life and death had stirred the hearts and minds of his followers to their depths. We know that the conception of the ideal King, or Great Man who should come, was so applied to Gotama; and within a century after Gotama's death, according to Mr. Rhys Davids, the legend of the Buddha was practically complete. The preconception, the expectation, creates the legend or the transfigured fact which fulfils it. The great instance of this is to be found of course in the birth-stories of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which in the earliest Gospel, that of Mark, are still non-existent. But they were the natural and inevitable product of the Messianic idea working on two materials—on prophecy wrenched and misunderstood so as to approximate to the fact, and on fact coloured and altered so as to fit prophecy. Strauss, Keim and Renan, and a host of others, have dealt with these things at large. Perhaps the most exhaustive recent treatment of them is a book published last year by Professor Usener of Bonn, called 'Das Weihnachtsfest,' where the growth of the birth and baptism narratives, whether under the influence of Jewish Messianic thought, or Augustan legend, or Greek story, or heretical theory, is traced with an extraordinary care and ingenuity. The Buddhist parallels, too, which Mr. Carpenter brings forward, are well known.

When the future Buddha made himself incarnate in his mother's womb, an immeasurable light appeared throughout the world. The reign of peace began:—'The blind received their sight; the deaf heard; the dumb spake; the crooked became straight; the lame walked; all prisoners were freed from their bonds; in each hell the fire was extinguished; the wild animals ceased to be afraid; the illness of the sick was allayed; all men began to speak kindly.' On the day when the wondrous child was born, the angel host rejoiced, saying, 'In Kapilavastu, to Suddhodana the king, a son is born, who, seated under the Bo-tree, will become a Buddha, and will found a kingdom of righteousness.'

An aged ascetic, hearing the angels' song, entered the palace and asked to see

the boy. Perceiving that he would most certainly become a Buddha, he smiled, but he could not, like Simeon, sing his Nunc Dimittis. As he reflected that he would have passed into another world before the child would have gained the fulness of enlightenment, so that he could not be taught by him, he wept. Four days later the ceremony of choosing the boy's name was performed. The Brahmans were gathered in the Palace: eight of them knew the mystic marks of the 'Great Man,' and the youngest of them, beholding their perfection on the babe presented to him, declared, 'Verily he will become a Buddha and remove the veils of sin and ignorance from the world.'

There are great differences, however, between the Christian and the Buddhist birth-stories as well as striking likenesses. 'In the social conditions of the valley of the Ganges,' as Mr. Carpenter reminds us, 'the absence of national enmities and the rival claims of race, there was no place for that national motive which plays so large a part in the Hebrew hope. But the moral elements in the two great ideal figures of the Buddha and the Christ have many traits in common. It is not surprising therefore that poetic imagination clothed them in similar forms.'

But when the influence of the Messianic ideas on Jewish society, on the disciples, and on the writers of the New Testament has been traced, there still remains the great question—how far did Jesus apply them to himself? How far can his own view be distinguished from the view of his reporters?

The answer of Mr. Carpenter seems to be that Jesus accepted the Messiahship, but in a purely spiritual sense, his acceptance of it being coloured throughout by his profound familiarity with that noblest conception of the prophetical poetry of the captivity—the 'Suffering Servant of Yahve.' I have no space to go through the evidence which Mr. Carpenter brings forward on this point. It is done with the greatest care and clearness. Yet perhaps a fuller discussion should have been given of the 'Servant of Yahve.' For it is on this conception, as an increasing number of students are beginning to feel, that the mission of Jesus, and that whole period of mystery and emotion after his death which generated the legends of the Resurrection, practically turn. It is the greatest coincidence between poetry and fact in history; perfectly explicable and perfectly natural when traced to its sources, and viewed in the light of general experience. But it may well have raised—as in fact it did—a kind of divine madness and bewilderment in those who first hit upon it; it may well have nerved the Master through the later stages of his preaching, and sustained him step by step through the last struggle.

But if the space given to the 'Servant of Yahve' is perhaps insufficient, considering the enormous importance which Mr. Carpenter himself attributes to the conception, nothing can be more interesting, and in some ways more original, than the treatment of the question—Did Jesus apply to himself the title of Son of Man? What is the meaning of 'the coming of the Son of Man'? After a careful review

of the whole evidence, Mr. Carpenter comes to the startling conclusion that, in a large number of passages where the 'coming of the Son of Man' is spoken of, '*Jesus intended to draw a clear distinction between himself and his own function, and the event which he designates by this emblematic sense.* In the Book of Daniel, the "coming of one like unto a son of man with clouds of heaven," is simply a picture of the establishment of the kingdom given to the saints of the Most High in contrast to the brute shapes of successive empires which arose from no heavenly origin, but from the sea, and were all doomed to pass away. It had there no individual significance.' The writer of Daniel himself explains his figure to us. The contention of Mr. Carpenter, therefore, is that the 'coming of the Son of Man' is really equivalent to the coming of the kingdom of God, and that Jesus himself so conceived it, that his language on the point was misunderstood in the familiar manner of the time, and that the phrase of Daniel, become individualised and personally Messianic, was freely applied to Jesus by his followers, and then crept into a number of his most characteristic sayings, where the substance is his, but the form is the disciples'. A variety of passages will at once present themselves to the mind of a reader of the Gospels, which offer difficulties in relation to such an argument. Mr. Carpenter goes carefully through them one by one, comparing the different versions of them in the Synoptics, and certainly at the end the presumption is remarkably strong, stronger than anybody could foresee at the outset, that in those sayings where the Master seems to apply the term Son of Man to himself—always in the third person, be it observed—we have the language of the Church transforming the language of the original speaker. There is no doubt that such an interpretation clears away from the memory of Jesus many passages in which the ideas expressed are wholly 'unlike the sayings in which Christendom has found the finest expressions of the Master's spirit.'

When the Son of Man sends forth his angels, with a great trumpet blast (Matt. xxiv. 31), what resemblance is there in this vast scenic display to the sower scattering the seed, or the leaven silently at work within the dough? When we hear of the lightning flashing through the sky, we ask if this fell from the lips which declared 'the kingdom of God is within you': amid the marvels of heaven and earth, distress of nations, and the raging sea, who could 'receive the kingdom of God as a little child'? Nay, more, it is the express purpose of the discourse [on the Mount of Olives] to declare what are the indications of 'the end of the age, the sign of the 'Son of Man in heaven.' Yet again and again the Teacher had refused a similar demand. When the Pharisees sought of him a sign from heaven, 'he sighed deeply in his spirit' (Mark viii. 12), and answered, 'Why doth this generation seek a sign? Verily I say unto you, there shall no sign be given unto this generation.' 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation.' Which of these two is the real Jesus?

In the same way with the general mass of the sayings, the

parables, the miracles, a frank sifting of the materials, under the guidance of historic and psychologic probability, reveals at every step the inevitable transformation they had undergone in the forty years which elapsed before the earliest Gospel was written. That such a life and teaching, in such a moment of civilisation, should have escaped this transformation would have been the greatest miracle of history. And modern criticism shows us that there was no such miracle, and that here, as elsewhere, the human mind worked according to its natural laws, whether in St. Paul, or in the doubtfully known authors of the Synoptics, or later on in St. John.

But the result of these critical processes is by no means merely negative. For many of us it is positive and reconstructive in the highest degree. Little by little, through the critical literature of which this book is an outcome, through that perpetual effort of the human mind to understand, which, as Professor Green said, 'does not really depend upon our will to make or not to make,' the veil is being lifted from a personality which matters incomparably to all of us Westerns, however we may regard it. We are learning to distinguish 'the religion of Jesus from the religion which has taken Jesus for its object'; and as we discard the failing props of miracle and legend, as we follow up the guidings of history and criticism and common experience, we come the nearer year by year, even across this gulf of time, to one whom to apprehend is quickening and new life, for us as it was for the first disciples.

MARY A. WARD.

2.

APPRECIATIONS.[1]

THIS is an extremely interesting and characteristic collection of essays. For more than a century the world has been living in revolution, and the revolution has affected the arts as well as religion and politics. The dominant tendency in artists is now to set tradition at defiance, and to rely solely on the force of genius. The artist casts his bread upon the waters. After many days, if he be a man of genius, he finds it, not perhaps in the enjoyment of contemporary applause, but at least in the admiration which is lavished on his memory, when it is discovered that what he has made is really bread. From the prevailing tendency in art has naturally arisen a corresponding tendency in criticism. Many critics now make it their object, not so much to judge the artist's work by their conception of the laws of art, as to expound to the world the nature of the artist's motives. The

[1] *Appreciations.* By Walter Pater (London: Macmillan, 1889.)

method of this school of criticism is admirably indicated in the title and illustrated by the contents of Mr. Pater's book.

It is a method with conspicuous excellences and defects. Its merits are due mainly to the exertion of the power of *sympathy*. Sympathetic criticism is the direct opposite of that criticism of antipathy which was employed with such deplorable results in the early part of this century, against the poetry of the Lake school and of Shelley and Keats. Doubtless it is a better method. The value of an artist's performance cannot be justly estimated by the critic, unless he endeavours to *appreciate* his intentions. Mr. Pater never fails to do this. His volume comprises among others essays on Wordsworth, Coleridge, Charles Lamb, Mr. William Morris, and the late Mr. Rossetti. All these writers may be described as innovators in art, yet in Mr. Pater's judgments of their work there is rarely to be found a word of depreciation. He confines himself to discovering by delicate analysis the working of each individual mind, and the external forces by which it was influenced. In this he is admirably successful, and if, in the style which he employs to communicate the results of his analysis, simplicity is somewhat painfully conspicuous by its absence, the fault—if fault it be—is due, not to the love of rhetorical display, but to a conscientious attempt to embody in words the most subtle complexities of thought. Perhaps his best essays are those on Wordsworth and Charles Lamb. With both of these writers he seems to be in special sympathy, and his 'appreciation' of their motives is marked by an exquisite refinement. How pregnant with suggestion of the essential character of Wordsworth's genius are the following sentences!

> The stimulus which most artists require of nature he can renounce. He leaves the ready-made beauty of the Swiss mountains that he may reflect glory on a mouldering leaf. He loves best to watch the floating thistle-down because of its hint of an unseen life in the air.

The appreciation of Charles Lamb is even more sympathetic, and very naturally so. Every reader of 'Marius the Epicurean' and 'Imaginary Portraits' will detect in these works, instinct with real genius, the same imaginative sympathy with the spirit of old customs, the same fine perception of the life associated with places, which give so much of their peculiar flavour to the 'Essays of Elia.' A few sentences from this essay may serve as a sample of the genuine excellence of Mr. Pater's criticism.

> 'The praise of beggars,' 'the cries of London,' the traits of actors just grown 'old,' the spots in 'town' where the country, its fresh green and fresh water, still lingered on, one after another, amidst the bustle; the quaint, dimmed, just played out farces he had relished so much, coming partly through them to understand the earlier English theatre as a thing once really alive; those fountains and sundials of old gardens, of which he entertains such dainty discourse;—he feels the poetry of these things as the poetry of things old indeed, but surviving as an actual part of

the life of the present, and as something quite different from the poetry of things flatly gone from us and antique, which come back to us, if at all, as entire strangers, like Scott's old Scotch-border personages, their oaths and armour.

At the same time this excellence should not blind us to the accompanying defect of Mr. Pater's method. There can in fact be no thoroughly just appreciation without a mixture of depreciation. Even the good Homer is supposed sometimes to nod; and it is surely right that the critic should judge an artist's work, not merely by the skill the latter shows in executing his own intentions, but by those ideal laws to which, if criticism is anything more than a name, every work of art must be assumed to be subject. Mr. Pater would not deny this; but his tendency is to assume first principles of taste which seem to explain the practice of his favourite authors, rather than to estimate their performances by reference to the practice of the greatest writers. For example, he says very truly:

An intimate consciousness of the expression of natural things, which weighs, listens, penetrates, where the earlier mind passed roughly by, is a large element in the complexion of modern poetry.

Later on he explains this practice on the following principle:

That the end of life is not action but contemplation being as distinct from doing—a certain disposition of the mind · is in some shape or other the principle of the higher morality. . . . Wordsworth, and other poets who have been like him in ancient or modern times, are the experts in this art of impassioned contemplation.

Now I think it can scarcely be denied that in the work of all the greatest poets—Homer, Virgil, the Greek dramatists, Shakespeare, Milton, even Dante—Doing, to a greater extent than Being, lies at the foundation of their art. There is therefore a sanction of between two and three thousand years in favour of the law that action, in some form or other, must be the predominant principle in every great poem. More than this. It can be shown that what are acknowledged to be defects in modern poets are due to the excessive preponderance in their work of the contemplative element. Mr. Pater accepts Wordsworth's defence of his system of poetic diction, as if it were an exposition of a sufficient law of art. He allows that a very large portion of Wordsworth's poetical compositions is artistically worthless; but he does not seem to see that the frequent flaws in his genuinely pathetic poems (such for instance as 'Simon Lee' and 'Resolution and Independence'), the mistaking of homely triviality for artistic simplicity, and of a garrulous prosiness for a *natural* manner of writing in metre, arise from his exaggerated attachment to his own conceptions, and his neglect of positive rules of art.

Mr. Pater's appreciation of Coleridge is more severe, and therefore more just; yet he pronounces Coleridge (of whom it was

said, 'He talks like an angel and does—nothing') to be 'the perfect flower of the *ennuyé* type;' and he even finds in 'The Ancient Mariner' 'a perfectly rounded wholeness and unity.' Surely it would be much truer to say plainly that this poem and 'Christabel' are the splendid *tours de force* of a great but fragmentary genius; and that Coleridge's constant struggles as a philosopher after a conception of the Absolute were, in themselves, the cause of his infertility as a poet.

The estimate of Charles Lamb, admirable as it is, leaves us with a certain impression of exaggeration. Lamb's art is delightful, but it has very definite limits. Compare him as a creator with Addison; Mrs. Battle's portrait with that of Sir Roger de Coverley. In each case the art lies in the delicate portraiture of certain humorous aspects of a character which is, in a sense, a survival. But the figure of Sir Roger is drawn from enduring elements in the constitution of English society: it has therefore a moral significance, and is entitled in consequence to rank higher as a creation than the conception of Mrs. Battle, which is constructed out of more purely local materials. Both characters have in them the element of contemplation; but Addison's is the work of a man familiar with the sources of action in the English nation; Lamb's, of an imagination enamoured with the *picturesqueness* of family life. So again, as a critic, Lamb's judgments are often vitiated by an excess of meditative sympathy. Many of his criticisms are only charming excursions of capricious fancy: we can scarcely, for example, give any serious consideration to his whimsical apology for the Caroline dramatists. Of this characteristic in his work, however, Mr. Pater, who bestows high and just praise on his critical insight, takes no account.

The fallacy involved in Mr. Pater's method of judging artistic conception makes itself felt in his remarks on style, which are otherwise often just and opportune. In an incidental reference to Gustave Flaubert he remarks on his painful struggles after exact precision in language. Now Flaubert's experience in this respect is the reverse of Horace's—a great artist in words, if ever there was one—who says:

> Cui lecta potenter erit res
> Nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.

How is this? Mr. Pater ascribes Flaubert's efforts (which, from his own account, amounted to agony) to a boundless love of art. But they are surely capable of another explanation. Neither Shakespeare nor Scott troubled themselves greatly to find the *one* word to express their thought, because they wrote out of full minds on subjects of general imaginative interest. Flaubert's aim, on the other hand, like that of so many modern artists, was to discover the imaginative

secret underlying commonplace objects and actions, while he was obliged to use as his instrument of expression a language built up by men who judged of such objects and actions by the light of common sense. Putting aside all moral considerations, Flaubert, in an artistic sense, 'considered too curiously.' For instance, in 'Madame Bovary' he takes eight lines to describe, in the most refined words, the action of a woman drinking a glass of liqueur. No wonder that he was oppressed by a feeling of artistic impotence!

To sum up: Mr. Pater's criticism, in my opinion, suffers from the same defect as Lamb's—excess of sympathy. In his fine perception of the motives of his authors, and in his delicate description of their styles, his *Appreciations* are all that can be desired; but he seems to me to flinch from the severe application of critical law. He exhibits invariably the taste of a refined literary epicure. But the taste of an epicure is not always that of a judge.

W. J. Courthope.

3.

AN EPITOME OF MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY.[1]

We live in an age of abstracts and epitomes. Mr. Herbert Spencer's philosophy has not escaped the common fate. The works in which it is embodied extend to five thousand and odd pages. Mr. Howard Collins has condensed it to a tenth of its original bulk. He has done his work remarkably well. And it was worth doing. I have myself been led, of late, to bestow much attention upon Mr. Spencer's writings. And I should have found Mr. Collins's book a great boon if he had only published it a few years earlier. Even now I welcome it as an extremely serviceable aid to reference. Whether it will be of much assistance to 'the general reader,' I incline to doubt. But the serious student may derive from it—to quote Mr. Spencer's own happy words—that 'clear preliminary conception' which 'is more readily obtained from a small outline-map than from a large one full of details.' For which he may, with reason, lift both his hands and bless Mr. Howard Collins.

The preparation of this compendious exhibition of his master's

[1] *An Epitome of the Synthetic Philosophy*, by F. Howard Collins. With a preface by Herbert Spencer. Williams and Norgate, 1889.

teaching has been, to Mr. Collins, a five years' labour of love. To me, who approach it not in the spirit of discipleship but of criticism, it suggests a multitude of questions, to answer which would, as I shrewdly suspect, find occupation for Mr. Collins for a much longer space of time. Not one of the least important arises in respect of its title. Borrowing Mr. Spencer's own words, Mr. Collins calls his work *An Epitome of the Synthetic Philosophy*. Why synthetic? From one point of view, analytic would be a more apt description. But Mr. Spencer's own definition of philosophy is 'completely unified knowledge.' I have no quarrel with the definition. All philosophy is, in some sort, a search after unity. And a philosophy which fully succeeded in that quest, which completely unified knowledge, would no doubt be a perfect philosophy. Is Mr. Spencer warranted in putting forward such a claim for his system? Let us see what his system, in substance, is.

It may be shortly but accurately described as an attempt to find the solution of the problem of the universe in one sole law, the persistence of force under multiform transformations. It is, in fact, the old atomistic theory of self-existent matter, presented in a new dress, and supported by a vast number of facts collected from all departments of the experimental sciences, and most ingeniously dovetailed into one another. The primordial proposition or datum with which Mr. Spencer's philosophy starts, is the reference of the world of consciousness and the world beyond consciousness to the action of a single cause, which he terms the Unknowable. According to him the Unknowable is not in consciousness: and yet we have a mysterious consciousness of it (*Principles of Psychology*, § 448). This sentiment of an Unknowable First Cause, infinite and absolute, Mr. Spencer holds to be the eternal and secure basis of all religion. It is also the last word of science. The indecomposable mode of consciousness is force. But what is force? We know not what it is in its essence. We know it only in its manifestations, co-ordinating the whole range of phenomena, past, present, and future; an immanent and eternal energy, at once active and passive, subject to perpetual revolution and maintaining all things in an ever-changing equilibrium. Physical forces, vital forces, mental forces, social forces, are all merely different manifestations of the self-same force. This is the key to unlock all the great enigmas of the universe. 'Phenomena,' Mr. Spencer makes exception, 'are interpretable only as the results of universally co-existent forces of attraction and repulsion,' forces that are indeed the complementary aspects of the absolutely persistent Force which is the ultimate datum of consciousness (*First Principles*, § 176). 'Given,' he tells us, 'the Persistence of Force, and given the various derivative laws of Force, and there has to be shown . . . how there necessarily result the more numerous and involved traits exhibited by organic and superorganic

existence—How an organism is evolved? What is the genesis of human intelligence? Whence social progress arises?' (*Ibid.* § 193). Cosmology, Biology, Psychology, Sociology, Ethics—all are to be explained by the persistence, under various modifications, of that manifestation of the Unknowable which we call Force. All conform to the laws of evolution. And those laws are conceived of by Mr. Spencer as purely physical. He expressly tells us, 'a redistribution of matter and motion constitutes evolution' (*Data of Ethics*, § 27). And 'the deepest truths we can reach are simply statements of the widest uniformities in an experience of the relations of Matter, Motion, and Force' (*First Principles*, § 194).

Such is the gigantic hypothesis by which Mr. Spencer seeks to explain the wondrous All. If it were established, his claim to call his system synthetic philosophy might be conceded. But is it established? On the contrary, it is as far as possible from being established. The three main postulates whereon it rests, Mr. Spencer's doctrines of the Unknowable, of the relativity of knowledge, and of the unity of causation, are not brought by him within measurable distance of proof. Nay, more, I do not hesitate to affirm that the very nature of intelligence forbids such a conception of the Absolute as that which Mr. Spencer presents to us under the name of the Unknowable, and which is his fundamental doctrine. 'What must we say,' he asks, 'concerning that which transcends knowledge?' (*First Principles*, § 26). What indeed? All knowledge, according to Mr. Spencer, is relative. It is rigidly restricted to phenomena. 'Thinking being relationing,' he tells us in a well-known passage, 'no thought can ever express more than relations.' If this is so, if our knowledge is limited to conditioned experience, we cannot possibly know, in any sense of knowing, the unconditioned. But Mr. Spencer tells us that 'besides our consciousness of phenomena, we have a vague consciousness of that which transcends distinct consciousness' (*Ibid.* § 26). 'Vague consciousness' and 'distinct consciousness'! What virtue is there in the adjectives! All consciousness, according to Mr. Spencer, is constituted under forms and limits: it belongs to the order of phenomena. That is for him the one mode of consciousness. If you abolish the limits, you abolish the consciousness. If, as Mr. Spencer insists, our experience is only conditioned, assuredly we are not justified in asserting an unconditioned existence in any form, conceivable or inconceivable. Mr. Spencer himself, indeed, feels this difficulty, and seeks to escape from it. Consciousness of the Unconditioned, or the Absolute, he tells us, 'is not and cannot be constituted by any single mental act, but is the product of many mental acts' (*First Principles*, § 26). But if every one of these mental acts has only a relative value, how can a series of them produce the non-relative? Mr. Spencer tells us of 'an In-

scrutable Power,' manifested through phenomena. 'Manifested' and 'inscrutable': 'out of relation' and 'in relation'! If Mr. Spencer were talking mysticism, this might hold. But he supposes himself to be talking science! Most certainly, if Mr. Spencer's first principles are true, we cannot, in any sense, know the Absolute—still less can we have any kind of consciousness of it, for consciousness assumes more than knowledge. As has been well said, Mr. Spencer's theory of knowledge inevitably leads to the conclusion 'that if there is an Absolute it is not known; and that if it is known, it is not the Absolute.'

But Mr. Spencer's theory of knowledge is, in truth, as little tenable as is his doctrine of the Unknowable. He insists that we can know nothing of the external world beyond the impressions produced by its states upon our states of consciousness. If we speak of weight, for example, or of resistance, what we mean is an inference drawn from our sense perceptions, which are but subjective modifications of something unknown. And to this he restricts our knowledge. It is a knowledge of relations between relations. Ultimate scientific ideas 'turn out to be merely symbols of the actual, not cognitions of it' (*First Principles*, § 21). This is what Mr. Spencer means by this doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. But he ignores the great truth that the relations of things are *rational*. Consciousness itself testifies that there is a direct power in the mind to cognise the world around. The distinction between subject and object is a primitive fact or rule of consciousness, and the condition of all sound thinking. And perception is a much more delicate and subtle matter than Mr. Spencer supposes. The images presented to our intelligence by the eye, the ear, the touch, *phantasmata*, as Aristotle and the schoolmen after him called them, are the *direct* results of sensuous experience. But knowledge means something more than that. We go on to the *reflex* act of subjecting those phantasmata to the judging faculty. Things must be translated into mental language before we become really cognisant of them. There is a perception of sense which is concerned with the material, the extended, the corporeal. There is an intellectual interpretation of that perception, and it has to do with the immaterial, the unextended, the incorporeal. It is perfectly true that the weight and resistance of which I am conscious are subjective affections. It is not true (as Mr. Spencer teaches) that they are *but* subjective affections. The idea of weight, the idea of resistance, have an objective value. In the profound words of Aristotle, ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ ὄντα πώς ἐστι πάντα . . . ἔστι δ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη μὲν τὰ ἐπιστητά πως, ἡ δ' αἴσθησις τὰ αἰσθητά.

Once more, Mr. Spencer's third cardinal doctrine concerning the unity of causation is as unwarranted as are his doctrines of the Un-

knowable and of the relativity of knowledge. He identifies all the facts of intellectual and physical causation. He roundly lays it down, 'Those modes of the Unknowable which we call motion, heat, light, chemical affinity, are alike transformable into each other and into those modes of the Unknowable which we distinguish as sensation, emotion, thought; these in their turns being directly or indirectly transformable into their original shapes' (*First Principles*, § 71). Now true it is, that all the forces of the material world appear to be subject to the laws of the conservation of energy. Light, heat, magnetism, electricity are convertible into one another. But there is no known process of changing ponderable into imponderable substances. Light is not a gas: it is but 'a mode of motion.' And no gas, however attenuated or expanded, turns into light. This is certain, as every schoolboy knows. Equally certain is it that the transformation of a physical force into mental energy is the nudest of hypotheses. Mr. Spencer has not a particle of evidence to prove that 'a force existing as motion, light, or heat, can become a mode of consciousness.' He has no warrant whatever for teaching that life and intellect can be brought under his great formula of the Persistence of Force. He has nothing better to offer in support of this doctrine, so essential to his system, than a fallacious analogy (*Ibid.* § 73).

It appears to me, then, that the foundations of Mr. Spencer's system of synthetic philosophy, which should have been of adamant, are of sand. I might go on, if it were worth while, and if the occasion allowed, to point out other objections to his speculations only less fatal than those which I have just urged. Such are the serious gaps which often occur in the most critical portions of his arguments, where imagination is called in to do the work of logic; such the arbitrary assumptions upon which his explanations are too often founded. But I will here merely call attention to the shifting and uncertain character of Mr. Spencer's terminology. It has been well observed that his use of such words as matter, force, and objective reality is most perplexing, being, as it is, equal in turn to a *plenum* and a *vacuum*. Assuredly we may, with reason, complain of the almost entire absence of definitions from his works. It is a dictum of Cicero's that 'every rational discussion should start with a definition, so that the object of the discussion may be understood.' Or, as Cardinal Newman puts it, in a pregnant passage of one of his Oxford University Sermons: 'Half the controversies in the world are verbal ones, and could they be brought to a plain issue, they would be brought to a prompt termination. We need not dispute, we need not prove—we need but define. At all events, let us, if we can, do this first of all, and then see who are left for us to dispute with, what is left for us to prove. When men understand

what each other mean, they see, for the most part, that controversy is either superfluous or hopeless.'

My account of Mr. Spencer is this. A thoughtful mind, enriched by patient study of the experimental sciences, so far as they can be studied merely in books—which is not very far—but apparently unversed in metaphysics and undisciplined by philosophy; self-taught, and unwarrantably disdainful of that long succession of the world's teachers who, from the days of the Vedas to the days of Kant, have done so much to illuminate the dark places of moral and mental science, and to increase the bounds of rational knowledge: But we cannot put aside that great intellectual tradition without grievous loss. The number of facts which Mr. Spencer has so diligently collected—some of them, it is true, have not 'gone through the form of taking place'—the copiousness of his illustrations, 'the loose abundance of his phraseology,' have cast a spell over multitudes, not possessed of the leisure, or, it may be, of the knowledge and capacity necessary for a critical examination of his work. The great merit of Mr. Collins's *Epitome* seems to me this: that he has exhibited his master's system of speculative physics in all its native bareness and inadequacy.

Lass das nur stehen! Dabei wird's niemand wohl,
Es ist ein Zauberbild, ist leblos, ein Idol.

W. S. Lilly.

4.

WALPOLE.[1]

Those who cater for the reading public of to-day have taken to heart the warning of that philosopher, wise before his time, who, wearied of bulky scrolls or ponderous folios, declared that 'great books are great evils.' Within the last few years they have amply supplied us with libraries of small books upon great subjects. The obvious risk that, in making conciseness his chief aim, an author may be led to sacrifice breadth of treatment and clearness of expression, will be safely avoided if he only studies this memoir of Walpole, which offers an almost perfect model of what such a book should be. It illustrates Emerson's saying that 'All history resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons,' by condensing the political history of England for a generation into the

[1] *Twelve English Statesmen: Walpole.* By John Morley. Macmillan & Co.: 1889

biography of her leading representative statesman. His life and times are told with adequate fulness and even some detail (only lacking a few more dates to be completely serviceable), within the compass of 250 pages octavo.

It is a trite dramatic criticism that a practical acquaintance with the stage is indispensable for a good playwright. After reading this volume, one is disposed to prescribe a course of experience in the House of Commons as not less essential for the training of a statesman's biographer. Few readers will fail to discern how Mr. Morley's intimate knowledge of Parliamentary and official life has given weight to his utterances and point to his illustrations. Such dicta as the following have the scope and impressiveness of aphorisms which may well become proverbial. 'In politics the occasion is everything. The general current of the time may be for a Government or against a Government, yet the breaking of the wave often depends upon some small incidental thing, done or left undone' (pp. 12–13). 'He (Bolingbroke) resorted to a common device of embarrassed politicians, he called for a national party' (p. 82). 'It is not always safe to suppose the lowest motives to be the truest, even in politics' (p. 218). 'It was not in Walpole's nature to take reverses at a tragic pitch—that fatal defect in political affairs' (p. 239). 'To temporise, to manage, to find intermediate positions, to play a fine game, is in popular government unintelligible and impracticable' (p. 223). The frequent parallels and contrasts drawn from more recent events which enrich these pages bring home to us with singular felicity the character of situations we might otherwise have failed to realise. The chapter devoted to the development of the Cabinet system into its existing shape is a compendium of constitutional history on the subject which its students will do well to master.

Candour, generosity, detachment of mind, are Mr. Morley's main qualifications for a biographer. He extenuates nothing in his hero's career and sets down naught in malice. No dark passage is overlooked or slurred. Every moral blemish, breach of good taste or manners, he frankly censures, but tempers condemnation by setting forth the circumstances under which each act was committed, together with the difficulties attending any alternative course; and allows the traditions and habitudes of the age their due weight in estimating the actor's motives and character. Without an attempt to exalt Walpole as an ideal statesman, the general scope of his policy is upheld and defended as, upon the whole, the wisest, safest and least faulty that a minister situated as he was could be reasonably expected to pursue.

The salient features of that policy, as Mr. Morley delineates them, were three. First, Walpole aimed 'to lay the foundations of

government by the House of Commons and by the Cabinet' (p. 49). His success in this aim was partly attained by means of the bargain which he practically struck with the first two Hanoverian sovereigns, that they were 'to manage the affairs of Hanover and the Whigs were to govern England.' He contrived, alike in and out of power, to gain the genuine regard of the first George. Though violently hated by the Prince of Wales, who, upon acceding to the throne as George the Second, summarily dismissed him from office, he was almost immediately recalled, and, aided by the influence of Queen Caroline, who appreciated the minister's ability and confided in his trustworthiness, he retained the king's esteem and the reins of government for nearly fifteen years. But his main road to success was the hold he won and maintained upon Parliament, in spite of his frequent unpopularity with the nation. Mr. Morley attributes this chiefly to the proofs he gave of that 'moderating temper which the House of Commons always secretly respects, even in its moments of passion and heat, and which it always recognises when the heat has evaporated' (p. 55). It was further due to his unrivalled management of men and affairs; his knowledge of finance, especially, being so manifest that his enemies could not ignore it. His skill in wielding the machinery of administration by means of the Cabinet was felt rather than seen. Although the 'collective responsibility' of the Ministry and the controlling influence of the Premier became established under his *régime*, the theory was not avowed; and when charged by his enemies with having usurped the supremacy of power and patronage he was borne out in his disclaimer by independent testimony.

The second great feature of Walpole's policy was his steady advance towards free trade. As early as 1721 he extended English commerce by lightening the duties upon native manufactures and such imported materials as the manufacturers employed. In 1730 he removed the restrictions which forbade the American planters to export rice elsewhere than to England, and subsequently enlarged their facilities of obtaining a market for their sugar. His scheme of converting the customs duty upon imported tobacco into an excise duty upon its consumption led to such an outburst of public displeasure that he prudently abandoned it, but the practice of modern economists has approved it as sound in principle. That Walpole was not active in political or religious reform Mr. Morley frankly allows, but defends him from the charge of supineness, on the ground that the time was not ripe for change. Lightness of taxation, stability of public credit, equality of justice, were the chief boons he laboured to confer upon the nation in domestic affairs, and it is his sufficient praise that he secured them. The repeal of the Test Act, the severest religious disability that pressed upon Noncon-

formists, was a measure which, though personally favourable to it, he could not have passed without setting the Church in arms. Wisely forbearing the attempt, he yet ensured the substantial result of repeal by passing an annual Act of Indemnity for breaches of the law. Electoral reform, the abolition of official sinecures, and purification of the methods of parliamentary influence were then political dreams: it would be unjust to condemn Walpole for not having anticipated a realisation of them which has scarcely yet been fulfilled.

The third characteristic of Walpole's policy was his unwearied effort to conserve the national peace by avoiding all continental entanglements. His 'guiding principle was to hold England back from European strife' (p. 200). Mr. Morley unravels with great clearness the adroit manœuvres which Walpole adopted with this object. He attained it, now by co-operating with the French minister, Fleury, in his mediation between Spain and the Empire; now by opposing to a treaty-alliance suddenly concocted between the two combatants and Russia, another, equally unforeseen, between England, France, and Prussia; eventually dissipating a dangerous combination which threatened us with the restoration of the Pretender and the loss of Gibraltar by sending a squadron to alarm Spain in the West Indies, and an embassy to appease the Emperor by guaranteeing the succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to his Austrian dominions. With similar dexterity he concerted with Holland a plan of compromise which put an end to the European broil arising out of the disputed claims to the throne of Poland in 1733–5. Even while unable to avoid hostilities, as was the case in 1739, when the nation insisted upon forcing Spain to abandon her right to search English ships for contraband goods, he remained in office with the object of bringing the war he disapproved to a speedy conclusion. From the blame of unfaithfulness to his convictions which this conduct involved, Mr. Morley does not exculpate him, but acquits him of ignobler motives, and adjusts so nicely the balance of the considerations he had to estimate that it is hard to decide which should have been the weightier scale.

Mr. Morley has a happy gift of miniature portrait-painting, and sketches the personal characteristics of Walpole and his leading contemporaries with rare skill. The great minister, morally bold and self-confident, not over scrupulous, but substantially honourable and candid; genial, boisterously gay, even-tempered; a hard worker, an eager sportsman, a jovial drinker; sensual in habits, coarse in speech, profuse in living; indifferent to literature and music, but redeemed from uncultivation by his refined love of painting—Bolingbroke, restlessly ambitious, an inveterate intriguer and actor; brilliant, shallow, insincere—Carteret, witty, scholarly; vain, unprincipled, reckless—Pulteney, keen, versatile; unstable, factious, vindictive

—George the Second, brave, histrionic, inflated, fussy; a 'dapper martinet,' methodically punctual even in his amours; unconsciously cajoled and ruled in matters of state by the Queen, over whom in domestic matters he was allowed to tyrannise—Caroline herself, shrewd, clear-headed, honest; an heroic, cheerful martyr to the exigencies of her high position—these, beside lesser folk, are photographed for us with unmistakable fidelity. Lastly, the nervous, masculine style, of which Mr. Morley is a past master, makes this volume enjoyable reading to all lovers of good English.

HENRY G. HEWLETT.

IRELAND THEN AND NOW.

At a time when great Constitutional changes are proposed in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland it is of paramount importance that the fundamental facts of the Irish controversy should be thoroughly known and appreciated. In using the word fundamental in this connexion I do not refer to it as touching what may be called the sentimental side of a great problem. The means by which, for example, the Union was carried do not concern me here. They may have been all that Mr. Gladstone says they were.[1] They may have been unutterably bad and indefensible. About much of this I have my doubts, and could say a great deal. But the Union is, at least, one of the fundamental facts in Irish history, and what I am concerned about now is not how it was carried, but how things have gone in Ireland since the connexion with Great Britain was legally consummated. I know what Irish orators since O'Connell's day have thought and said about it. They have simply attributed every calamity that has befallen their country to the Union. According to some of these gentlemen the potato famine was due to the neglect of England. The emigration which followed, and which they hold to have been a great calamity, has also been laid at the door of 'foreign rule.' Speeches have been made, and pamphlets have been written, to prove that 3,668,000 persons have been evicted since 1847, and that 1,225,000 human beings perished from famine in these terrible years of suffering and trial. Indeed, these very figures are now going the round of political platforms. I met them the other day at Partick, where Sir Charles Tennant, the Gladstonian candidate, was engaged in impressing them upon a grave Scottish audience as illustrations of the results of English rule in Ireland. Fortunately Sir Charles was reported at considerable length and had to give the authority for his statements. It turned out that he was quoting from an article in a review[2] written by Canon Wilberforce, who in turn quoted from Mr. Mulhall's well-known statistical work. Neither of these gentlemen, however, appears to have been aware that as regards the first statement Mr. Mulhall has publicly admitted in writing that he had

[1] See *Nineteenth Century* for January 1889.

[2] The *Contemporary Review* for March 1889, p. 465.

made the trifling mistake of multiplying the actual figures by seven.[3] And, seeing that the entire number of deaths in Ireland during the decade 1841–51 was 1,360,000, and that the ordinary death rate is about 100,000 per annum, it is clearly impossible that a million and a quarter could have died even in three years from famine. These are samples, and very fair samples, of the loose rubbish that is being shot across the whole country at the present time.[4] Nothing is too hard to say of Great Britain in regard to her treatment of Ireland. Speakers and writers on the subject appear to take no pains to verify what they are pleased to call their facts. The result is that 'each man walks with his head in a cloud of poisonous lies,' and the old question put by Pilate 'What is truth?' stands as much in need of an answer as ever. Ireland, it has been said, is a country where there are no facts. This is an utter fallacy. There are as many facts in that country as there are elsewhere. The real difficulty is that so many people in and out of Ireland, who discuss the Irish question, take no trouble to get at them. They appear to prefer fiction. And certainly there is no country in the world where fiction flourishes in such wild and extravagant luxuriance. I propose in this paper to draw a contrast between the Ireland of 1836–46 and the Ireland of to-day. I shall show from authoritative reports and records what the country was like in the former period, and what the real state of affairs is to-day. The change that has been effected is enormous; the progress made, considering all the circumstances, something marvellous. I may not, indeed I do not, ascribe it all to the union with Great Britain. It is not necessary for my purpose to do so. It is sufficient for my object that the change has taken place under and since the Union. I wish to rebut the charge that the Union has been a failure—that it has been disastrous to Ireland. Let us then see what the facts are.

Fortunately, in discussing the condition of Ireland in 1836, we have not to grope our way. In the year 1835, a Royal Commission was appointed 'to inquire into the condition of the poorer classes of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland.' This commission had the advantage of being presided over by Archbishop Whately, and numbered amongst its members the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and the Rev. Dr. Carlisle, a well-known and famous Presbyterian divine. The commissioners published three reports, and the evidence extends over twelve bulky volumes. How

[3] 'Mr. Goodfellow is quite right when he says that in quoting the official returns I mistook 524,000 individuals for families, and multiplied the same by 7 for the number of persons evicted. I have several times admitted my error in letters to the London and Manchester papers.'—*Letter of Mr. M. Mulhall to Mr. W. Sinclair, Hawick, N.B.*

[4] Notwithstanding Mr. Mulhall's candid admission, and the exposure of the error at Partick in February last, Mr. Briggs Priestley published a leaflet with the same figures at Stamford in March.

many of our modern politicians, who think they have mastered the Irish problem by a week's tour in the south and west of Ireland—carefully avoiding the north—have ever seen these volumes? How many members of Parliament even are aware of their existence? And yet they contain exactly the information which is necessary to enable the politician to see how far Ireland has travelled in the path of progress, to compare the Ireland of the past with the Ireland of the present. It will be expedient at this point to deal, first of all, with the question of population. Previous to 1841 there can be no exact data found, and all the estimates are therefore guesswork, more or less. In 1712 the estimated population of Ireland was 2,100,000. In 1767 it had risen to 2,500,000. This showed slow but orderly progression. Between the years 1776 and 1778, Arthur Young devoted much attention to Ireland and Irish affairs, and his estimate of the population then was something over 3,000,000. From this period on to the famine year, however, the advance went on by leaps and bounds. There was nothing like it anywhere else in Europe. In France, for example, the population in 1791 was 26,000,000. In 1851 it was 36,000,000, an increase of 36 per cent. In 1780 the population of England was under 8,000,000. In 1841 it had just doubled. But in Ireland the population, which in 1778 stood, according to Arthur Young, at 3,000,000, rose to over 8,000,000 in 1841, and in 1846 it was nearly 9,000,000. This is the first fundamental fact upon which I desire to concentrate attention. Out of this abnormal increase in the population arose, I hold, all the troubles of Ireland. Had anything occurred within the country itself to account for, far less to justify, such an increase? Was it due to any commercial development? Had new industries sprung into existence necessitating additional labour? Nothing of the kind. There had been no development of the national resources to account for it. And what it meant was simply that a wretchedly poor country was distributing its limited food supply over nearly three times as many hungry mouths as it did in 1778. Nor can it be said that the increase was due to bad government. People do not multiply, they diminish, under bad government. At least, this is the popular theory. The abnormal increase to which I have referred was really due to improved government, to our exemption from war, and to the extraordinary development of the potato. One of the national poets of Ireland, in a ballad almost unsurpassed in beauty, has said that

> The blessed fruit which grows at the root
> Is the real gold of Ireland.[1]

There is a very genuine sense in which these words are true. But the potato has been to Ireland what rice has been to India. Easily and cheaply cultivated it has enabled great masses of people

[1] T. C. Irwin, *Irish Minstrelsy Canterbury Coll.*

to sustain life—to vegetate, in fact, but not really to live. And it was to the abundance of this cheap and easily cultivated food allied to the improvidence of the people that the abnormal increase in population was mainly owing.

Let us now see how this teeming mass of people lived. I venture to say there has been nothing like it in modern times. Before I deal with the evidence given before the Whately Commission, let me quote from the experience of three different travellers in Ireland about this period. Mr. Henry Inglis, an experienced Scottish traveller, visited Ireland in 1834. He traversed the country from Wexford to Donegal, and from Coleraine to Valentia, and afterwards wrote strongly on the condition of the people amongst whom he had travelled:—

The great mass of the population (he says) have no constant employment. With the exception of Belfast, and in some few places where public works had created a temporary demand, I found nowhere full employment for the people. The diet of those who are employed consists of a scanty meal or two of potatoes, with the addition, at times, of a little butter-milk. The diet of the far greater number who are not in employment consists of as many dry potatoes as serve just to sustain life. As for clothing, an English beggar would not lift off the ground the clothes worn by old and young of the lower classes of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. The young can scarcely be said to be clothed at all. Excluding the large towns, such as Belfast, Cork, and Limerick, and the labour employed in the demesnes of a few resident noblemen, tenpence per day without diet is the highest wage ever given for constant employment. Ninepence and eightpence per day is the more usual rate, and in some places sixpence a day is willingly accepted for constant employment. I am quite confident that if the whole yearly earnings of the labourers of Ireland were divided by the whole number of labourers, the result would be under fourpence a day as an average wage. The only difference between the best and the worst of the mud cabins is that some are water-tight, and some are not. Air-tight I saw none: with windows scarcely any: with chimneys—that is, with a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape through—as many perhaps with as without. As for furniture, there is no such thing, unless a broken stool or two and an iron pot can be called furniture. If the word starvation be meant to comprehend those cases in which insufficient subsistence induces disease, predisposes the individual to the attack of epidemics, or accelerates the decay of nature, then I have good reason to believe that by far the greater number of the Irish poor die of starvation. In all the large towns the number of helpless and diseased paupers and of aged and infirm women and destitute children is fearfully great. It is the opinion of the medical men of Limerick, Waterford, and other large towns, that at least seventy-five per cent. of the infirm poor die through destitution, either by the gradual decay of nature or by the ravages of epidemics to which destitution renders them liable. The houses of the infirm poor of the towns are a thousand times more wretched than even the worst cabins of Munster and Leinster. The latter have the air around and the sky above them. The former are hovels, cellars, mere dark dens, damp, filthy, stagnant, unwholesome places, into which we should not, in England, put any domestic animal. They are not provided with either beds or bedding; a little straw in the corner is the usual substitute for bedstead, and a ragged mat the bed clothes.

This is a sketch vivid enough in all truth. But three years later it was abundantly confirmed by a distinguished French traveller—Gustave de Beaumont:—

Misery, naked and famishing (he says), covers the entire country. It shows itself everywhere and at every hour of the day. It is the first thing you see when you land on the Irish coast, and from that moment it never ceases to be present to your view, sometimes under the aspect of the diseased displaying his sores, sometimes under that of the pauper scarcely covered by his rags; it besieges you incessantly; you hear its groans and cries in the distance, and if the voice does not wring your heart with unspeakable pity, it importunes and appals you.

Imagine four walls of dried mud, which the rain, as it beats upon it, easily restores to its primitive condition, having for its roof a little straw or some sods of grass, for its chimney a hole cut in the roof, or very frequently the door, through which alone the smoke finds issue. One single apartment contains father, mother, children, and sometimes a grandfather or grandmother; a single bed of hay or straw serves for the entire family. Five or six half-naked children may be seen crouched near a miserable fire, the ashes of which cover a few potatoes, the sole nourishment of the family. I have seen the Indian in his forests and the negro in his chains, and thought, as I contemplated their pitiable condition, that I beheld the very ultimatum of human wretchedness. But I did not then know the condition of unhappy Ireland. Irish poverty has an exceptional character, which can be compared with no other indigence. Irish misery forms a type by itself, of which neither the model nor the imitation can be found anywhere else. In all countries, more or less, paupers may be discovered, but an entire nation of paupers has never been seen until it appeared in Ireland. It is impossible to compare the Irish pauper with the pauper of any other country. The independent labourer even cannot fitly be compared with the pauper of England. There is no doubt that the most miserable of English paupers is better fed and clothed than the most prosperous of Irish labourers. The misery of Ireland descends to a degree unknown elsewhere. The miserably destitute in France, whose lot we so justly deplore, would in Ireland be esteemed a privileged class.

The testimony of these two travellers, the last-mentioned a grandson of the famous Lafayette, is amply confirmed by a shrewd and no less competent witness. In 1842–43 Johann G. Kohl, a German, made a tour of the whole island:—

Heaven pardon my ignorance (he exclaims), I knew not that I should ever see a people upon whom Almighty God had imposed even heavier privations. Now that I have seen Ireland it seems to me that the poorest amongst the Esthonians and the Findlanders lead a life of comparative comfort, and that the poor Irishman would feel like a king if he had their houses, their clothing, and their daily fare. Indeed, the question may be raised whether, in the entire world, a nation is to be found that is subjected to such physical privation as the peasantry in some parts of Ireland. A Russian peasant no doubt is the slave of a harder master, but still he is fed and housed to his content, and need not resort to mendicancy for his living. Servia and Bosnia are reckoned the most wretched of the countries of Europe. But if badly housed, the people are at least well clad. The Crimean Tartars we consider poor and barbarian. But, Good Heavens! they at all events *look* like human beings. We Germans have beggars and paupers amongst us, but they constitute the exception, whereas, in Ireland, beggary or abject poverty is the prevailing rule. The nation is a nation of beggars, and those who are above beggary would seem to be the exception. The African negroes go naked, but then they have a tropical sun to keep them warm. The Irish are but little removed from a state of nakedness, and their climate is chilly and extremely moist. The Indians in America live wretchedly enough at times, but they have every now and then a productive chase, and are able to enjoy a number of feast days in the year. Many Irishmen have but one day on which they taste flesh, viz., Christmas Day.

Every other day they feed on potatoes and nothing but potatoes. Nowhere else do we find human beings gnawing from year to year at the same vegetable, berry, or root. There are animals, indeed, which do so, but human beings nowhere, except in Ireland.

These are ghastly extracts. They tell a most harrowing and revolting tale. All this misery existed, all this suffering was endured, before the days of the telegraph, before railways intersected the country, before penny newspapers brought the ends of the earth to the breakfast table every morning. I disinter them for a valid reason. My object is to show the progress Ireland has made during the present century. The change to my mind has been from a state of semi-barbarism to comparative civilisation. I have no pleasure in raking up these terrible records of a bygone time; but the modern Gladstonian, who knows nothing of Ireland's past, and judges everything in that country by means of a comparison with the England of to-day, would do well to dip a little into the records of the period I am now dealing with. Such a study would, at least, enable him to judge more fairly and more justly of the Ireland he has to legislate for. Up to the present I have been merely stating the impressions of three famous travellers—men who travelled with a purpose, and who have recorded their impressions. I now come to the facts established before the Whately Commission in 1836: the facts which led to the establishment of the Irish poor law system. Needless to say the Commissioners, on opening their inquiry, were at once brought alongside the question of population. Here, beyond all doubt, was the real root of the evil.[6] The population had simply trebled since 1778. The increase was abnormal, and the land did not and could not afford the means of subsistence. The results were inevitable: farmers competed fiercely for holdings, and rents were raised beyond the legitimate value of the land. Labourers jostled each other in the market-place, and wages went down to starvation point. Everything was wrong. Nothing could, by any possibility, be right.

We cannot (say the Commissioners in their report) estimate the number of persons in Ireland out of work and in distress during thirty weeks of the year at less than 585,000, nor the number of persons dependent upon them at less than 1,800,000, making, in the whole, 2,385,000.

[6] The danger of the rapid increase in population was foreseen. The Report of the Devon Commission contains the following extract from the Report of a Select Committee which sat in 1830. 'Such was the state of things,' the Report says, 'so soon as a fall in prices occurred after the peace. A change then began to take place in the system of managing lands. The great decline of agricultural produce prevented many of the middlemen as well as the occupiers from paying their rents, and an anxiety began to be felt by the proprietors to improve the value of their estates, and a general impression was produced in the minds of all persons that a pauper population spread over the country would go on increasing, and the value of land at the same time diminishing, till the produce would become insufficient to maintain the resident population.'

Let anyone ponder this single statement of fact and try to realise what it actually meant. At the time the Report was penned the whole population of Scotland did not exceed the number of idle and destitute in Ireland. Nor did this destitution cover only seven months in the year.

A great portion of them (the Report goes on to say) are insufficiently provided at any time with the commonest necessaries of life. Their habitations are wretched hovels; several of a family sleep together upon straw or upon the bare sod, sometimes with a blanket, sometimes even without so much to cover them: their food commonly consists of dry potatoes, and with these they are at times so scantily supplied as to be obliged to stint themselves to one spare meal in the day. There are even instances of persons being driven by hunger to seek sustenance in wild herbs. They sometimes get a herring or a little milk, but they never get meat, except at Christmas, Easter, and Shrovetide.

The position of affairs as regards the labouring class was simply deplorable. There were no manufactures outside Ulster, and, even there, they existed only to a limited extent. Everybody depended upon the land. It was, in many districts, of the poorest quality, and at the best, in such parts, it was poorly cultivated. With this lamentable state of affairs the Commissioners point out

that in Great Britain the agricultural families constitute little more than a fourth, while in Ireland they constitute about two-thirds of the whole population: that there were in Great Britain in 1831 1,055,982 agricultural labourers, in Ireland 1,131,715, although the cultivated land of Great Britain amounts to about 34,250,000 acres, and that of Ireland only to about 14,600,000.

We thus find (they say) that there are in Ireland about five agricultural labourers for every two that there are for the same quantity of land in Great Britain.

They also add that

the earnings of the labourers come, on an average of the whole class, to from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a week for the year.

And that

mendicancy is the sole resource of the aged and impotent of the poorer classes. To it crowds are driven for the means of existence.

The ordinary politician, *i.e.* the man who has given any kind of attention to the Irish question, has an idea that it was the famine of 1846–47 which depleted the land of its people, and that previous to this great catastrophe things went fairly well. They are accustomed to look upon the emigration which took place, and especially that from 1847 to 1851, as the flow from a death-wound. But a study of the evidence before the Whately Commission effectually dissipates all ideas of this kind. Several thousands of queries were sent out to parish priests, Protestant rectors, and gentlemen of influence and position throughout the country. These queries covered a very wide

range. They dealt with the questions of population, of poverty, of bastardy, illicit distillation, the drink traffic, and many other subjects. I refer here only to the replies to the queries on the question of population. The witnesses say, and the testimony is practically universal:—

It would require fully one-third of the able-bodied population of the parish to be withdrawn that steady employment at 10*d.* a day might be secured to the remainder.- *Rev. J. Maguire, P. P., co. Leitrim.*

It would be necessary that from two-thirds to one-half the actual population should be removed before wages could naturally rise to 10*d.* a day.—*Mr. Connolly, co. Galway.*

In order to raise the price of labour, it would be necessary to remove nearly one-half the labourers. -*Messrs. Daly, Walsh, & Stack, co. Clare.*

It would require perhaps one-third of the population to be withdrawn to secure the remainder steady work at 10*d.* a day. *Evidence from co. Meath.*

I think that one-half of the labourers of the barony must be sent away before work at 10*d.* a day would be found for the remainder during the year.—*Evidence from co. Limerick.*

They think that, though 20 per cent. were removed, it would have little effect upon wages. They do not think it would raise them one penny a day.—*Evidence from King's Co.*

I think that, if one out of every four were taken out of the labourers, the rest would have a tolerable employment *Evidence from co. Tyrone.*

One-third of the labouring population could be spared.—*Evidence from co. Kerry.*

If all the labourers in the parish were to go away, we (the farmers) could do the work ourselves. *Evidence from co. Kerry.*

It would be necessary to withdraw in some cases nine-tenths of the labouring population to enable the remaining tenth to obtain constant employment, even at the present rate of wages, 9*d.* or 10*d.* in winter, and 1*s.* in summer.—*Evidence from co Dublin.*

These are but samples taken from hundreds of similar answers to the queries circulated by the Commissioners. They prove to the hilt that which Irish patriots and modern politicians strenuously deny or overlook: viz. the fact that long before the great famine the pressure of population was the real Irish difficulty. And with this swarming of men, what was their social state? I have given the evidence as to the wages paid for labour. How, and in what manner, did the people live? Their diet consisted of potatoes. Their houses were a scandal. In 1841 there were 491,278 mud cabins in Ireland with but one room or apartment each. A statement like this culled from the census returns speaks only in its true sense to those who go under the surface and realise what it really signifies. It means that 2,500,000 of the population of Ireland lived under these conditions, that half a million of families lived in hovels where one room served for themselves, their cattle, and poultry—served as kitchen and bedroom for the whole. Probably two-thirds of the entire population could neither read nor write.

Let me return to the question I have already touched, and ask what was the cause of this fearful condition of things? In 1778 Arthur Young—and he, at all events, was a competent observer—described the condition of Ireland as improving. The population then was about 3,000,000. Was the change which took place due to the Government? Had it neglected any duty? Had it hindered any development? I hold most strenuously, and after a diligent study of the entire history of this period, that it is not possible to substantiate the charges which Irish patriotism brings against the Government. Were there restrictions on trade? Yes, replies the Irish patriot, and forthwith he sets off at a tangent upon the decay of Irish industries.

No charge can be more baseless. The navigation laws under which Ireland suffered dated from the year 1663. The legislation prejudicially affecting Irish shipping and cattle took place in 1665 and 1680, that concerning wool in 1699. These laws cannot be justified. They inflicted grievous injury upon Ireland at the time. They were instigated by English commercial selfishness, and produced lamentable results. But they had no more to do with the state of Ireland in 1836–46 than they have to do with the state of Swaziland to-day. The real fact is that the Union consummated in 1800 swept away every vestige of protective duties. It literally cleaned the slate of operative and inoperative legislation of this kind, and it is not possible to lay the state of Ireland during the period I am dealing with at the door of any such legislation. Was it due then to bad government? The answer is equally explicit. Judged by the standard of to-day it is lamentably true that wisdom lingered. But we cannot judge the past entirely by the standard of to-day. The penal laws had ceased to exist. Emancipation had been carried. A system of National Education was on the stocks, and the Poor Law was springing into existence. Of course there was an alien Church. But who will dare say it pecuniarily injured the poor? I apprehend, nay, I am certain, the facts were all the other way. The land system was odious. But even if land had been rent-free, the labourers for whom it was incapable of providing labour could not have profited. No—the stern fact must be faced. The state of Ireland was not due to anything over which the Government had control. It was due to the single fact that the population had increased to such an extent that the land was incapable of supporting the people. There being nothing but the land to live upon, the inevitable result was starvation, destitution, and misery on an appalling scale. And the end came quickly enough. I have said the ease with which the potato was cultivated was one of the main causes of the increase in the population. But the people did not attend even to the potato. No pains were taken to change the seed. The tubers were planted in 'lazy beds.' 'The real gold of Ireland' deteriorated in quality year by year until the

crash came and all the world stood aghast. It is no part of my purpose to describe 'The Black Forty-Seven.' A failure in the potato crop was nothing new in Ireland. In 1800, 1801, 1807, 1809, 1811, 1816, and 1832 there had been partial failures of the crop, followed by much suffering. But in 1846–47 the whole crop practically disappeared in a week. With it went the chief means of subsistence for the mass of the people. And not for the people alone. 'With its failure those valuable animals, the pigs, were almost extinguished in many districts, which was also to a great extent the case with the poultry.'[7] I have now reached the great turning-point in modern Irish history. It was a fearful time—such a time as, thank God, only comes once in the life of a nation. The Census Report for 1851—and it is a calm official document—says, after recording the deaths:—

> But no pen has recorded the numbers of the forlorn and starving who perished by the wayside or in the ditches, or of the mournful groups, sometimes of whole families, who lay down and died, one after another, upon the floor of their cabin, and so remained uncoffined and unburied till chance unveiled the appalling scene.
>
> No such amount of suffering and misery has been chronicled in Irish history since the days of Edward Bruce: and yet, through all, the forbearance of the Irish peasantry, and the calm submission with which they bore the deadliest ills that can fall on man, can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any people.

The blood of the martyrs has been said to be the seed of the Church. And out of this great calamity, this great providential visitation, which man and government were alike incapable of preventing, came a new birth and a new life. From this date forward, Ireland really began the race of national life. Emigration, which had been for a considerable time silently but steadily going forward, especially from Ulster, commenced to flow with the velocity of a great river. Something like a stampede took place. Even the very anxiety to leave a country so plainly doomed, as people thought, produced untold misery. The emigrants frequently set sail in coffin ships, and died by the thousand. They sought escape from the avenging angel at home, and sailed, not to New York or Boston, but into the Great Silence where, at least, their earthly troubles ceased. The stampede which went on and on, the current gathering strength every year, has not ceased even now. More than three millions of the population of Ireland have cleared her shores since that time. They have, we are told, carried bitter memories with them. They have founded 'New Irelands' in every clime—Irelands pledged to avenge the wrongs of the old country. I do not write in the hope that I can 'raze these written troubles from the brain.' I do not even wonder at the feeling. But I respectfully plead that all this has not been loss. On the contrary, I hold that the great tribulation through which the country passed, and for which England was

[7] Census Report for 1851.

in no way responsible, has quickened a new and a better life. If the potato had not failed in '46, if the emigration had not taken place, and if the population had gone on increasing as it did up to that year, there would now be fifteen millions of people in Ireland! Surely no Irish Nationalist can contemplate these figures with equanimity. The famine was, no doubt, one of the greatest and most terrible visitations to which any country was ever subject. But it forced the people to look elsewhere. Life was not possible for them in Ireland. Gradually they realised this. A great uprising took place. In large numbers they exchanged starvation for plenty. They have helped to build up more than one new State. And, benefiting themselves, they have blessed and benefited those they left behind. Before the famine period the average annual income per household in Ireland was under fifty pounds. It is now over, considerably over, eighty pounds per family. This is due almost entirely to emigration. No doubt new industries have been developed in Ulster. But, as regards the other portions of the country, agriculture is still the chief reliance of the people. More than 200,000 farmers have gone since 1846. They left their acres behind them, and these have gone to enrich their neighbours whom they left behind. In short, they added, by leaving, 20*l.* to the annual income of each family belonging to the farming class in Ireland. By going, they lessened the fierce competition for land, a competition which raised its price, and was the main factor in the land troubles which brought about the Land Acts. Their removal steadied the labour market. As the years rolled on, men no longer stood idle in the market-place. The wages of the labourer went up from an average of 4*d.* to what it is now, an average of 2*s.* per day. In fact, the people got elbow room and were able to breathe freely.

I now come to deal with what I venture to call a New Ireland. The sketch I have given of the pre-famine period is, in all conscience, sad enough. I have tried to show what was the main, if not the only, cause of the fearful condition of affairs which then existed. I now come to a happier time, a time of great awakening on the part of the people of Great Britain, a time of real and remarkable progress for the people of Ireland. And, in dealing with this period, I must ask my readers to get from under the influence at once of the political potheen with which Mr. William O'Brien is accustomed to drench his English audiences, and the oratorical chloroform by which Mr. Parnell is accustomed to drug them to sleep. Let us get at the actual facts. During this period it is true we have had two attempts at armed rebellion. Both attempts were perfectly honest. Both were complete fiascos. Both collapsed before a handful of Irish policemen. But whilst this is true, the record of Great Britain during this period is one of which no country need be ashamed. In

1837 the Poor Law was established—probably one of the most perfect systems of relief existing in any country. No such system is ever likely to be popular anywhere. It is not meant to be so. But it has sheltered the homeless poor. It has stood the strain of hard times. It has enormously reduced the professional mendicancy of the past.[8] About the same time a system of National Education was founded. The school has gone into every parish, and the education has practically been free; of course the religious difficulty has cropped up—it would have been strange if it had not done so. But, everything considered, the national system of education has worked without serious friction and has reduced illiteracy by at least 30 per cent. If the people of Ireland are not now able at least to read and write, it is not the fault of the State. The charge on the parent, as I have said, is practically *nil*. Over a great portion of the country denominationalism as regards primary education holds sway, and if children are not educated it is because their labour is deemed more valuable to their parents than education is to themselves. As regards university education, the way has also been made clear. The University of Dublin has been opened to all religious denominations, the Queen's Colleges have been established, and the Royal University founded and endowed. At this point grievances may still remain, but they are grievances fully recognised by both parties in the State, and which only wait a favourable opportunity for settlement. A Church which, whatever its claims, was an anomaly, has been disestablished and disendowed, and every semblance of religious ascendency and inequality obliterated—so far as this can be done by law. The freedom of the voter, from the power of the landlord at least—I am not so sure of the priest—has been secured by the ballot, and a land code, such as no nation in the world has ever passed for the protection of a class, now shields the ordinary occupier of land and even enables him to become on easy terms the owner of the land he tills.[9] The social progress of the people has been as marked. In education the results have been highly satisfactory. In 1841, 28 per cent. of the population (young children excepted) could read and write. In 1851, 33 per cent. were able to do so. In 1861, 41 per cent., in 1871, 49 per cent., and in 1881, 59 per cent. In 1837 there were 1,384 National schools. In 1885 the number had risen to 7,936—the grant rising from 50,000*l*. to 814,000*l*.

[8] In the debate on the Special Commission Report, Mr. Henry Fowler quoted from some work to show that there were a larger number in the Irish workhouses during the bad times of 1879–80 than during the famine period. Mr. Fowler strangely overlooked the fact that the relief works in 1846–8, upon which millions sterling were spent, kept the people out of the workhouse then.

[9] A certain class of leaseholder is still most unjustly and ungenerously excluded from the benefits of the Land Act of 1881.

In house accommodation much yet remains to be done. In Dublin and Limerick especially the dwellings of the poor are still as odious as when Mr. Inglis described them. This is chiefly due to the tenement system which prevails in these cities. Great blocks, formerly the dwelling-houses of a different and well-to-do class, have been taken possession of by artisans and labourers. In a single house a dozen families may frequently be found. Sanitary science is unknown, and nothing can well be worse than life under such conditions. But, speaking generally, the improvement, even in house accommodation, is enormous. In 1841, there were well-nigh half-a-million of mud cabins in Ireland. To-day the number is under 50,000, and these are largely to be found in that dark western area which I recently described in the pages of this Review.[10] In the clothing of the peasantry the change is also very marked. If Mr. Inglis were to revisit the country now, nothing would strike him more than this. I have seen the peasantry of Gweedore on a Sunday after Mass. Scarcely a man or woman in the whole congregation at Derrybeg but was comfortably and warmly clad. It is the same throughout the whole country. The standard of living has risen—probably a little too rapidly. These very peasants drink tea at 3*s.* 6*d.* per pound, and reject with scorn tea at 2*s.*, which our best and most highly skilled mechanics are glad to use. They no longer rely upon Indian meal. The baker's cart goes everywhere, and Californian flour is used even in the most backward parts. I am not describing what I have read, but what I have investigated and seen with my own eyes. In the matter of drink, too, things have immensely improved—at least in some respects. It is still lamentably true that the cities, towns, and villages of the South and West are packed full of public-houses. It was so when the Whately Commission reported in 1836. They called attention to the fact, and witness after witness lamented it. Drunkenness abounded then. Men drank to forget their sorrow—to drown their misery. They drink still; but by exertions on every side, spasmodic and intermittent indeed, but still sincere and partially effective, the evil has been to some extent stayed. Father Mathew began the work, and effected in a year or two more than statesmen, politicians, and philanthropists have been able to do since. Illicit distillation, everywhere prevalent fifty years ago, has ceased to exist, save and except in one or two counties in the north-west, notably in Donegal and Sligo. The Sunday closing of public-houses has also done much. But under this head it is still lamentably true that in a country essentially poor and limited in its resources the annual drink bill actually exceeds the annual rent paid for land. Trade has also developed to a wonderful extent. This is more true of north-east Ulster than of any other part of the country.

[10] 'The Actual and the Political Ireland,' *Nineteenth Century*, Jan. 1890.

Nothing indeed is more remarkable than the rise and progress of these northern towns. Fifty years ago Belfast was a town of 50,000 inhabitants. To-day it is a city with 250,000 industrious citizens. It is the third port in the United Kingdom. Long the seat and centre of the linen trade, it has ceased to rely upon this special industry. Its ship-yards vie with those of the Clyde and the Mersey. Its factories of various kinds, its foundries, its docks remind the visitor of Glasgow or Liverpool. In a much smaller way the same thing is true of the city of Londonderry, and of such towns as Ballymena, Portadown, Lurgan, Coleraine, and Lisburn. It is the lack of this industrial spirit which constitutes the great difference between North and South. In the South and West the pressure is almost entirely upon the land. Out of the soil life has to be dragged in some way. In the North the pressure upon the land is not so severe. In my own constituency—which has not a single town of 1,000 inhabitants—there is scarcely a village without a factory of some kind. Here, I repeat, lies the essential difference between the two Irelands. In the North "the clamorous iron flail" is everywhere heard—"the play of the hammer on the rivet" is the music of the early morning. There is hardly such a thing to be heard south of the Boyne. Why is it so? Efforts have been made over and over again. Enterprises such as the woollen mills at Blarney, Lucan, and Athlone, have succeeded. But they constitute a mere drop in the ocean. Venture after venture has failed. The monuments of ruined industrial enterprises stud the whole country south of Dublin. Nothing but distilleries and breweries seems to have a chance. There must be some reason for this. It is not to be found in the law. Neither is it to be found in the administration of the law. Belfast and Londonderry are, and have been, subject to the same laws as Dublin and Cork. It is not that the soil of the South is poor. It is richer far than the soil of the North. The real explanation, in my opinion, is to be found in a hard statistical fact. In these north-eastern counties where commerce flourishes the police are as ten to every 10,000 of the population. Over a large southern area they are as thirty-seven to every 10,000 of the people. This key in my opinion unlocks the mystery. The unrest, the turbulence, the turmoil, the lack of the law-abiding spirit has frightened capital away, has engendered an idle, listless, thriftless mode of life all over this southern area. But although the absence of industrial enterprise is to be regretted, still the improvement even outside Ulster has been steady. Railway companies, banks, public companies of every kind tell the same story of progress, and during the last three years especially it has been most marked. The land difficulty also grows less clamant. Much has been done, and more, I am glad to say, is about to be done. Even Mr. William O'Brien, and he is the man likely to admit least, has been

forced to put on record that 'it' (the agitation) 'has succeeded in giving to the Irish people personal independence and legal security for their property.'[11] This, of course, is what Parliament (not the agitation) has done. The agitation, I am afraid, has done something very different. But the change from the olden time is something to be thankful for.

In the four years 1849–52 there were 58,423 families evicted in Ireland. I take these figures from the Report of the Special Commission. In the three years 1882–84 there were 6,887, whereas in the three years 1886–88 the numbers were only 3,951. Indeed, Mr. O'Brien, in an effort to vindicate the Land League from the aspersions of the Commission, affirms that both 'a Liberal and a Tory Parliament have passed Land Acts which have impoverished Irish landlords far beyond the figure to which the Land League first proposed to cut down their murderous exactions.'[12] This shows how far we have travelled in doing justice. Indeed, and apart from that Western area which still awaits the attention of Parliament, the country is a new country. I do not say all is what it ought to be. Far from it. The life of the Irish peasant who tills a few acres of indifferent land, and who depends for his living upon this toil, will always be a hard one. He can never know much of the comforts of life. His struggle with a poor soil, indifferent seasons, low prices, and unscientific husbandry, must always be severe. But somehow the back is fitted to the burden, and at least his load has been lightened. The politician talks of Coercion Acts. Yes—but who have been coerced? Only the other day Mr. Parnell practically justified the Crimes Act of 1882, and declared that Lord Spencer had to grapple with 'appalling crime and with secret conspiracy which burrowed under Dublin Castle itself.'[13] This has been true of all such measures. The Westmeath Act—probably the most drastic of the entire Coercion code—had to deal with the crimes of Ribbonism. The Act of 1887 had to deal with a far subtler form of disorder. It had to meet and make an end of a network of intimidation spread over three provinces, under which the freedom of the individual had ceased to exist. Happily things are not what they were, even a few years ago. Agrarian crime stands at a lower point than it has done for ten years. Boycotting has almost ceased its cruel contest with liberty. Commerce has felt the breath of security and goes steadily forward. Apart from certain well-defined areas, the country is profoundly quiet, and it is prosperous to an extent unknown in past years. It is at such a time, and against the passionate protest of at least a million and a half of the Irish people, that a proposal is made which must arrest this progress, which must create turmoil and mayhap worse, which must inevitably rob Ireland of much of that which has been the source of whatever prosperity

[11] *The Speaker*, 22 Feb. 1890. [12] *Ibid.*
[13] Speech in House of Commons, Debate on Address, 1890.

she has enjoyed. What Ireland really needs is not a change of constitution. By all means let grievances be redressed. But Ireland requires above everything else the introduction of industrial enterprise that will take the pressure of life off the soil in the South and West. This can never be secured without the resolute enforcement of the law. Let this law be just, let it be supreme, let it be impartially administered, and in spite of Leagues and Leaguers Ireland will continue to go forward as she undoubtedly is doing at the present time.

T. W. RUSSELL.

PRINCE BISMARCK.

THE resignation of Prince Bismarck terminates the active political life of one of the greatest men that ever directed affairs of state. He has often been called the German Richelieu, and the expression is not unhappy. The minister of Lewis the Thirteenth crushed most of the obstacles which hindered the development of French power. He had not, however, completely finished his task when death overtook him. Mazarin took up the tale, and by the treaty of the Pyrenees established the supremacy of France in Europe on so firm a basis that, in spite of some appalling disasters, it lasted for more than two hundred years. The work of Bismarck is not likely to be less enduring. As he himself long ago expressed it, if Germany were only once fairly in the saddle, she would soon learn to ride. Of the four great men who established the new German Empire, he was the last to remain in laborious service. Field-Marshal Roon, the famous minister of war—a man not less remarkable for purity and nobility of character than for administrative genius—was the first of them to pass from the scene. The Emperor William was the next to follow. Advancing years and the exigencies of the public service forced Field-Marshal Moltke to retire from an office in which he won a foremost place among the greatest soldiers of history. Prince Bismarck was the youngest of the group, and its most striking member. Without his indomitable courage, his strength of will, his directness of mind, his profound knowledge of men, it would have been impossible for the king to accomplish the military reforms which were absolutely necessary for the security of the country and the efficiency of the army. Moreover, it is at least doubtful whether the results of the Prussian victories in 1866 would have been so far-reaching if, after the Austrian power had been shattered at Königgrätz, the Prussian State had not been guided by a man of such diplomatic skill, sound common-sense, accurate historical knowledge, and power of gauging the forces of European life.

Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck comes of good old Brandenburg stock. His family have been settled in the Mark since the fourteenth century. In the year 1345 the Markgraf Lewis the Elder conferred the castle of Burgstall on the Bismarck of that day, and

his descendants lived there for many generations. They exchanged this property with John George, the seventh Elector of Brandenburg, in 1562 for the estate of Schönhausen, where on the 1st of April, 1815, the man was born who was destined to make their ancient name illustrious for ever. The Bismarcks belonged to that sturdy race of Prussian squires who possess all the strength of the English Puritan without his peculiar narrowness, and who are remarkable for high character, firm principles, straightforward and candid minds, and, above all, uncompromising loyalty and proud submission to the House of Hohenzollern. When young Otto von Bismarck was six years old, he was sent to school at Berlin. After passing his Abiturienten-Examen he went to the university and threw himself heartily into student life. He did not, however, neglect the cultivation of his mind. From his boyhood he was devoted to the study of geography, and often tells his friends of the strange impression which the map of Germany used to make on him; as he looked at the thirty-nine states into which his country was divided, he could not help thinking what a great work it would be to bind them together without destroying their several characteristic traditions. The study of history was pursued with eagerness. There was not a country in Europe with whose rise, development, and peculiar institutions he did not make himself thoroughly acquainted when still a very young man. He insists continually on his great obligations to Ranke for his intellectual development, loses no opportunity of praising the political sagacity of that historian, and gives as an instance of it the famous memorandum on the Eastern Question which Ranke wrote for Frederick William the Fourth. His knowledge of English literature is very great, and although he speaks it with a slight accent and a somewhat old-fashioned pronunciation, his mastery of our language is complete. Not only is he perfectly acquainted with the chief works of our great poets, he is almost equally at home in obscure and forgotten works of second-rate writers. He has been known to quote in English on the spur of the moment some twenty lines of *Lalla Rookh*, and an English statesman is fond of telling that when he was in Berlin some few years ago the great Chancellor expressed his regret that the pressure of official business had made it impossible for him to make himself as well acquainted as he should like to be with the works of living English poets.

When the golden days of university life came to an end, he entered the Civil Service, and worked for a couple of years at Berlin, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Potsdam. In 1838 he performed his obligatory military service, and when that was over undertook the management of the estate of Kniephof in Pomerania, which his father gave him.

He became known to the country as an excellent landlord, who

took great and intelligent interest in all agricultural pursuits. He was a passionate sportsman and a splendid horseman. He could use the pistol with such skill as to be able to decapitate ducks as they swam in the pond at Kniephof. He has remained all his life a first-rate shot. A story is told that when he was Ambassador at St. Petersburg he went out bear-hunting one day with six other gentlemen. Bismarck killed the first bear that appeared. Soon another came from the bushes and trotted towards the party, one of whom fired and missed; the bear made for Bismarck, who waited till the animal came quite close, then took steady aim and stretched him at his feet. Another bear then broke cover; one of the gentlemen fired twice without effect, then Bismarck fired and killed the animal when it was just about to attack the gentleman who had discharged his gun. On another occasion, besides stags and roedeer, he shot five elks, one of which measured 6ft. 8in. to his withers. His feats of horsemanship were not less remarkable, although he got several severe falls, one of them of a very serious character. His powers of endurance in the saddle were exceptionally great. At the battle of Koniggrätz he was on his horse for more than twelve hours, and the day after Sedan he was riding from six o'clock in the morning till midnight.

The year 1847 marks a turning-point in the life of Bismarck. His political career began. On the 3rd of February Frederick William the Fourth called together a United Diet, composed of the representatives of the Provincial Councils established by King Frederick William the Third. Bismarck became a member of this Assembly, and delivered his maiden speech on the 17th of May. It is worthy of notice that his first appearance as an orator was for the purpose of attacking one of those popular superstitions everywhere common. It used to be industriously circulated in Germany, and thoughtlessly accepted as true by many, that the motive power of the patriotic movement of 1813 was a desire for parliamentary institutions. Bismarck, who had lived in the country and was well acquainted with people of all classes, had often heard melancholy tales of suffering endured when the French were in the country. Among his own friends and acquaintances there were many who had to struggle with actual poverty in those years. I have myself known two gentlemen, bearers of great Prussian names, one of them still alive, who can remember when every head of cattle was driven from their fathers' park, when there was no horse of any description left in the stable to do the most necessary work on the home farm, and when their families were able to afford no better light than that of tallow candles. Four-fifths of the estates of the country were unable to meet their rates and taxes. When the French army passed through on its way to Moscow, it had not only to be supplied with food during its march, but each soldier had to be

provided with twenty-one days' rations as it crossed the Russian frontier. In the province of East Prussia almost every vehicle was sequestrated, and in that province and Lithuania 71,161 horses were seized for the army. The story of the French occupation in Prussia may be read in the pages of Duncker and Droysen, and Bismarck was perfectly justified in contending that hatred of the foreigner, and not any desire to establish a Parliament at Berlin, was the mainspring of that famous movement, which was the first step towards the unity of Germany.

Bismarck made the first of his real weighty speeches on the 22nd of March, 1849, against the proposal to grant an amnesty to those who had taken part in the rebellion of the previous year. He protested against any parley with treason, insisted that to amnesty law-breakers was sure to weaken respect for law in the minds of the people, and sneered at the weak sentimentality which wept over the punishment of fanatical rebels, as if they were suffering in a sacred cause. His next important public utterance was on the 10th of April following, when he conclusively showed the unpractical character of the constitution elaborated at Frankfort by persons who he truly said had learned nothing since the publication of Rousseau's *Contrat Social*. In this speech, which is full of prophetic wisdom, he showed how ruinous it would be for the Prussian Monarchy to have anything to do with the Frankfort Constitution, with its suspensive veto, its widely extended suffrage, and the ludicrously inadequate representation it accorded to Prussia. His next speech of weight was a defence of the Manteuffel Government for the Convention of Olmutz. The Elector of Hesse had appointed Hassenpflug as minister, and overthrew the constitution. The Government of the King of Prussia committed itself to maintain the rights of the people. The restored Diet at Frankfort, under the influence of Austria, took the side of the Elector. A large Austrian army was concentrated in Bohemia, and placed under the command of Radetzky. Prussian troops stood in the presence of Austrians and Bavarians in Hesse. Shots had been exchanged, and war seemed inevitable. The relations between the Government of Berlin and the Court of St. Petersburg were at that moment strained to the utmost, owing to differences of opinion on the Schleswig-Holstein question. No one could trust Louis Napoleon, who would probably have profited by the war to seize Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine, where the population at that time were still in sympathy with France, as we know on the undoubted authority of recently published letters of Field-Marshal Roon. All of a sudden Count Brandenburg, the Prime Minister of Prussia, was sent to Warsaw to see the Emperor Nicholas. The Czar convinced him of the necessity of yielding to the demands of Austria as regards the Hessian question, and of leaving the Elbe Duchies to Denmark. He came

back to Berlin and urged this policy on the King. His advice was followed, and on the 29th of November, 1850, a convention was signed at Olmütz, in which Prussia gave way to Austria and Russia on every point of importance.

There was the greatest possible indignation in Prussia, and it required no small amount of courage to defend this policy. Bismarck, however, stepped into the breach and delivered a most powerful oration, in which he insisted on the great responsibility men incurred who drove a country lightly into war. He asked those who criticised the Government whether, after the sacrifices the nation would have to make if a warlike policy had been adopted, they really expected the people would be content when, in return for these sacrifices, they were told that Bayrhofer was minister in Hesse, and that Hassenpflug had been sent about his business. Alluding to the cry which had been got up that the honour of Prussia was tarnished, he remarked, 'Prussian honour, according to my conviction, does not consist in Prussia playing the part of Don Quixote in Germany to please the offended vanity of parliamentary celebrities. Prussian honour consists in keeping clear of all connection with revolution and the forces of anarchy.' Shortly after this speech Frederick William the Fourth appointed him Prussian representative to the Diet of Frankfort. The action of Bismarck in his new capacity is told most fully in the publication of Poschinger, which contains the confidential reports and State papers which he wrote for his Government. He devoted himself entirely to counteract the policy of Austria, but what is of more interest to this country is the attitude he took up regarding the Crimean war. In the year 1854 the Emperor Nicholas was at the height of his power. He had put down the revolution in Austria, and order reigned in Poland. The Ottoman Porte had, however, incurred his displeasure for having given Polish and Hungarian refugees positions in the Turkish army. He made up his mind that the time had come to put an end to the government of the Sultan in Europe, and the Crimean war broke out. From the very beginning the Eastern question had excited the keenest interest in Berlin. Those who desired German unity, who mourned over Olmütz and the loss of Schleswig-Holstein, saw with delight any symptom of Russian humiliation. They imagined a golden opportunity was offered to Prussia to put herself at the head of Germany. A group of distinguished men, like Count Goltz and Count Pourtales and the Privy Councillors Bethmann-Hollweg and Mathis, urged strongly an alliance with the Western Powers, and their organ in the press, the *Preussische Wochenblatt*, published very able articles in this sense. On the other hand, the Prime Minister, Manteuffel, held different views, and so did General Count Dohna, Count Alvensleben-Erxleben, and others who were special favourites with the King. The latter were Russian sympathisers pure and

simple, full of enthusiasm for the sovereign who had done so much to crush the revolution of 1848.

In this state of affairs Bismarck thought himself justified in offering his opinion. He wrote several letters on the general position of Prussia, which will be found in Poschinger's work, and which explain much of his subsequent policy. In the first place he expressed entire concurrence with those who desired to avoid a war with Russia. He pointed out that the Western Powers ran no real danger. The contrary would be the case with Prussia. If she joined France and England she would have to bear the whole brunt of the war, and had nothing to gain in the not improbable event of military success. He insisted that his country had little to fear from the progress of Russia in the East. Her real enemy was Austria. If they decided in Berlin to join in the war, the interests of the nation dictated that they should take the side against Austria so as to force that Power to give the Hohenzollern monarchy elbow-room in German affairs. Bismarck himself was strongly in favour of neutrality, and this advice prevailed with the King.

These letters from Frankfort show that Bismarck was always a firm advocate of the policy of a good understanding with Russia. Although he has many English friends, and in one of these letters frankly says that after his own land there is no country to which he is so attached as England, yet he has always had a profound mistrust of the policy of an English alliance. He has never forgotten, and constantly alludes to, the conduct of England in deserting Frederick the Great. His confidence has not been strengthened by his observations of English policy in his own time. This idea of holding to the Russian alliance found expression some years later, after he became Prime Minister. When the Crimean war broke out the Poles in London and Paris began to show great signs of activity. Some of them, followers of General Mieroslawski, hoped for a democratic republic and the destruction of Western culture. More moderate men gathered round Prince Adam Czartoryski, the patriarch of the Polish exiles, who was a candidate for the throne should Poland become an independent kingdom. Nothing of importance, however, took place during the war. When it was over the French Emperor turned his attention to the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, which task occupied him from the campaign of Solferino in 1859 till the cession of Venice to him by Austria in 1866. For this purpose it was clear that Russia must not be offended, and the notion of restoring Poland by force of arms was out of the question. He maintained, however, his interest in the country, and when he met the Emperor Alexander in Southern Germany in 1857, he urged that Russia should make Poland every possible concession consistent with her own interests. Alexander was prepared to do anything that was for the benefit of his subjects; and his chancellor was ready to make

great sacrifices for the French alliance, through which he hoped to get back for his country the foremost position in Europe, and ultimately to tear up the treaty which prevented Russian ships of war from cruising in the waters of the Black Sea. The Government of St. Petersburg set to work to introduce some reforms, but it made the capital mistake of supposing that improvement in administration was what the Poles wanted. There were at that time two parties formed in Poland, known by the name of the White and the Red. The first party was mainly composed of the great aristocracy, who desired a separate administrative system, the restoration of the constitution of 1815, and a national army. By this means they hoped to obtain gradually complete independence. The Red party were impatient at delay, and were anxious for an immediate appeal to arms. In January 1863 numbers of young men began to assemble in a wood a few miles from Warsaw, and similar bands were formed near Lublin, Plock, and other towns. On the night of the 23rd some small Russian garrisons were surprised, and about a hundred soldiers murdered in their beds or burned in the barracks. The country rose in revolution. Prince Gortschakoff was unmoved, for he believed, like all the world in St. Petersburg, that the rebellion would soon be crushed. In that case the Marquis Wielopolski, who was governing Poland, would become all powerful. This nobleman, undoubtedly the greatest intellect Poland could boast of, desired a good understanding between his own country and Russia, with a view to counteract German influence, which he positively hated. He and his friends, who possessed great influence over the Grand Duke Constantine, desired that Poland should become an independent kingdom under Russian protection, strong enough to absorb Servia, Croatia, and perhaps all the Slav countries in the Austrian Empire, and thereby help Russia to plant her standard on the dome of the Aya Sofia.

In Vienna, Berlin, and London there was considerable anxiety as to the further development of things. At that moment Russia and France were opposed to England on the question of the Danubian Principalities, and it became known that the French Emperor, in spite of the sympathies of his country, looked coldly on the Polish insurrection. The conclusion Bismarck arrived at was that the Russian Chancellor, the Emperor of the French, and the Governor of Poland thoroughly understood each other, and that they all agreed that a new Poland, in friendly alliance with Russia, would serve as a basis for an attack on Vienna and on the Ottoman Empire. The Emperor of the French could then settle the Italian question, and perhaps obtain for France the annexation of Belgium and of the left bank of the Rhine.

In England the government, who had some inkling of the objects of France, encouraged popular sympathy with the Polish insur-

rection; and the Cabinet of Vienna, notwithstanding its fear for Galicia, viewed it with satisfaction because it crossed the plans of Prince Gortschakoff. Bismarck was equally determined to use the rebellion for the purpose of breaking down the Russo-French alliance, and he set about doing so with characteristic courage, originality and genius.

On various grounds connected with external German politics the relations between Prussia and Austria were becoming daily more strained. England, for some perfectly unintelligible reason, took the side of Austria, and was continually urging the Cabinet of Berlin to adopt a more friendly attitude towards the Government of Vienna. This advice was always met by Bismarck with a request that the ministers of Francis Joseph should be told to be more civil to Prussia.

More important for Prussia than the advice of England was the change of French policy in the autumn of 1862. The Cabinet of Turin held fast to the idea that Rome must be the capital of Italy. But they announced that the city must be won by peaceable means, and therefore, while proclaiming the doctrine of Roma Capitale, did not hesitate to disperse the freebooters of Garibaldi at Aspromonte. Soon after this Napoleon the Third, who always hoped he would be able to force both the Pope and Italy to accept his solution of the Italian question, determined to show his displeasure to the Court of Turin by making a change in his diplomatic service. He therefore sent to Rome and Turin as his representatives men of what were called Ultramontane views. Thouvenel, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs, was dismissed, and his place given to Drouyn de Lhuys, the old friend of Austria and the Pope. It became therefore vital for Prussia to keep on good terms with the government of the Czar.

It would be difficult to decide which would most inconvenience the Prussian monarchy—a victory of the Revolutionary party, such as Mieroslawski, Mazzini, and Garibaldi desired, or the establishment of a Polish state under the protectorate of Russia and France, which was the plan of Wielopolski and Prince Gortschakoff. The Radical party had already proclaimed their desire to incorporate into the future Polish Republic, West Prussia, Posen, and Pomerania up to the Oder. The other party, indeed, were moderate in language, but if they got the upper hand it was plain that Wielopolski would be driven forward by the force of circumstances and his own inclinations. Moreover, Prince Gortschakoff was the last man to stop him in his career. The moment, therefore, the news of the Polish insurrection reached Berlin it was determined to deal directly with the Emperor Alexander, and for this purpose General von Alvensleben was sent to St. Petersburg to ask in the name of the King of Prussia for an explanation of the situation and to consult as to the best means of putting down the rebellion. Considering the general

position of European politics at the moment this mission of Alvensleben was a very bold step. Everybody sympathised with the Poles. Liberals, Clericals, Republicans, Conservatives worked together in their interest. They were backed by the public opinion of Europe, and had staunch friends in all the most important Governments. This circumstance, however, secured a welcome for the Prussian general at St. Petersburg. A convention was signed by which the two Powers agreed to render each other mutual assistance. Gortschakoff was hostile to the arrangement, and although it was agreed to keep the transaction secret, he made it known the very next day to the Duc de Montebello, the French Ambassador, and that diplomatist showed his respect for the Russian Chancellor by at once telling Herr von Redern, the Prussian minister, from whom he heard the news. Bismarck had no objection that all the world should know what had taken place, and on the 11th of February he had an interview with Sir Andrew Buchanan, and told him about it. Sir Andrew asked if the troops on each side would cross the frontier. Bismarck replied in the affirmative, and remarked that Prussia would not tolerate an independent Poland. 'But what,' said Sir Andrew, 'if the Russians should be driven out?' 'In that case,' said Bismarck, 'we shall occupy the kingdom ourselves.' 'Europe will never tolerate that,' remarked Sir Andrew, and repeated this phrase several times. 'What do you mean by Europe?' said Bismarck. 'The different great nations,' replied the British Ambassador. 'Are you then all agreed?' said Bismarck. This question was somewhat difficult to answer, and Sir Andrew stammered something about France not allowing Polish oppression. 'Well, as for us,' said Bismarck, 'the suppression of the revolution is a question of life and death.' He held the same language to the French minister, who, however, replied he knew nothing as to the designs of his Government.

Napoleon the Third was an enemy of the Red party. He would have been delighted to support Wielopolski, and therefore the Prussian Convention was most unpleasant to him. At the same time the whole Clerical party in France as well as the Republicans were equally enthusiastic about Poland. It became, therefore, a matter of importance to pretend at least to do something for Poland, and the French Government hit on the thought of turning their attention not to Russia but to Prussia. Drouyn de Lhuys was just the man for such a policy.

The Prussian Ambassador was first informed that it would have been well if Prussia would remain neutral in the Polish question. A few days later it was announced that the convention had made the Polish question a European one, and at last it was intimated that nothing would satisfy France but the resignation of Bismarck. The Cabinet of Vienna was asked to join in a Note to that effect, and it was hoped it would assent, considering the hostility to Prussia. In

London there was a general sympathy for the Poles, and Lord John Russell had, unfortunately, made use of some expressions against the Russo-Prussian Convention. It was hoped, therefore, England would also join. Lord John, however, recognised the danger of the insurrection for Prussia, and refused to be a party to any remonstrance. Austria followed suit, and the whole French plan fell to the ground.

The Prussian statesman had during all this time to face the intrigues of Gortschakoff and a most violent attack in his own Chamber. The Berlin Parliament condemned the action of the Government and declared for neutrality. Bismarck, however, remained unmoved. He stood firm by his own views, and there can be no doubt that this policy was the basis of his success in the Danish war, in the war with Austria, and in the war of 1870.

When Bismarck became Prime Minister of Prussia everything was in confusion. After the year 1848 a powerful reaction had set in throughout the country, in consequence of the revolutionary vehemence of the demagogues and the want of practical sense which the Liberal party had exhibited at Frankfort. The great middle class began to tremble for its safety, and desired above all things the preservation of order. This state of feeling produced a movement in Prussia similar to that which placed the second Bonaparte on the French throne and Bach at the head of Austrian affairs. Thus it came to pass that the ministry of Manteuffel acquired for some years considerable popularity, notwithstanding the Convention of Olmutz. The Prince of Prussia, however, had never forgotten this event, and he was further alienated from the Conservative party in consequence of the manner in which Kleist-Retzow, a highly honourable but uncompromising Pomeranian nobleman, administered the provinces on the Rhine.

When the Prince of Prussia succeeded to the government of his brother, King Frederick William the Fourth, he introduced into the ministry a liberal element, consisting of Count Schwerin, Auerswald, and Patow. The very first efforts of King William the First were directed to accomplishing a complete reform of the army. His object was to get rid of the Landwehr as a force of the first line, and to introduce a more efficient, just, and impartial method of universal military service. The Landwehr had shown, on more than one occasion, that it was difficult to mobilise with rapidity. In truth, it had never been a very good force. Prussians were very angry at some remarks which were made by the Duke of Wellington—not flattering to its conduct—during the campaign of Waterloo. But the Duke was right. There can be no question that at the commencement of hostilities at Charleroi the conduct of the Landwehr regiments under Ziethen, though excellent as far as bravery was concerned, was wanting in many soldier-like qualities. No one disputes the heroism these militiamen showed at Ligny; but at the moment of defeat they became so disorganised that old Prussian officers were reminded, during

the night of 16–17 June, 1815, and during the retreat on Wavre, of the confusion which followed Jena.

The wonderful march to Waterloo remains a glorious recollection in the Prussian army. But the brunt of the fighting in that battle fell on the fourth corps, which was commanded by Bülow, and was not engaged at Ligny. The casualties of the first corps, under Ziethen, which had been much reduced by the disorganisation of the Landwehr regiments, and those of the second corps under Pirch, were comparatively slight. The great service of the Prussian army, as far as fighting was concerned, was rendered by Bülow, who lost in the storming of Planchenoit over six thousand men. The campaign of Waterloo, however creditable to the Prussian army, could not, therefore, be cited as showing the efficiency of the Landwehr. Still the force was popular, owing to the stirring memories of Grossbeeren, Dennewitz, and the wild Homeric battle on the Katzbach, and the reforms, moreover, would in the first instance cost money. There was a further difficulty. Both Patow and Schwerin had committed themselves in opposition to a reduction of military expenditure. They consented, as ministers, to a plan which could not be carried out without an increase in that expenditure of 12,000,000 thalers.

Considerable friction arose in consequence between the King's Government and the Chamber. There is nobody who does not know at the present day how completely right King William was in this matter. If he had been less clear-sighted and firm the unity of Germany would still be a thing of the future. At that time, however, even wise men thought him needlessly obstinate. Ill-feeling deepened between the Crown and the representatives of the nation. King William had to give up one public man after another. At last he determined to entrust the government to Bismarck, who was ambassador in Paris. Count Bernstorff, who was Prussian Ambassador here some twenty years since, used to claim credit for having done something to influence the choice of the King. However that may be, Bismarck became Prime Minister on the 21st of September, 1862, a most noteworthy date, not for Prussian chronicles alone, but for the history of the human race.

Bismarck resolved at all hazards to stand by his King and see the army reform accomplished. The use of the royal prerogative introduced the necessary reforms. The Prime Minister defied the Parliament. He treated the Opposition with the utmost scorn and contempt. He devoted all his energies to the cause, and was ably assisted by the splendid talents and unflinching courage of the Minister of War, Albrecht von Roon. The scenes in the House that used daily to take place baffle all description. The most striking of these was perhaps the oratorical duel between Dr. Gneist, who is so well known in England by reason of his famous books on our constitution, and Field-Marshal Roon. Dr. Gneist delivered a carefully prepared phi-

lippic against the Minister of War, and made use of language totally unjustifiable, and of which I am quite sure he has long since bitterly repented. Roon rose at the ministers' table and delivered a reply so crushing in its effect that it can only be compared to the well-known denunciation of Lafayette by M. de Serre. Feeling ran so high that the firmest men became uneasy lest revolutionary movements should break out. Bismarck, Roon, and the King kept their minds clear, their heads erect, and faced the storm. Long after, when the ship was safe in port, some of their greatest admirers and even fulsome flatterers had been their bitterest opponents and enemies in the hour of difficulty and danger.

The circumstances that led to the war with Austria in 1866 are well known. They grew primarily out of the dualism which resulted from the schism in the national life of Germany caused by the Reformation; but the immediate occasion was the disputes arising out of the joint occupations of Schleswig-Holstein. What is less perfectly understood, even in Germany, is the part Bismarck took in negotiating the treaty of Nicolsburg, which terminated the war. The truth in this matter, as far as I am aware, has not yet been told. Soon after the battle of Koniggrätz the King of Prussia called together his chief councillors to consider on what basis peace should be negotiated with the Austrian Empire. A proposal was made that Prussia should demand certain annexations of territory, not necessary now to mention, but to which it was positively certain that Austria would not consent without another appeal to the god of battles. Bismarck opposed on five grounds: that it would lead at once to war with France, for which they were not prepared; that there was cholera in the army; that the troops of the Southern German States were not yet defeated, and that with a little assistance from without they might be formidable; that the war would have to be carried into Hungary; and lastly, that the end must be the total destruction of the Austrian Empire, which would greatly aid the Panslavistic movement.

The original proposal was vehemently supported by Roon, who gave a complete answer to the military objections raised by the Chancellor, and who showed that there was no danger to fear from a struggle with France, seeing that the munitions of war were wanting in the arsenals, and that the whole administration of the French army was in a state of complete confusion owing to the Mexican expedition. The Minister of War was supported by Moltke, who urged that another blow should be swiftly struck at Austria, and then that the larger part of the army should be wheeled round for a march on Paris if the Emperor declared war. Bismarck, beaten on the military points, took refuge in his fifth argument, and plainly said he would not agree to a policy which might mean the total destruction of Austria.

The debate became animated, and the King grew warm. He

leant to the view of his military advisers, and in the course of conversation he said, no doubt unwittingly, something which hurt the feelings of his chief minister. Bismarck retired to his quarters anxious, and waited the determination of his King. While he was standing at a window somebody entered the room. It was the Crown Prince. He and Bismarck had not been for some time on the best of terms, but they made up their differences and discussed the situation. The minister convinced the son of his sovereign of the danger to Prussia there would be in the future, if not in the present, if the policy which the King seemed disposed to favour were adopted. The Crown Prince, when the council again assembled, gave his opinion against the particular annexation proposed, and Bismarck was triumphant. That very night he summoned Giskra, who was then burgomaster of Brunn, and sent him to Vienna with offers of peace, which, if accepted on the spot, would have been more advantageous than the peace eventually concluded, and would have saved Austria the payment of a war indemnity.

There can be no shadow of doubt that Bismarck in opposing the wishes of his imperial master on this occasion rendered one of his most solid services to the German nation and to the dynasty to which he is so devotedly attached. The object of the war was attained when Austria agreed to withdraw from Germany and when the Germanic settlement of 1815 was broken up. To prosecute the war further would have intensified the feeling of animosity to Prussia in the South German States, and particularly in Bavaria, to such an extent that it would have been out of the question to expect reconciliation between the peoples of the North and South for another generation. It is not likely that there would have been immediate war with France. But it would have come sooner or later, and when it did Southern Germany would have been once more in arms against the North, supported by whatever was left of Austrian power. This catastrophe was averted by the firmness of Bismarck, for when the hour of trial came four years after Koniggrätz, the sturdy sons of the Bavarian mountains, under the command of the Crown Prince of Prussia, stormed the fortified position of Weissenburg, and were among the first Germans to shed their blood in that war which was to end for Germany in the reunion for ever of her lost western march, and the re-establishment of Kaiser und Reich in the palace of the very sovereign who harried the Palatinate and tore away Alsace.

The battle of Königgrätz was fought on the 3rd of July, 1866. When the result was known, most men who could read the signs of the times felt, like Göthe after Valmy, that a new era was approaching. There was consternation at the Tuileries. The Emperor of the French had not calculated on so rapid and complete a success for the Prussian Army. His knowledge of Germany led him to expect

that the solid regiments of King William would ultimately be victorious. But he imagined that the struggle would be long, that both combatants would be exhausted, and that he would be able to offer himself as arbitrator at some critical moment, and secure thereby for a long time to come the undisputed supremacy of France. He was now deeply disconcerted, and without carefully considering the situation sent an ultimatum to Berlin which was delivered early in August 1866. He demanded for France all the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine, together with the important fortress of Mainz.

Bismarck did not hesitate an instant, but at once refused to meet the wishes of the French Government and determined to accept the alternative of war. A few days afterwards, however, when the ministers in Paris realised the danger of a struggle with Prussia, it was intimated to the Court of Berlin that the ultimatum was sent during an illness of the Emperor, and Bismarck was requested to think no more about it. From that moment, however, the relations between France and Prussia were never cordial, and it was clear that sooner or later hostilities would break out between the countries. France began almost at once to make preparations for them, and in December, 1867, Marshal Niel, the Minister of War, openly said that his scheme of army organisation must be carried through in order to prepare for a possible collision with Prussia. In July 1868 M. Thiers, at that time far the greatest authority of the Opposition, spoke with even unusual vehemence in favour of increased armament in view of an approaching conflict with that power.

The animosity of France against Prussia was stimulated by the action of the Government and the harangues of the Opposition. When Napoleon the Third went to Salzburg to visit the Emperor of Austria after the tragedy at Queretaro, he continually insisted on the circumstance that the French nation were so bitterly jealous of Prussia since the battle of Königgrätz that the slightest incident might provoke war. The Emperor of France asked to see Prince Hohenlohe who was then Prime Minister of Bavaria. Prince Hohenlohe went to the station at Munich to pay his respects. The Emperor got out of his carriage, and, walking up and down the platform, warned the Bavarian minister of the absolute necessity of keeping aloof as much as possible from Prussia, so as not in any way to provoke the susceptibilities of the French. The Emperor did not evidently know the full purport of the treaty of alliance which had been concluded between Prussia and Bavaria in 1866. There were for a couple of years continual rumours of a Franco-German war, and at last the explosion came in 1870.

In the spring of that year the crown of Spain was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, and accepted by him. The French Government and nation became frantic with anger.

The candidature of this prince, however, had been mentioned the year before. A distinguished member of the Cortes, Salazar y Mazarredo, had published a pamphlet which attracted considerable notice in favour of choosing Prince Leopold as King of Spain. One of the reasons he urged in support of his proposal was that of all candidates this Hohenzollern would be least objectionable to France, and less disagreeable a good deal to the House of Bonaparte than the Duc de Montpensier. Prince Leopold, he further pointed out, was only distantly related to the King of Prussia. He belonged to the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns which had for centuries been separated from the Protestant line.

It was the same Salazar y Mazarredo who in 1870 conducted negotiations personally with the Prince. So little had the King of Prussia to say to this candidature that when he was informed of it as a mere matter of courtesy, in the month of June 1870, he was exceedingly surprised. Moreover the Spanish Foreign Secretary Sagasta, in a circular note of the 7th of July, declared that the Spanish Government had not taken the advice of, or communicated with, any foreign cabinet, but had dealt directly with the Prince.

The moment the French ministers heard that a deputation had been sent by the Spanish Government to offer the crown to Prince Leopold, Le Sourd, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, was instructed to ask for explanations. He called on Herr von Thile, the Secretary of State, and was assured by him that the Prussian Government had not in any way promoted the candidature, and knew nothing about it more than the rest of the world. This was on the 4th of July. The excitement in France, however, became more and more intense. The Duc de Gramont directed M. Benedetti to go to Ems, whither the King of Prussia had gone to drink the waters, to see that sovereign and force him to order the Prince Leopold to withdraw his candidature. When this request was made to King William, he replied that he had neither encouraged nor opposed the acceptance of the crown of Spain by his kinsman, and that he had no responsibility in the matter. In the meantime, Prince Antony of Hohenzollern sent a despatch to Marshal Prim, announcing on behalf of his son his renunciation of all pretensions to the crown, and a copy of this message was sent also to Señor Oloaza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris. This took place on the 12th of July, and everybody hoped peace would be preserved. M. Ollivier, the Prime Minister, strongly entertained this opinion for several hours. But the Duc de Gramont was deep in negotiations for forming a coalition against Prussia, and he desired war. He confessed to Lord Lyons that the withdrawal of the Prince Leopold's candidature was a great embarrassment, and he hit upon the expedient of ordering Benedetti to ask the King for a declaration that he would not at any future time sanction the acceptance of the crown of Spain by

Prince Leopold or any of his kinsmen. On the morning of the 13th the French ambassador met the King in the public garden, and in accordance with his instructions, asked him for his promise. The King gave, of course, a point-blank refusal to so preposterous a demand, and said that he neither could nor would bind himself to any engagement without limit of time, and that he must reserve his right to act according to circumstances. Subsequently the King went so far as to send an aid-de-camp to Benedetti, and to tell him that the decision of Prince Leopold in renouncing the proffered crown had his approval. Later in the day the King left Ems, and arrived in Berlin on the evening of the 15th. He was met at the railway-station by Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon. It was by that time plain that France was bent on war. Before the old sovereign reached his palace he had made up his mind to give orders for the mobilisation of the army. The news was communicated to the crowd, who heard it with wild enthusiasm. That very night the necessary telegraphic messages were sent to all parts of the country, and in the words of Moltke 'United Germany stood to arms.' Some days afterwards the French declaration of war was received, and the great struggle began. Everybody knows the result—in a few months France lay prostrate at the feet of her conqueror.

While the war was being prosecuted with vigour, the question as to the internal constitution of Germany was not lost sight of. The idea of re-establishing the German Empire was in many minds, but historical reasons and local prejudices made it an exceedingly difficult question to touch. The Crown Prince was undoubtedly the most active among leading men in urging the matter forward. The late King of Bavaria got credit for having done much to promote it. But the truth is, he had no steady opinion from the commencement in favour of the Empire.

The time has not yet come to let the world know the course of action which that monarch pursued during the great struggle in which his country was engaged. He never once showed an interest in the progress of the campaign. The King of Saxony despatched a general officer to Munich during the autumn, to urge the King to take some initiative in the restoration of the Empire, lest perchance the movement should acquire a dangerously centralised character. King Lewis refused to see the messenger. Another secret envoy who came from another sovereign was hardly more successful with the King. He was at last persuaded to move by a gentleman who was sent to speak to him by Bismarck. And the letter which the King then wrote, and which was the immediate cause of the establishment of the Empire, was suggested by Prince Bismarck.

When the German Empire was re-established, Bismarck became the first Chancellor. The constitution, which was chiefly his work, was modelled on that of the North German Confederation.

It was the main object to be contented with the minimum of those concessions which the particular states of Germany were willing to make for the good of the whole. 'I believe,' he said, speaking of the German Constitution on the 10th of March, 1877, 'our Constitution possesses a self-constructive faculty resembling that to which the British Constitution owes its formation, not through the setting up of a theoretical ideal.'

It is impossible to imagine Bismarck apart from his influence in Parliament, and this brings me to consider him as a public speaker. He has always been fond of insisting that he is no orator. Like Kant and Gothe he heartily despises rhetorical gifts. His great effort has always been to make his speech simple and plain, and to express himself as neatly, as clearly, and as concisely as possible, and appeal solely to the good sense of his audience. The result, however, is that of all speeches his read far the best on account of the total absence of verbosity. They are rich in thought and elegant in expression, and are sure to be read in time to come even for their high literary merit. He speaks with far more deliberation than any speaker I have ever known. The nearest approach to him in this characteristic was Mr. John Stuart Mill. Niebuhr used to say that M. de Serre was one of the greatest political orators that ever lived. M. de Serre had by all accounts a great charm of delivery, and no doubt great wealth of expression. If Niebuhr had lived to read the speeches of Bismarck he would have discovered an orator who at least in many respects would come up to his view of a great speaker. In conversation he frequently uses original and striking metaphors. A few years ago, speaking to an English statesman, he compared the French policy in Africa to a fiery steed galloping across the desert of Sahara and finding the ground much heavier than was expected. It is now five-and-twenty years since I had the honour of being first presented to Prince Bismarck, but the conversation I then had with him made such an impression that, though followed by many others, not a word of it has faded from my memory. Various subjects were discussed. Speaking of England, he expressed the opinion, which I know he has not changed, that although more Englishmen than formerly spoke German, the ignorance of Germany in this country was greater than ever. Those who had acquired the German language did not use it for the purpose of studying literature and trying to understand the German mind. He did not believe that the work of any considerable German poet, from the Parzival of Wolfram von Eschenbach to the songs and ballads of Uhland, was at all widely or properly appreciated in England. 'Nations,' he said, 'have not yet been drawn closer together since locomotion has become more easy. This is a melancholy reflection. In the days of my youth, a certain number of English used to come here and stay some time amongst us. Now they fly like woodcocks across the continent. No English

leading public man has anything like the knowledge of Germany Carteret possessed a hundred years since.'

Among his personal characteristics Bismarck's extraordinary coolness and courage are very prominent. Dr. Droysen told me that once during the revolutionary days of 1848 Bismarck went into an inn to get a glass of beer. There was a man in the room talking to a very excited audience and speaking most disrespectfully of the Queen of Prussia. Bismarck went up to him and instantly called upon him to apologise. The man demurred, but he soon thought better of it, and expressed his regret before the whole revolutionary crowd. Three-and-twenty years after, in 1871, Busch tells us that during the partial occupation of Paris Bismarck could not resist the temptation of going into the city. He was soon recognised, and a crowd gathered round and became threatening. He went up to the man who looked specially truculent, pulled out a cigar, and asked him for a light. The man was so astounded that he pulled his short clay pipe out of his mouth and offered it to Bismarck with the most polite of bows. Stories illustrating Bismarck's humour are endless, and we meet them at every turn.

On one occasion he had to meet Heinrich von Gagern at the house of Manteuffel on some business of a political character. Manteuffel left them alone to discuss the subject they came about. Gagern instantly drew himself up and began to talk in a very loud voice as if he were making a speech. Bismarck waited till he had finished and offered some cold and curt remark. Gagern started off again and made a second oration. Then a third; at last he went away. Manteuffel came back and asked whether everything had gone well. 'We settled nothing,' was Bismarck's reply. 'That is a stupid fellow; he mistook me for a popular assembly.'

Bismarck, as a boy, received the rite of confirmation from Schleiermacher in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Berlin. Schleiermacher started from the Moravian sect, and never lost the influence of his early training. Partly, perhaps, owing to the influence of Schleiermacher Bismarck has always been attracted by their literature. Busch tells us that early on the morning after the battle of Sedan the Chancellor was summoned to meet the Emperor of the French. After he left his room his neighbour entered it while the servant was putting it in order. Two books of devotion of the Moravian sect were in the room: one was called 'Die tägliche Erquickung für gläubige Christen,' the other 'Tägliche Lesungen und Lehrtexte der Brudergemeinde für 1870.' And the servant stated that His Excellency was always in the habit of reading the books in question before going to bed.

No account of Bismarck would be complete without some allusion to his relations in private life. The letters which were written at various times to members of his family reveal a nature of the

most extraordinary richness. His marvellous descriptions of landscape in Sweden, in Hungary, in France, in Spain, show an enthusiast for nature, and he speaks of the sea in language which recalls some of the finest passages in Victor Hugo. His kindness of heart was not alone exhibited to his own people. I was told once, by a person who had opportunities of knowing, that he never observed Bismarck say a really unkind or hard thing to any subordinate he conceived was doing his best. On the other hand a person entitled to the highest credibility assured me he once saw an official of position come out of the room of the Chancellor showing by his garments unmistakeable signs that an inkbottle had been hurled at him.

But the strongest of all Bismarck's personal characteristics is his firm, unshaken, and deep sense of his duty to the Almighty. At the height of the Franco-German war he said: 'did I not believe in a divine ordinance which has destined this German nation for good and great things, I would have never taken up my calling. . . . To my steadfast faith alone I owe the power of resisting all manner of absurdities which I have shown during the past ten years. Rob me of my Faith, and you rob me of my country. Find me a successor animated by similar principles and I will resign on the spot.' All persons who take an interest in the future of Germany will earnestly hope that successor has been found.

When the resignation of Prince Bismarck was announced, many persons hastily assumed that it was the outcome of a serious misunderstanding with his sovereign on economic and socialist questions. Those who came to that conclusion had not followed with any care Prince Bismarck's attitude to the pressing problem of the hour. Had he been seriously opposed to the action of the Emperor in calling together the labour conference, he would, of course, have resigned when his imperial master decided to summon it. The truth is that very soon after the accession of William the Second differences arose between the young monarch and the Chancellor. They existed to my knowledge a year ago and longer. The leading idea of Bismarck always was to maintain thoroughly good relations with Russia. This was one of his chief differences with the late Emperor Frederic and also with the most powerful members of the Prussian staff. The present Emperor is a warm partisan of the triple alliance, but Bismarck while equally anxious to preserve that combination, has attached more importance than his sovereign to the necessity of bringing about an arrangement between Austria and Russia on such a basis as would secure the interests of each power in the Balkan peninsula. Moreover, the Chancellor has always looked with cold suspicion on the colonial policy which has the sympathy of the Emperor.

Although William the First did not always take the same view of things as his great minister, he never took any important step without

telling Prince Bismarck beforehand. William the Second has not observed this rule so punctiliously. Prince Bismarck thought he had some right to complain of the action of his sovereign in this respect. And, considering the services, experience, and fame of the great minister, it was not to be expected that he would consent to be responsible for acts about which he had not been previously consulted, and the consequences of which might be most momentous.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT.

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY.

SIR,—The most conclusive evidence having been brought before me of the absolute falsehood of the stories related in the *Nineteenth Century* of this month, in connection with the battalion under my command, regarding the killing of men by their comrades for treachery, beating of men with rifle-slings, drinking of camel's-blood, and wounded being left on the field for an extraordinary time at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, it only remains for me to request that you will be so good as to publish this, my most unqualified and emphatic denial of the same.

I am, Sir,

Yours obediently,

E. EVERETT,

Colonel Commanding Cameron Highlanders.

THE CASTLE, EDINBURGH *March* 15, 1890.

[The foregoing letter is published out of deference to Colonel Everett as spokesman for the illustrious regiment he now commands, and which, however unnecessarily, he considers aggrieved by ex-Sergeant Palmer's article on 'A Battle described from the Ranks.'

It is to be regretted, however, that Colonel Everett, who was not himself present at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, declines a request to publish the 'conclusive evidence' in his possession which convinces him that Mr. Palmer, although in the thick of the fight, cannot have seen and heard what he says he did. It seems hardly fair to accuse Mr. Palmer publicly, as Colonel Everett does, and yet withhold from publication any evidence in support of his charges and to which Mr. Palmer would be entitled to reply.—ED. *Nineteenth Century.*]

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. CLIX.—MAY 1890.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

IN every country in Europe there is now either war or the rumours of war between employers and workmen. Not a week, scarcely a day, passes but we witness determined struggles between these opposing bodies, the workers demanding better conditions and the employers resisting those demands. Strikes and lockouts are so common that it would be difficult to find a manufacturing town in Great Britain of any importance where one or more struggles are now not being waged. The cry may be raised about driving trade away from the district or country, but that cry is powerless to stop the forces at work. The struggles are entered upon all the same, although those who do so often see how great the probability is of themselves and their families being brought to starvation before the fight is over. The public press may praise or denounce; the chairmen of limited liability companies may condemn or approve; politicians or philanthropists may urge moderation and quietude, but all their united efforts cannot do more than temporarily slow down the ardour that impels the workers onward.

These workers themselves much prefer peace to warfare, but not peace at any price; and when they find that the only basis upon which they can have peace is by calmly submitting to conditions that outrage their manhood, as men they declare war, even though war might mean annihilation. That submission may mean much the same thing witness the case of the chain-makers of Cradley Heath, where men work hard a whole week through for 10*s.* or 12*s.* The gun-lock filers of Staffordshire get less still; thousands of labourers

in Lancashire, in towns like Bolton, get no more than 15*s.* a week; and in towns like Ipswich in the eastern counties many are working for 11*s.* and 12*s.* a week, out of which they have to pay 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.* rent and 1*s.* 4*d.* a cwt. for coals; whilst before the great strike in London thousands of dock labourers considered themselves fortunate if they averaged 8*s.* a week.

Of the existence of such a spirit in the United Kingdom no one will require proof who has witnessed what has happened during the past twelve months.[1] The Blue Book on strikes and lockouts, issued by Mr. John Burnett, sets forth, in as complete a manner as the staff and information at his disposal will allow, what has happened during 1888. That a similar spirit actuates the workers of America may be gathered from the official statement here given, taken from the Report of the Commissioner of Labour[2] (1887), showing the number of strikes in the United States by years from 1881 to 1886:—

Years	Strikes	Establishments	Average establishments to a strike	Employés striking and involved
1881	471	2,928	6·2	129,521
1882	454	2,105	4·6	154,671
1883	478	2,759	5·8	149,763
1884	443	2,367	5·3	147,054
1885	645	2,284	3·5	242,705
1886	1,411	9,861	7·0	499,489
	3,902	22,304	5·7	1,323,203

The number of employés originating the strikes was 1,020,156.

The number of employés in all establishments before the strikes occurred was 1,660,835, while the number employed in the establishments involved after the strikes occurred was 1,635,047, a loss of 25,788. There were 103,038 new employés engaged after the strikes, and 37,483 were brought from other places than those in which the strikes occurred, showing the percentage of new employés after strike of the total number of employés before strike to be 6·20, and of employés brought from other places of the number of new employés after strike to be 30·38.

During the same period lockouts were ordered in 2,214 establishments, affecting 175,270 employés. It will be seen from this that England does not stand alone in its many labour disputes.

A very important consideration is, In how many cases of the previously mentioned disputes did the men come off victorious? The excellent report gives all details, and the summaries show that for the strikes, out of the whole number of establishments affected, viz. 22,304, success followed in 10,375 cases, or 46·52 per cent. of the whole, partial success was gained in 3,004, or 13·47 per cent. of the whole, and failure followed in 8,910 establishments, or 39·95

[1] *Report of the Strikes and Lockouts of* 1888, by the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade. Eyre & Spottiswoode, East Harding Street. Price 10*d.*

[2] Report of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labour, Washington, D. C.

per cent. of the whole number; for 15 establishments, or 0·06 per cent., the strikes were still pending on the 31st of December, 1886.

For lockouts, 564 establishments, or 25·47 per cent. of the whole, succeeded in gaining their point; 190, or 8·58 per cent., partially succeeded, and 1,339, or 60·48 per cent. of the whole, failed. The remainder were pending on the 31st of December, 1886.

It will be interesting to note the principal causes of such a vast number of struggles as this array of figures indicates. Of the total number of strikes alluded to no less than 9,439 were for increase of wages, 6,229 of which were successful, 796 partially so, and 2,414 failed; 4,344 were for reduction of hours, only 1,055 being successful, 966 partially so, and 2,323 failed. 1,734 were against reduction of wages, 1,692 for increase of wages and reduction of hours; 800 were for reduction of hours and against being compelled to board with employer; 360 were for change of the hour for beginning work, 238 for increase of wages and against contract system, 215 for increase of wages and against employment of non-union men.

The causes of the lockouts instituted by the employers were as follows: 382 were to enforce the task system; 314 against demand for increase of wages; 229 to enforce reduction of wages; 218 to force button-hole makers to join the boss tailors' union; 173 against employés leaving work before the close of working hours on pay day; 167 against demand for union apprentice rules. Of the 314 against increased wages only 73 succeeded; of the 382 to enforce the task system (a kind of piece work) every one failed.

This indicates a terrible amount of discontent, and that similar discontent exists at home everyone knows. From what does it arise? Some employers and not a few of the leader writers in the press pretend to believe that it is all due to a few agitators who refuse to let well alone; others admit that the conditions under which the workers toil and live may not be all they ought to be, but fancy that at the bottom of the whole business it is so much 'pure cussedness' in the workman's nature that makes him prefer to be at loggerheads with his employers rather than go along quietly like a peaceable and God-fearing machine-minder ought to. There are, however, others who know that this constant rebellion on the part of the workers is due to the fact that their demand for the necessaries of a human existence is denied them whilst their power to produce these necessaries is abundant. In proportion as they are men and women with aspirations worthy of humanity they are struggling to get those aspirations satisfied, and they know first of all that it is not God, not nature, that stands between them and all necessary employment for the production of commodities. Men and women starve for want of work, while their fellows work fourteen hours a day for a wage that barely supplies them with the commonest of food; they huddle together with less than half the house accommodation requisite for healthful

conditions, and the furniture in tens of thousands of workmen's homes is such that would disgrace any decent set of savages, but, in this country with a history of a thousand years, with machinery that enables us to make ten suites of furniture where our fathers made one, can weave a thousand yards of carpet where our fathers turned out ten, can turn out clothing and boots and shoes as if by magic, we, the workers of Great and glorious Britain, are deprived of all these things, and must take sticks for furniture and crumbs for bread. The people that dare not revolt under such conditions have a very short future before them. It is revolt and live or be content and die, and a people who can read and reflect upon the daring deeds of our ancestors in throwing off the yoke of tyrants are not the people to quietly submit to the degrading conditions that obtain in the present year of grace in this or any similar country.

What, then, is the method by which the workers of this country are likely to work out their social salvation? In the first place, combinations of workmen and workwomen formed for the express purpose of taking defensive and aggressive action are absolutely requisite, and have been seen to be requisite for a long time by many of the skilled workers of this country. But the great mass of workers have failed to make use of this their only powerful weapon, and the skilled men who in years gone by combined amongst themselves have failed to reap a tithe of the advantages that might result from combination, owing to the mass of unskilled and handy[3] men who stood outside the pale of their organisation. Neither did these skilled men take steps, as they should have done, to lift up the large body of workers who were much worse off than themselves. Now, however, a different spirit pervades them, and skilled and unskilled are working harmoniously together for the rapid extension of labour organisations. Even yet the work is not much more than well begun, but he that runs may read the signs of the times, which signs are that the working masses will no longer tamely submit to their lot, but are even now taking the most practical of all steps to bring about very great changes.

[3] By handy men is meant those who cannot be classed as skilled men, they not having had a proper training as apprentices, but who have picked up some knowledge of the trade while working as labourers and who in times of disputes are used by employers against the skilled, and to an ever increasing degree are supplanting skilled men even in times of peace as manipulators of machines. The following extract from a speech recently delivered at Newcastle-on-Tyne by the chairman of the Association of Foremen Engineers and Mechanical Draughtsmen will serve to illustrate the point. He had been dilating upon the superior quality of the work at present turned out when compared with that of a few years previous, and said it was not due to increased skill on the part of the mechanics; and 'if not to increased manual skill, to what, then, are we to attribute the superior work? In my opinion mainly, if not entirely, to multiplied mechanical appliances, and to more accurate and special machines which have superseded skilled manual labour, and which are in a great many cases worked by unskilled men labourers.'

Will the combinations of the workers be met by corresponding combinations on the part of employers? I think so. In any case it is very desirable that they should; the serious changes that must take place will very materially affect the employers, and in their own interests they must combine, for it is certain that those in a comparatively small way of business will be driven out of the field by their competitors who produce or distribute on a more extensive scale, and who will be able to yield to the workmen's future demands better than the employer in a smaller business. Of course this will happen in any case, but fresh demands from the workers will materially hasten it. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for employers in their own interest to combine. Their weakness, however, will lie in the fact that those with the most extensive concerns will fight shy of a combination with small competitors when they see clearly the advantages of subdivision of labour and most elaborate machinery which only the largest and wealthiest establishments can provide, and when they know that the increasing demands of the workers will make it impossible for the smaller competitive establishments to compete with them successfully, so that the big fish will certainly swallow up the smaller ones.

The public, it is said, are getting tired of labour struggles. That's a pity, perhaps; but still we need not fear much on that score, as the discontent covers practically the whole of the workers, and when employers and employed are eliminated that section of the public that remains can only be of minor importance in difficulties of this nature. But whatever the bystanding public thinks about trade-union activity the formation of trade unions among employers goes on apace.

Quite recently the employers in connection with the shipbuilding and engineering trades of the United Kingdom took steps to form themselves into a national federation, whose objects are as follows:—

(1) To watch over all Bills brought into Parliament affecting the general interests of shipbuilders and engineers.

(2) Generally to protect such interests.

(3) Mutual support in resisting interference by workmen's associations with free contract work, number of apprentices engaged, &c.

(4) To support any association or combination of firms, in a district or single firm, in bringing any unreasonable strike to end by not employing, or by the adoption of any other means decided on.

(5) To arrange for alterations of rates of wages in all districts taking place for stated periods and at fixed dates.

(6) To prevent men (by the systematic use of enquiry forms) from deserting their work and obtaining employment under assumed names.

Such an organisation of capitalists cannot long pursue these 'objects' without coming into collision with the organisations of the workmen; it therefore necessitates more perfect combination on the part of the men. That the various workmen's organisations promptly

recognised this, and were equal to the occasion, is shown by the fact that on the 13th of February last a conference of workmen connected with the most important organisations of those engaged in shipbuilding and engineering met at Manchester for the purpose of forming a federation of all those engaged in the trades mentioned, that they might be able to cope with the federation of employers. The societies represented at this conference were the Amalgamated Engineers, Boiler-makers, Amalgamated Carpenters, General Union of Joiners, Steam-engine Makers, Shipwrights, Associated Blacksmiths, Co-operative Smiths, and the Ironfounders.

Among the decisions unanimously arrived at by the delegates was the following:—

> Whenever any dispute exists between an employer or employers and any society belonging to this federation, no member or members composing the societies forming this federation shall do any work of the men in dispute.

It is provided that in case of dispute the same shall be referred to a court of arbitration, selected by both parties, who again shall, if necessary, appoint an umpire whose 'decision shall be final and binding.'

Thus we shall shortly witness national federations of capitalists and workmen facing and fighting each other in a manner that will make the struggles of the past insignificant by comparison.

It is no use any crying peace when there is no peace; it is of small use preaching moderation to workmen while employers are changing their old 10-pounders for '81-tonners.' Correspondingly we workers must do the same.

It may be the case that to be prepared for war on a scientific basis is the best way to command respect and to obtain redresses for pressing grievances. In any case it will be far better for a representative committee of organised workers in a given industry to meet a similar committee of organised employers and face each other, remembering that either side has great resources to inflict terrible punishment, than to rely on the guerilla warfare to which recourse must be had in the absence of standing armies. In the majority of cases such deliberations would probably result in settlements by means of arbitrators and umpires. What we stand in greatest need of, therefore, is more extensive organisation on both sides. The object of boards of conciliation and arbitration is to minimise the friction between employers and employed. Such boards have worked effectively in the North of England in the coal and iron industries, and there is no reason why similar boards, rightly established, should not work very beneficially in London. It must, however, be borne in mind that London, owing to the cosmopolitan character of its industries, has not presented the same coherence either on the side of employers or workmen that the North of England has afforded in its staple manufacturing trades. We have quite recently had very

serious disputes between gas companies and their workmen, dock directors and wharfingers and their workmen; and, apparently in consequence of the great difficulties then experienced, the Chamber of Commerce now comes forward with the best of intentions and proposes in a wholesale manner to establish conciliation committees for the respective trades or groups of trades, and a board of conciliation elected from employers and workers, the elections to take place every three years.

All trade unionists are in favour of settling their grievances with the least possible amount of friction, and are of course favourable to settling them by argument rather than by strike; but before we can have conciliation committees effectively established, capable of adjusting the difficulties between employers and workers, we need that which in London we have not yet got—that is, something approaching complete organisation on the part of employers and workmen alike.

As trade unionists we do not yet feel complete confidence in committees arranged for us by an outside machinery unnecessarily elaborate and likely to be handled by men who through lack of experience in labour difficulties would increase rather than lessen the friction they seek to avert. To give an instance, the members of the Dock Wharf and Riverside Labourers' Union would far rather deal direct with a committee of dock directors, wharfingers, and granary keepers than they would conduct negotiations through the medium of another committee not directly representing the interests at stake.

In riverside industries the men are now organised, and it needs corresponding organisation on the employers' side; then will follow the necessary committees, very much like those proposed by the Chamber of Commerce, but free from the encumbrances that will be entailed by the Chamber of Commerce proposals. There are directions in which the Chamber might with advantage exert its influence, and that is in urging amongst employers the necessity for combination and in lending assistance when disputes crop up between workmen and employers who are not organised and who therefore have not the necessary machinery with which to conduct negotiations, also in providing a final court of appeal. Experience shows that the development of the labour problem takes the following course: first, the spasmodic difficulties that arise between employers and unorganised workers; then the workers organise, and this causes combinations amongst employers; next, sectional societies amalgamate, then a federation of those engaged in kindred industries. When matters have reached this stage it is easy to appoint committees of conciliation, &c.

So far trade-union methods only have been considered, not that the labour question cannot be helped in other directions, but because experience proves that until men are prepared to make efforts on their own account it is practically useless to endeavour to surround

them with conditions that can only be utilised by those whose ideas of life are expanding and who are on the highroad from ignorance to intelligence inspired with a divine discontent.

But the effort being put forward by the workers by means of their voluntary combinations justifies them in using their powers as citizens to get their grievances rectified by means of legislation, either by local governing bodies or by Parliament. My duties as a trade unionist do not clash with my duties as a citizen. The object of good citizenship, I presume, should be the getting rid of abuses, the elimination of the causes of physical and moral degradation, and the establishing of those conditions which will operate most beneficially to the body politic. Chief amongst the causes that degrade are excessive hours of labour and insufficient wages. It is the duty of the trade unionist to rectify these wrongs; it is equally the duty of the citizen. To argue that all such changes should come solely by trade-union effort, as some politicians are doing, is to argue that the highest functions of citizenship are to be left unperformed by the citizen.

Long hours of work invariably mean relatively low wages. Men and women work from ten to fifteen hours a day, and thereby keep wages down and other people out of work. They lessen the amount of work, because of their own ineffective demand for goods, owing to the small wage received and by taking away the purchasing power from others who would be at work were they not working so long. By becoming physically exhausted they are utterly incapacitated from entering into the pursuits that tend to the development of true manhood and womanhood. Under these conditions it is easier to be vicious than virtuous; consequently vice stalks about our thoroughfares, is in our homes, and ultimately finds lodgment in jails and workhouses. Surely it is the duty of the intelligent citizen to remove the causes of such degradation by every legitimate means. Combine voluntarily most assuredly, but to stop our efforts there would be madness; trade-union efforts should be, and must be, supplemented both by county councils and by Parliament.

What can Parliament do? At least this: it can set a good example in the State workshops and factories by at once prohibiting systematic overtime, and by reducing the hours of labour in all Government departments to 48 hours a week. It can insist upon all those firms who obtain Government contracts paying trade-union rates of wages and complying with the 48 hours a week limit. It can, and ought, and must give ear to the almost unanimous demand of the miners for an eight-hours' maximum working day. In my opinion it is much to be regretted that the miners are so moderate as to ask only for the eight-hours' limit for those who work below ground. I know from a somewhat bitter experience what work is down the mine and on the bank, and I contend that an eight-hours' day should be the maximum for all connected with mines, either

above or below ground. I do not say that Parliament should fix the working hours for those who do not request such limits being made, but when the demand is properly made it is the bounden duty of any and every true member of Parliament to respect the same and supplement trade-union efforts.

The railway workers are among those whose hours of labour are excessive, and surely the citizen is not forthcoming who will say that this is in the interest of the community. The facts in connection with the men themselves show that they have organised; the employers have practically combined also. Some demands have been forwarded by the men to the employers, and a few trifling concessions have been granted, but it still leaves the average hours of railway workers at twelve a day; nor is it possible to get them materially reduced by trade-unionist efforts alone without entering upon a terrible struggle that will practically stop the rail traffic of the country, and thereby dislocate many trades, and of necessity inflict much suffering, which will be borne cheerfully if it must come, but which every true citizen ought to try and render unnecessary. The men have organised various unions, one of which is now 40,000 strong, another 20,000. They have proved that they are men of sterling worth, not merely by an honourable discharge of their everyday duties under exceptionally hard conditions, but also by showing that they have the capacity for organisation, that they know exactly what their grievances are, and have the ability to state them in a dignified and rational way. They do not piteously appeal for the State to help them, but as a very important body of men (representing, with their families, probably one and a half million of persons) realising that they are part and parcel of the State, and that by their labours they contribute much to its welfare, they are now beginning to ask why they should not use their powers of citizenship to supplement their trade-union efforts, and thousands of other workers are asking the same question, and no one as yet has given any satisfactory reason why, under such circumstances, we citizens should not exercise our rights of citizenship to reduce working hours and make them somewhat uniform over such large areas as that covered by our railway systems. To reply that workmen can best do this for themselves is beside the point; the workers will do it for themselves, whether it be by striking for it or by voting for it, but no genuine mechanic will make use of a machine that wastes a large percentage of power in avoidable friction, and that more friction would be generated by striking for reduced hours for these railway men than would be the case by bringing the same about by legislative action no one can reasonably doubt.

Trade unionism has at last taken root amongst the shop assistants of the metropolis; both sexes are now enrolling, and will in a few months be able to bring considerable pressure to bear on their em-

ployers. Their average hours at present are 86, while thousands work 96 to 100. The effect upon the young men is most baneful, but upon the young women it is scarcely less than murder, standing or walking in a shop, oftentimes very ill-ventilated, with the fusty smells that arise from the goods, especially in certain kinds of drapery. These unhealthy conditions not only shorten the lives of the women but unfit them for becoming healthy wives and mothers. Scores of eminent medical men have issued authoritative statements setting forth the terribly injurious effects of these long hours on young women, and yet nothing is done. Cannot something now be done by the local governing bodies to supplement the efforts of these young persons, who, under the greatest difficulties, are now establishing branches of their trade unions in the various districts of London? Or will the 'let alone' section still say, 'It is no business of the legislative body, and these women must redress their grievances by organising a strike'? Politicians and statesmen (?) who offer such stones for bread will not be argued with much longer; they will simply be quietly ignored by the bulk of the electors whose heads are clear and whose hearts are not yet dead. It is difficult to state the number of employés engaged in distributive occupations in London, but there are at least 400,000, and their hours of labour might, with advantage, be reduced by 25 per cent. and thus add to their own health and well-being immensely, and at the same time provide occupations for many of the workless. Ah, but who is to stand the expense? it will be asked. Where the employer cannot the public *must*. Who are the public, once again? Five-sixths belong to those who, in some form or other, work for a living; and these men and women in distributive establishments are as much a portion of the public as any similar number of persons otherwise engaged, and their interests are bound up with the rest of the public and cannot be isolated from them. And what the public have now got to face squarely and deal with promptly is this: Shall we best secure the well-being of the State by insisting that all who work shall obtain reasonable rates of pay for a reasonable amount of work, or is the proper course that of ignoring the surroundings of the workers, leaving matters to right themselves? Public responsibility has long been recognised in this country, as witness the Factory Acts legislation, that has operated so beneficially.

There is a serious danger confronting the labour party, which is that politicians of either side, who are politicians merely, are endeavouring to obtain the confidence of the workers to leave their case in these politicians' hands. I am convinced that the real educational work on labour questions is now going on mainly in the thousands of trade-union branches and trades councils that exist in all centres of industry. The rapid spread of trade unionism which is

now going on will certainly qualify the workman to perform his duties as a member of society better than he was able prior to his taking an active interest in his own welfare; but should he allow the sacred question of labour to become the subject over which contending political factions shall fight, it will, to my mind, show a lack of dignity and keenness of perception which will be extremely pitiable. Two things are essential if these evils are to be avoided. There must be a large decentralisation of power—that is, the power now vested in Parliament must be largely transferred to the local governing bodies, the town and county councils; and the workers themselves must (and they will) take a continual interest in and share in the administration of these local bodies. At the present time Parliament is utterly unfitted to deal with the intricacies of London's labour difficulties, and so of all other centres. It has not the time, the ability, nor inclination; and if it had ability and inclination it could never have the time to attend to the multifarious demands that are certain to crop up as labour questions press for solution.

And, again, it is not in any way desirable that an Imperial Parliament should even attempt to exercise control over the hundreds of questions that must arise in each of the hundreds of British manufacturing towns. Imperial authority it ought to have, but local questions should be settled by local authorities. The unhealthy atmosphere of Parliament has choked many a well-intentioned man, and it is likely to choke many more, and if there were no other direction in which the vital interests of the workers could be properly attended to the abolition of the grievous wrongs under which labour groans would be postponed indefinitely. It may be urged that a county council is little more likely to pay proper attention to such questions as affect labour than Parliament. Workmen are, however, beginning to realise that it is due to themselves that they should solve these questions by every legitimate means, and having organised and disciplined themselves in their voluntary combinations (trade unions), they as citizens will take a direct and positive interest in the same questions, and attend to their application on a more extended platform. This will bring health to local administrative bodies, tone to the minds of the citizens, and wean from the gaudy and superficial attractions of St. Stephen's the more sturdy and upright of the nation's real workers of all grades.

The county council is, in my opinion, destined to become a most powerful factor for the rectification of our social wrongs. In close contiguity, as it will be, with the trades council, knowing exactly where and how to supplement the good work of that council, the majority composing it being themselves real, not nominal workmen; women's interests being properly looked after; the welfare of the workers at large being the principal business of such a body—when

this is so the day of our redemption will be nigh. The interest of no honest man will be ignored; all that is best in the community will be drawn out, and the baneful influences that at present trample down so much that is good in our natures will be removed.

The hope for the future lies in the extension of labour organisations on the side of the workers, corresponding combinations of employers adjusting differences by conciliation or arbitration whenever possible, the work of trade unionism being supplemented by the local governing bodies, by workers habitually taking a direct working interest in connection with them, such bodies absorbing all smaller and at present conflicting authorities, thus developing the best qualities of the citizen in the true work of citizenship and gradually assisting in the development of the co-operative ideal, when the workers shall include the whole of the able-bodied community, and when peace and plenty shall abound as the result of harmonising the at present antagonistic tendencies of different sections of society.

TOM MANN.

ENGLAND AND GERMANY IN EAST AFRICA.

'UNION is strength.' These three words may not, at first sight, appear to have much to do with Eastern Central Africa, but in the present position of affairs in that part of the globe they can be most usefully applied, when all the divers and varied conditions of white and native rule are carefully and dispassionately considered, and when the follies of disunion and rivalry are thrashed out and explained.

To rightly understand the object and scope of this article a brief account of Eastern Central Africa is necessary. The most important figure in the past history of the country is, of necessity, the Sultan of Zanzibar, a potentate whose claim to the eastern littoral, extending from the Rovuma River on the south to the Osi River on the north, as well as several ports north of the Juba as far as Mruti, has never been disputed. For many years past the trade of this territory, stretching into the interior, has been carried on by British subjects—Indian traders from Bombay. They were the capitalists and bankers who supplied the native Arab traders with goods and money to conduct caravans and establish trading relations with the interior. These traders gradually formed depôts, or settlements, along the trade routes of the interior, such as Tabora, Ujiji, Kibonge, and they even penetrated as far as the Congo, and established themselves at Nyangwe, and Kasongo, and Stanley Falls, the headquarters of the somewhat notorious Tippoo Tip. The result of all these commercial enterprises was that an ever-increasing trade in ivory, india-rubber, and other tropical products, steadily grew, under the fostering influence of Great Britain. The exports of india-rubber alone reached a value of 60,000*l.* a year.

Thirteen years ago the then Sultan, Sayid Bargash, offered Sir William Mackinnon a lease for seventy years of all his customs revenue, on favourable terms, together with sovereign administrative powers over the whole of his African continental dominions, and no difficulty would have arisen in coming to an arrangement which would have been satisfactory to both contracting parties, and which would have benefited the trade relations of both Great Britain and Zanzibar, had the Foreign Office given sufficient encouragement to

the enterprise, for the carrying out of which a sum of over 200,000*l.* was subscribed; but the reply to an application for necessary authority and support was so guarded that Sir William Mackinnon did not feel himself justified in continuing the negotiation.'

Up to the year 1884 the rights of the Sultan of Zanzibar to the interior of the country had not been questioned. It is true he had made no treaties with native chiefs in these territories, but they acknowledged his influence and recognised his authority. He was the only power whose subjects had established themselves in different parts of the country—though the efforts of the Church Missionary Society and other missionary bodies must not be forgotten; he was, in fact, the man in possession. How his claims were recognised will appear farther on.

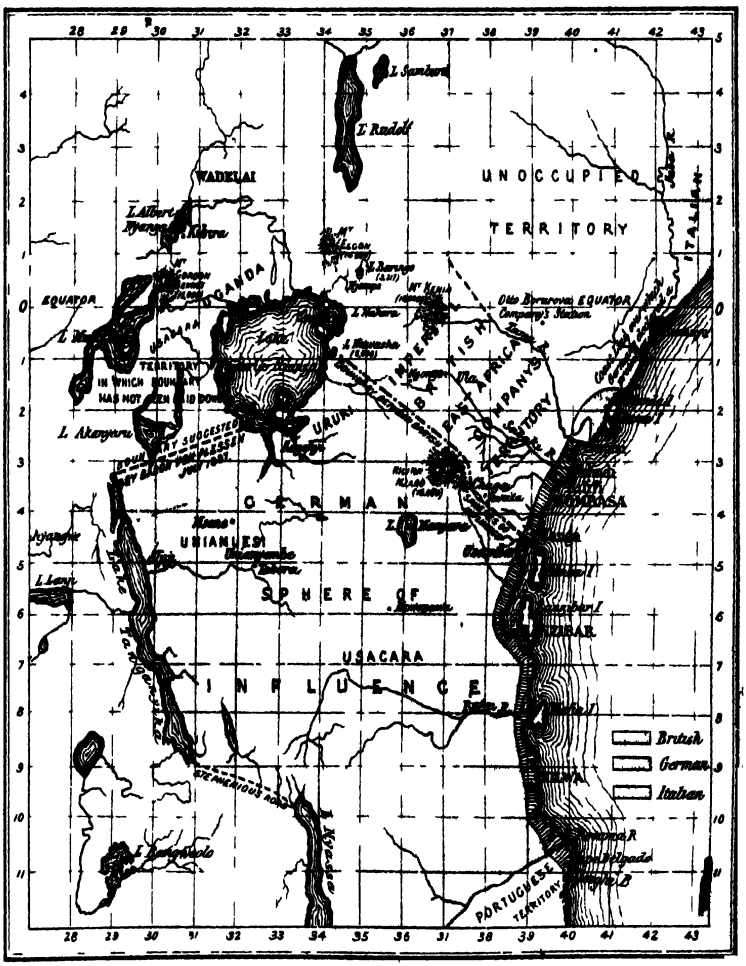
Now the history of this region would not be complete without some mention of the names of those who, commencing with David Livingstone, brought this great territory into contact with civilisation. Livingstone was the great pioneer of all recent African exploration. When Columbus discovered that America existed on the other side, the difficulties of crossing the unknown Atlantic vanished in a great measure. The fact that the unknown regions of Central Africa could be traversed was in like manner made known by Livingstone. Following in his footsteps, we find Burton and Speke discovering Tanganika and the Victoria Nyanza in the years 1856 to 1858. In the year 1860 Speke and Grant returned to the Great Lake, and, passing inland round its western side, entered the kingdom of Uganda —the first white men who had ever visited it—and from thence they pushed to the northward, after having proved that the lake was one of the sources of the Nile.

The discovery of the Albert Nyanza, another great Nile reservoir, was made by Baker in 1865. Then comes Stanley's search after Livingstone in 1871, Cameron's journey across Africa in 1873, Stanley's second journey in 1875, when he circumnavigated the Victoria Nyanza, and thus made known to the world its true size and proportions; from thence he goes to Tanganika, of which he also makes a complete survey, and pushing still to the westward, reaches Nyangwe, and commences that extraordinary journey which ends in the discovery of the Congo. We have yet to learn the particulars of his latest, and probably the most wonderful, of all his African explorations.

Lastly are Thomson's journeys in the south between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganika, and in the north through Masailand. These discoveries, these explorations thus briefly told, are simple fact, and no other nation can bring forward such claims as the people of Great Britain to having their fair share of Eastern Central Africa, whether from the standpoint of first discovery, or from the trade and commerce she has created in those regions.

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Sketch Map of
EAST CENTRAL AFRICA
illustrating the present Political position April 1890



In the year 1886 a new factor entered into the arena of Eastern Central Africa. After the Conference at Berlin in 1885, at which certain agreements were entered into between the Powers of Europe as regards Africa, Great Britain and Germany joined in a mutual convention, having for its object the subdivision of Eastern Central Africa into what were termed spheres of British and German influence. In this subdivision Germany obtained far the larger share of territory. This will at once be seen by reference to the map accompanying this paper.

The reason for this surrender of the greater area to Germany, with the large and prosperous trade built up by British energy and capital, has not been explained. Great Britain is understood to have received some collateral advantages, and there was also a strong feeling in Germany as regards colonisation and the possession of territory in which her surplus population might find a German home. This feeling was a very natural one, and Great Britain, with her large colonial empire, could afford to be generous to a friend; but neither country appears to have considered that tropical or Central Africa cannot be colonised, in the true meaning of the word colonisation, by white people. It is not a climate in which a white man can work, therefore, as in process of time the native is taught to labour, the white man can invest capital in developing the products of the country, and he can superintend such investments, but nothing more. No, the development of Central Africa must for some years depend upon the commerce and trade which can be created; and its real value to any country is the opportunity it affords for the employment of capital, and the demand it creates for manufactured goods. Now here is a point of real importance, not only to the merchant, but to the employer of labour, the artizan, and the working people of Great Britain. India now manufactures largely for herself, and her imports from Manchester tend to diminish rather than to increase. This fact, and the competition of other countries, point most strongly to the necessity for finding new fields for our increasing home labour market.

As regards the boundary lines laid down by the Foreign Office officials of Great Britain and Germany, they are as follows. I quote from the published despatches:—

The territory to which the arrangement applies is bounded on the south by the Rovuma River, and on the north by the line which, starting from the mouth of the Tana River, follows the course of that river, or its affluents, to the point of intersection of the Equator and the 38th degree of east longitude, thence strikes direct to the point of intersection of the 1st degree of north latitude with the 37th degree of east longitude, where the line terminates.

The line of demarcation starts from the mouth of the river Wanga or Umbe, runs direct to Jipe, passes along the eastern side and round the northern side of the lake, and crosses the Lumi River, after which it passes midway between the territories of Taveita and Chagga, skirts the northern base of the Kiliamanjaro range

developed, the slave trade destroyed, and the influences of Christianity and civilisation encouraged and fostered. Yes; friendship is better than hatred. Let each respect his neighbour's landmark; and if Germany will hold out the right hand of peace and goodwill, no one will clasp it with more sincerity than her fellow-workers in East Africa. True union means true strength.

In conclusion, let the two Governments arrange, with as little delay as possible, for a complete understanding as regards the boundary-lines of the interior, *i.e.* to the westward of Lake Victoria.

The only attempt which has been made in this direction is the line on the map marked 'Boundary line suggested by Baron von Plessen in 1887,' who stated with reference to this territory as follows:

> Although it was true that no special geographical line had been expressly fixed by agreement for the delimitation to the west, that the Imperial Government had started from the idea that England would leave Germany a free hand for the future in the territories *south of the Victoria Nyanza Lake*, and without interfering with the territories lying to the east of the Lakes Tanganika and Nyassa at the back of the German Protectorate would confine herself to opening up the territories to the north of the agreed line.

Let a settlement be arrived at regarding the territory between the Tana and Juba rivers. At the present moment Great Britain possesses, by grant from the Sultan of Zanzibar, all his towns and ports north of Kipini, while Germany, in October 1889, declared a protectorate over littoral of the same territory between the Port of Lamu and Kismayu, a state of affairs that could only produce irritation and confusion.

Let tariff questions and all matters connected with the trade and commerce of the country be for mutual arrangement between the two trading companies subject to the conditions of the Berlin Act of 1875. Let stringent measures be adopted by both to prevent the introduction of firearms, ammunition, and spirits. Let there be perfect frankness of communication on all points of mutual interest to both Governments and both companies. Let there be complete unanimity in dealing with the slave trade. Let this rivalry cease, and the past be forgotten; and then, in after years, the two nations will look with honest pride on the development that has been accomplished in this vast territory, at the advances of Christianity, civilisation, and commerce, among its inhabitants, as law, order, and settled government are established among them; and they will acknowledge and realise how much of all this is due to the combination of their mutual forces, because 'union is strength.'

FRANCIS DE WINTON.

THE GOOD TIME COMING.

THE first question is, Why is a good time coming?

Because Home Rule is certain. I do not know what these words mean any more than any other single one of my countrymen, but I know that the advocates of Home Rule are never inaccurate; and, therefore, as they say that Home Rule is certain, I believe them.

Even if they did not say so, Home Rule would, I should still believe, be certain. There is no recorded instance in history of the failure of a party to accomplish its ends when so wholly homogeneous in its *personnel*, its principles, its policy, its plans, and its future projects as the Anglo-Scottish-Welsh-Irish-Gladstonian-Parnellite party.

I also believe that Home Rule in its highest development of perfection is certain: Home Rule for Ireland; Home Rule for Scotland; Home Rule for Wales; Home Rule for England. I do not think this because I have any reason to believe that the Scotch or the Welsh desire Home Rule, but because I know the aforesaid homogeneous Home Rule party to be above all things a consistent party, which cannot deny to agitators in Scotland and in Wales what has been granted to agitators in Ireland, *provided always that they agitate constitutionally.* A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, and with sufficient encouragement it may be surmised that the little band of patriots who constitute the Land and Anti-Tithe Leagues in the Highlands of Scotland and Wales, and who so thoroughly understand how to conduct a constitutional agitation, may succeed in teaching their more ignorant countrymen the meaning of those words. As for England, of course I do not suppose that she is likely to demand Home Rule for herself. I know also (not only from my own conviction and aspirations, but from the knowledge of those of my constituents) that the English combine with the sense of their own absolute unfitness to assist in the government of the Irish, the Welsh, or the Scotch, the profound conviction that they are not fit alone to govern themselves.

We yearn, therefore, while shaking off the nightmare of responsibility for our neighbours, to retain their aid in our Parliament in managing our affairs.

It must be confessed that this aspiration borders on selfishness. It is, however, harmless and platonic. Is it for one moment

probable that our neighbours could spare time to turn their attention to our affairs? Could the Welsh, for instance, be expected to swerve from the task of developing their country, so long neglected, to teach us to develop ours? Could the Scotch check themselves in administering redress to the tyranny they now groan under to help us? Are the Irish likely so soon to undo the effects of the misgovernment of ninety years and to be free to lend us part of their credit? No; these suppositions are all monstrous. Alone, alas! we shall have to work out our salvation. England, too, will have Home Rule. Not because she deserves it; not because she is fit for it; but because the righteous demands of the Irish, Welsh, and Scottish peoples cannot be satisfied unless the English people receive Home Rule at their hands.

The second question is, For whom is a good time coming? For the English electors of every rank in life, I feel sure; for the English Conservative party particularly, I think.

There need be no more agonised inquiries in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph*, 'What shall we do with our boys?' no more necessity for some of the most skilled English artisans to seek an opening abroad; no reason to grudge the high office stool to the painstaking German clerk. The first result of Home Rule for England will be that the English people will for the first time enter into the heritage of the English Civil Service.

Hitherto that service has been maintained at the cost of the English for the benefit of the Irish and the Scotch.

Look where you will, and to what grade you will, and three out of four good berths in the Civil Service you will find filled by an Irishman or a Scotchman.

Is it the Inland Revenue office in your nearest country town?—an Irishman is the officer; or a foreman in the employ of the Office of Works?—he is a Scotchman; or the head of one of the branches in one of the great Government departments, a man drawing 1,000*l.* a year or more in salary—he will be an Irishman or a Scotchman.

These men have, no doubt, obtained their posts because they deserved them. In the open competitive examination your common-sense Englishman is not a match for his sharper and more learned neighbours. Under the United Parliament and the Acts of Union this system was quite fair, but under a universal system of Home Rule the fairness disappears. The Irish and the Scotch and the Welsh will have their own Civil Services, in which, of course, their patriotic sons will serve in preference to the service of a 'foreign' or 'alien' people. But even if this preference did not manifest itself as spontaneously as we know it will, yet even the dunderheaded English worm, when left to itself, may consider and turn. I think I may safely prophesy it will consider and turn. 'If the principle of nationality is to be the universal rule of guidance, let it prevail in

the sweets as well as in the sours. For our sons, and for our sons only, shall be the places in the Civil Service for which we pay. Let the Irish and Scotch return home and gratify their patriotic relations with their presence in their native land.' Such will be the current of thought of the English electors.

A Government post—well paid, income certain, cares none, a pension in middle life, dignity, consideration in the eyes of the neighbours, power, the sense of importance—what Englishman, particularly what member of Parliament, does not know how much these 'Government posts' are coveted by the English paterfamilias of every class for one or more of his sons?

Is there not, therefore, a truly good time coming for the English people, when all these posts, now held by Irish or Scotch, will be reserved for themselves? A good time—nay, the expression is too mild; say, a veritable millennium.

Doubtless the English Conservative party will take their share in the spoils of the Civil Service, but a richer and greater prize still will be theirs.

At this very moment the Conservative majority in England, reckoning on the other side not only the Gladstonians but the Liberal Unionists, is eighty-seven. They have at this moment, therefore, apparently a pretty secure tenure of power in England. But it may be urged, 'all this may be upset at any general election.' If the history of past Parliaments is any guide to the history of future ones, this is not likely to be the case. Mr. Labouchere, I believe, with his accustomed nicety of expression, has announced his opinion that the Conservative party, 'having got their noses into the granary,' do not intend taking them out again until they are forced to do so.

If, however, England had had Home Rule since 1832, she would hardly have had a Liberal Government firmly seated in power from 1837 to this day.

That this is so is clear from the fact that, putting on one side the Parliament of 1832 itself, the Liberal party would have had a working majority in only three Parliaments out of twelve from 1832 to 1885, had it not been for the votes of the Scotch, Irish and Welsh members.

These are the figures.

First, I place the three Parliaments in which the Liberal party had a working (but much smaller) majority in England alone as well as in the whole United Kingdom:—

	L. majority in the U.K.	Ditto in England only
Parliament of 1835	108	61
„ 1857	92	61
„ 1880	112	53

Then I place the Parliaments in which the Liberal party had a working majority in the United Kingdom, but not in England:—

	L. majority in the U.K.	Ditto in England only
Parliament of 1859	40	27
„ 1865	62	21
„ 1868	104	23
„ 1885	86	28

Next, I place two Parliaments in which the Liberal party had a majority in the United Kingdom, but *were in an actual minority in England only*:—

	L. majority in the U.K.	C. majority in England only
Parliament of 1837	40	7
„ 1847	2	25

In the remaining three Parliaments, those of 1841, 1852, and 1874, the Conservative majority in England was diminished by the votes of the rest of the United Kingdom:—

	C. majority in the U.K.	C. majority in England only
Parliament of 1841	70	97
„ 1852	8	35
„ 1874	103	117

The political meteorology of England under Home Rule may accordingly be forecast from the observations of the last half-century, thus:—

Either the nose of the Conservative party will remain steadily in the granary, or the Conservative party will be able to prevent the Neo-Radical nose from burrowing there with any security or comfort.

My object has been to prove that Home Rule for England will be a 'good time' especially for English Conservatives. It is with confidence that I appeal to Mr. Labouchere to decide whether the above forecast is not a strictly scientific definition of a 'good time.' If it is so, then Q.E.D.

Before passing away from the engrossing subject of political meteorology, it will be interesting to consider what effect the 'good time coming' for the Conservative party in England will have on the career of the planets which revolve round Mr. Gladstone, and on that of the nebulous conglomeration which follows them in a rather eccentric orbit.

It is obvious that neither a perpetual minority nor a powerless majority offers sufficient scope for the talents of Sir William Harcourt, Sir George Trevelyan, or Mr. Shaw Lefevre. Yet, if it is once known in Wales, in Ireland, or in Scotland that these three statesmen are seeking employment, the contest between those three nations for their possession will be fearful to witness.

[1] These figures are taken from a table published by the *Daily News* after the general election of 1885.

The Scotch are a consistent, clear-sighted people, plentifully provided with moral backbone. The Parliament in Edinburgh will welcome Sir William Harcourt's wit and accordingly bid highest for him.

In Dublin city there will be much need for a scrupulously straightforward and businesslike ædile. The native members of the Irish Parliament will have such superabundance of genuine eloquence to display that they will not have time for administration. At all costs they will secure Mr. Shaw Lefevre. Under the guidance of Mr. Gee and Mr. Osborne Morgan, the government of Wales will have a strong tendency to become a theocracy, in which men will be estimated strictly according to their virtues. In this case there will be no place for competition. Sir George Trevelyan will quite naturally walk into the highest post which the Welsh cabinet has to dispose of.

If it is melancholy to think of the expatriation of the leaders, it is positively heartrending to contemplate the fate of their followers and their followers' programmes.

The general reformation of society will have to be adjourned. *Truth* will have to be relegated to libraries as a sort of still-born Koran. Its prophet will have to close those butterfly wings with which he was meditating a soar into the atmosphere of statesmanship, and relapse for ever into the chrysalis of the cynic.

The Liberation Society must emigrate *en bloc* to Wales, where it has, to judge from the Welsh press, already made itself universally endeared. It cannot live an idle life in England: yet its pious scheme for disestablishing and disendowing the Church in England by means of the votes of Irish and Welsh and Scotch members will have been finally frustrated by the great and glorious principle of universal Home Rule. To the holy soil of Wales, therefore, must the crusade be confined by the surviving crusaders.

Last, but not least; to Londoners and ratepayers the abortion of the 'London programme' will be a life-long grief. No one who has ever looked into the subject can have failed to appreciate the gravity and magnitude of the social questions with which Parliament and the County Council must deal in connection with London. Other London programmes may be brought forward and carried, but never, alas! under Home Rule, by a Cabinet of which that professor celebrated for his exactitude is a member. We cannot, therefore, feel certain of their accuracy, their wisdom, or their success. How different, how far different it would have been under happier, under *his* auspices! Then Londoners would have laid themselves down in their beds in peace, knowing that his words had *exactly* foretold the effect of his measures, and that those measures would not fail *exactly* to accomplish the requisite social reform. To the ratepayer, the knowledge that the future expenditure must *exactly* coincide with his estimate would have given a security in forecasting the annual

family balance-sheet never known in the past and never for the future possible. Alack-a-day that in this world what is one man's meat should be another man's poison! that the 'good time coming' for the Conservatives should mar so many great careers among their opponents!

I have seen a doubt expressed by some earnest Home Rulers in Scotland and Wales whether the English Gladstonians will not recoil before such a self-denying ordinance as universal Home Rule must prove to them.

Away such unworthy thoughts! as Mr. Labouchere would say for his party and for himself. 'Conscience before the granary.'

WOLMER.

THE STORY OF A CONSPIRATOR.

I.

TOWARDS the end of November 1889 a letter from Mr. Gladstone was published in the Scotch newspapers thanking somebody for an Irish 'Tragedy in Five Acts.' The principal sentence in that letter ran as follows:—'I am glad an effort has been made to do justice to Wolfe Tone. It is one of the most grievous facts of Irish history that at the close of the last century her rebels were in many cases the very flower of her children.'

It so happened that, a few weeks before this letter appeared, I had read carefully the original American edition of Tone's *Memoirs*, written mainly by himself, and completed by his son.[1] I had done so in the faithful discharge of that duty which has lately been impressed upon us all—to study the Irish question in the light of history. For such a purpose there is nothing like good biographies. In the lives of individual men we see historical events, as it were from the inside, not in their mere outline and succession, but in their connection with the great determining causes of human character and of human motive. In this case especially there is no need to indulge in dramatic licence. The bare facts—the simple truth—are, as the phrase goes, 'as good as a play.' They are infinitely better. It would be difficult to find a book of more curious interest than that in which Tone tells us his own story, and in which his son illustrates and completes it. I propose now to give that story as it is to be gathered from documents of such unquestionable authority, and, it must be added, of such abundant candour.

In the first place let us note how short was the whole life of Tone. He was born in Dublin on the 20th of June, 1763, and he died of a wound inflicted by his own hand whilst in prison under sentence of death, in the same city, on the 19th of November, 1798. A little more than thirty-five years was thus the measure of his days. There is nothing, it is true, remarkable in this, because men who attack the Government under which they live have always been, in large proportion, young men. They play with the lives and fortunes of others, and it is not only natural, but just, that when they fail they should pay an early forfeit of their own. That an avowed con-

[1] Published at Washington in two volumes. 1826.

spirator and an open rebel, caught in arms against his country and in the enlisted service of its most ancient enemy, should be condemned to death when comparatively young, is therefore no unusual circumstance. But there is one great peculiarity about the life and death of Tone, and that is that, during by far the greater part of his short life, he was not only not a conspirator and not a rebel, but he did not even take an ordinary degree of interest in public affairs. It was not until the year 1790, when he had attained the age of twenty-seven, that, to use his own expression, he 'took to politics.' Nor might even this have been in itself remarkable if his earlier youth had been spent in quiet and uninteresting times. But those times were of an opposite character even to an extraordinary degree. His life began at the commencement of that memorable epoch which opened with the quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies, an epoch of rapid and mighty changes, all more or less intimately connected with the events of that quarrel, and with the movements of thought which they accelerated. In no part of Europe were these movements more exciting than in Ireland. Tone was fifteen years old—an age when clever boys are generally full of vivid interest in all they see and hear around them—when the fear of French invasion and the confessed inability of the Government to reinforce the regular troops, gave birth in 1778 to the famous Irish Volunteers. He must have heard the hopes and fears with which different parties regarded the portentous growth of that self-constituted force—a force not under the control of any public or responsible authority, and which, although nothing in reality but a sect in arms, speedily amounted to upwards of 40,000 men, wielding great political power, and embodying in an extraordinary degree many national aspirations. The ten years which followed, during which Tone grew up from boyhood into the prime of life, were years of stirring and surpassing interest in Ireland. It would be difficult to specify in the history of any other people any time so rich in political experience, or in which so many questions involving the very highest problems in political philosophy were so pressed upon general attention, and so urgently demanded some practical solution. Moreover, these questions were of such a nature as to appeal, one or other of them, to almost every variety of natural character, and to almost every cast of mind. The relaxation of the Catholic penal laws at once invited the appreciation of human sympathies and tested the sagacity with which men could measure the disappearance of dangers, both foreign and domestic, which had once been very real and very urgent. The removal of restraints upon Irish commerce was another tremendous question affecting the interests of all sects and parties, and which appealed to all who had the spirit of industry and of enterprise. Above all, the demand for a larger measure of independence in the Irish Parliament, and the concession of it without any definitions

and without any precautions, were agitations and events of such magnitude, and so big with future consequence, that every mind with the least faculty for the science of human government must have been awakened and arrested by them. Nor were these events—nor could they be—determined quietly in cabinets, or even in parliamentary debates, however violent and excited. The passions they roused were reflected in the streets and quays of Dublin—in the roar and shouts of multitudes round arriving or departing Viceroys—in the meetings of armed bodies all over the country—in daring attempts to overawe the Legislature—in plots and conspiracies with foreign agents—in the formation of clubs and associations of every sort and kind. Yet for all that Tone tells us of himself, in his memoir of those years, they might have been years of the most profound tranquillity. At that time he seems to have cared for none of these things, and took no part in any of them.

What is the explanation of this strange abstention? It comes out clearly enough in the account he gives of his own youth. If not the matured opinions, at least the first feelings and impulses of men are largely determined by the circumstances of their birth. Tone's father was a coachmaker in Dublin. He was a Protestant, in this sense, at least, that he was not a Catholic. As such he must have been more or less in sympathy with the ruling powers, and especially with the British connection. The war with France, and the repeated threats of the invasion of Ireland by French and Spaniards, must have kept up the traditional feeling that Protestant liberties were still in danger from the old Catholic conspiracy against that great bulwark of them, the English Crown and nation. Such traditions give way very slowly, when they were originally founded on notorious facts, and hardened by a long experience. They do not give way at all when they are kept alive by external events which seem to reproduce all that experience again. We may be sure, therefore, that the elder Tone could not have felt any enthusiasm for the Catholic movement. Neither, personally, was it natural for him to be much touched by the agitation for freedom of trade. His own business stood in no immediate or visible connection with foreign commerce, but depended rather upon the wealthy society of Dublin, upon the expenditure of a Viceregal Court, and upon the social habits of a seat of Government. But we are not left to inference as to the atmosphere of sentiment and feeling in which the younger Tone began to breathe. Military service and a life of military adventure was the imagination and the passion of the growing boy. Nor had he the least idea of such a life, except in the service of that Empire which his great namesake had defended and enlarged. He could think of nothing else. At school he was 'abominably idle.'[2] He was the leader of a group of boys who determined that they would not work at all more

[2] *Life*, i. 18.

than three days a week. Much of the time which he thus secured for his own amusements was spent in attending all parades, field-days, and reviews of the British garrison of Dublin in the Phœnix Park.[3]

This confirmed him in a 'rooted habit of idleness,' whilst the splendid appearance of the troops, and the pomp and parade of military show, confirmed his untamable desire for a soldier's life. He declared his passion for the army, and his utter dislike to a learned profession. But his father was obstinately opposed; and much against the grain he was compelled in February 1781, being then not quite eighteen years old, to enter Trinity College as a pensioner. By this time the glorious wars of Chatham had become things of the past, and had been succeeded by the inglorious and disastrous contests against our own colonies. To any mind open to the higher instincts of politics, it might have been easy at this time to discriminate between the different objects for which war may be conducted, and to refuse to identify the suppression of the colonial revolt with a patriotic spirit. This was especially easy for an Irishman at that particular juncture, many Irishmen having begun to feel that their own interests were best promoted by colonial success. But young Wolfe Tone had no temptations in any such direction. Fighting for its own sake, and considered purely as a profession, was his ideal. He had felt none of the enthusiasm which had raised the Irish Volunteers. That body was too merely political for him. The danger of invasion seemed too remote, and even fighting unaccompanied with conquest and foreign adventure was altogether unattractive to him. Accordingly, when disgusted by failure in a college examination, he reverted with passion to his former schemes. He had no scruple in desiring to offer his sword to the Crown to assist its army in the colonial struggle. 'He besought his father to equip him as a volunteer, and to suffer him to join the British Army in America, where the war still raged.'[4] His father again refused. Young Wolfe sulked for a year, and would read none but military books. Not until he saw his own chance gone, in the approaching triumph of the colonies, did he sulkily turn again to books, and give up the hope of playing the part of another Wolfe in the service of the English Crown. In 1782 he was second to 'a young fellow' who, in a duel, shot his antagonist through the head. This again drove him for a time from college; but on his return his brilliant natural talents enabled him to make up his lee-way. In 1785, at the age of twenty-two, he made a runaway marriage with a girl of not yet seventeen. His father had by this time been ruined, but not by any agency which could be connected, however remotely, with political causes, or with the action of British legislation. Not even the most excitable of Irishmen could connect with these a bankruptcy arising out of a family

[3] *Life*, i. 19. [4] *Ibid.* p. 20.

quarrel, and a costly law plea between his father and his uncle about some small leasehold property. None the less did it make it more than ever imperative that young Wolfe should do something to enable him to support a wife and family. But the temptation of desperate fortunes, which makes so many rebels, did not, even so late as 1785, give any such direction to the thoughts of Wolfe Tone. As he had been eager to serve in the English army, so now he was willing to seek his fortune at the English bar. It was determined that he should go to the Temple, to study the law. So in February 1786, after taking, not without some distinction, his degree of B.A., he resigned his scholarship and quitted the University of Dublin.

It was not, however, till the beginning of the following year, January 1787, that he repaired to London, where he remained for close upon two years, returning to Dublin in the last days of December 1788. And here we have an almost exact repetition of the curious peculiarities of his earlier life in Dublin. Just as in recounting that earlier life he omits all mention of the high political interests which had then engrossed the attention of his countrymen—just as he never even mentions the newly enfranchised Irish Parliament of 1782, and had probably never heard the floods of eloquence which had been poured forth by Grattan—so also in the British capital he led a life of almost complete idleness, and of absolute vacuity of mind, so far as regarded the great political questions of the time. And yet those questions were of a kind, and had taken a form, which might have offered some attraction to a young Irishman. When he came to London the memorable impeachment of Warren Hastings was still in those early stages in which it secured universal interest, from the wonderful displays of forensic eloquence, both in the House of Commons and in Westminster Hall, which were made by the greatest orators of the age. Two illustrious compatriots of young Tone, Burke and Sheridan, were the leading spirits in that great arena. One of their celebrated speeches, said to have been the most brilliant of them all, was delivered by Sheridan on the 7th of February, 1787, just after Tone had entered his name as a student of law on the books of the Middle Temple. Another followed, hardly inferior, in February 1788, when Tone had been already for a twelvemonth settled in London. The first of these speeches, which lasted for five hours, had so enraptured those who crowded the House of Commons that at its close all barriers of decorum were broken down by members, peers, and strangers joining in a tumult of applause. But not a sound reaches us, through the memories of Tone, of anything that other men spoke of and remembered to their dying day. He disliked all study, and he particularly disliked the law. He thought it 'an illiberal profession, both in its principles and in its practice.'[5] He was never in Westminster Hall three times in all

[5] *Life*, i. 21.

his stay. He eked out his own subsistence partly by writing occasional articles for a magazine, mostly critical reviews of new books, and partly by succour from appreciative friends. Early in 1788 he was joined by a younger brother who had been in the service of the East India Company and returned from wearisome garrison duty at St. Helena. The two brothers were congenial spirits, and spent their time together, often without a guinea in their pockets, in convivial enjoyments and in seeing reviews—the launching of ships of war—or the fleet of Indiamen at Deptford. Under such habits of life Tone must have felt, in the intervals of levity and wine, that his future prospects were as desperate as his actual condition was destitute. There was no prospect of his living by his nominal profession. He was ready to grasp at any straw.

It was at this time and under such inducements that an extraordinary vision arose before the eyes of Tone. The recent discoveries of Captain Cook in the Pacific Ocean had filled many minds with the spirit of adventure. Those lovely islands with a splendid climate, a rich vegetation, and a population strong, fierce, and yet not wholly savage, impressed the imaginations of men in directions varying with their previous tendencies of thought. The awakening sympathies of humanity, guided by such men as Wilberforce and Clarkson—the expanding aims of commerce under the growing demands of a growing people—the spirit of enterprise rising under the touch of every new idea—all conspired to invest the discoveries of the great navigator with a variety of powerful interests. Tone's nature could not assimilate the thoughts which were congenial to the philanthropist, or the missionary, or the merchant. But could not some of those enchanting islands be converted into a military colony? Might not the fierceness of the natives be tamed and disciplined in the service of European warfare? With such weapons might not the exploits of Clive and Hastings be repeated in other regions of the globe? Or, failing new worlds to be conquered, might they not be made excellent points of departure for predatory descents? The idea took possession of his soul. For three months he and his brother pored over all the books which could add to his information on the resources which the new lands might afford to an adventurous commander. And especially he devoured the books which could enable him to estimate the riches of those other lands on which safe depredations could be made. Spanish South America was, of course, the great home of riches in the imagination of former days. It had not yet lost its reputation. Spanish galleons still carried their treasures from the New to the Old World. The more Wolfe Tone pondered on these things, the more they inflamed his imagination. The old Bucaniers became the idol of his dreams. There had been some rumours of a quarrel with Spain. It was just the time when he might cover the hopes of private gain and of

personal adventure under the guise of English patriotism and of public service. So he drew up a memorial to Mr. Pitt, and delivered it with his own hands to the porter in Downing Street. The plea was 'to put a bridle on Spain in time of peace, and to annoy her grievously in time of war.' He thought it 'a good scheme for England.' The Bucaniers 'were the archetypes of the future colonists.'

As Mr. Pitt never took the smallest notice of this extraordinary proposal, we are left in no doubt as to what he thought of it. It has been deemed a clever thing to say that there were two Pitts—one the great war Minister, the other the great Minister of peace. And so there were two Pitts—but only in the same sense in which there are two captains of a ship, which yesterday was seen crowding every stitch of canvas to catch a favourable breeze, and to-day is seen under bare poles 'lying to' in a howling tempest. In 1788, when Wolfe Tone proposed to establish a great bucaniering colony in the South Seas, Pitt's mind was full of commerce and of peace. He had just concluded a treaty for mutual disarmament with France, anticipating—by years yet unnumbered—a policy which may well be the hope of humanity, but is certainly not yet either in contemplation or in practice. He had been foiled by the separate and yet combined prejudices and follies of the English and of the Irish Parliaments in his earnest endeavours to give freedom to trade on behalf of the whole of the united kingdoms. His whole mind and his whole heart were set on the promotion of universal industry and of universal peace. When Charles James Fox, the 'liberal' leader, had emitted the narrow declaration that 'France is the natural foe of Great Britain,' Mr. Pitt had replied with the nobler sentiment, 'My mind revolts from this position as monstrous and impossible.' He was avoiding, as long as he could, even any collision with the extravagant pretensions of Spain over the vast continent of America. We can well understand the contemptuous silence with which he received a deliberate proposal to revive the semi-savage warfare of the Bucaniers. Not even a second and urgent request for an answer from this unknown adventurer, could induce him to vouchsafe even any acknowledgment or any reply.

This was the turning point in the career of Tone. There is at least one great merit in his character as reflected in his story of himself. There is no cant. A needy adventurer, without a principle and without a scruple, he never for a moment pretends that he was anything else or better. His imaginary sword had been at the disposal of England in her contest for the subjugation of her colonies. It was still at the disposal of England for any other purpose, provided it afforded to the young Irishman the prospect of excitement and the opportunities of plunder. But the contemptuous silence of her great Minister cut him to the quick. His desperate circumstances, his disappointed visions, his wounded vanity—these were the personal

motives which combined to inspire him with an intense hatred of Mr. Pitt. He avows it frankly. He does not even seem to be conscious of anything unworthy in allowing his conduct to be guided by such passions. 'In my anger,' he says, 'I made something like a vow that if ever I had an opportunity I would make Mr. Pitt sorry, and perhaps fortune may yet enable me to fulfil that resolution.'[6] There was but one way of doing this. Mr. Pitt could only be assailed through the ancient Monarchy which he loved with a noble passion, and through the great Empire which he served with a proud fidelity.

But before he had yet finally embarked in conspiracy and rebellion, there is yet one other episode of his life which throws additional light on the levity and passion of his nature. He had left his wife and child in Ireland entirely dependent on his impoverished father. That father bore the burden, apparently, with willingness and affection, trusting that his son would soon be able to relieve him of it by the exercise of his profession. But the accounts which reached him of the life that Wolfe was now leading in London led him, just about this time, to address to that scapegrace some natural letter of exhortation or remonstrance. It was received by Wolfe in a transport of rage. To gratify his resentment he was willing to abandon his young wife and child altogether, and to enlist as a soldier in the troops of the East India Company. If he had ever had the slightest knowledge of, or feeling for, the higher politics of his own country, nothing could have been more repellent than such a service. The East India Company was the very type and embodiment of that spirit of trade monopoly in England, from which Ireland had long suffered, and which Irish patriots had been long denouncing. It is true that the Irish Parliament was itself saturated with the same fallacies of protectionism, and was constantly passing Acts founded upon them, wherever it saw some immediate consequence which seemed desirable. Wolfe Tone, however, can hardly be blamed if he was blind to such inconsistencies, when even Charles Fox was boasting that he knew nothing of, and cared nothing for, the new science of political economy. But, although it was not to be expected that such considerations should have had any influence on the conduct of Wolfe Tone, it did so happen that, among the chance seeds of hatred which had lighted on the shifting sands of his wandering mind, one of these seeds had been an antipathy to the servants and soldiers of the great imperial Company. His own younger brother William had just left its service, and Wolfe expresses his surprise that, though this brother had entered so young into 'such execrable society as the troops of the Company must be supposed to be, he passed through them without being affected by the contagion of their manners or their principles.'[7] It is probable that a new light had been thrown on that service by what

[6] *Life*, i. 27. [7] *Ibid.* p. 17.

Wolfe must have heard of the charges thundered by his purer countrymen against Warren Hastings. Such a field for rich adventure never had existed since the world began. Such prizes for successful soldiers and cunning negotiators, in the relations between Calcutta and the native States, must have made his ears tingle. At the moment when the Isles of the Pacific were fading from his view, the gorgeous thrones and regions of the East might well seem to open up no inferior prospects of adventure and success. Then there was his rage against his father to be gratified. So, overcoming his brother's remonstrances—determining to quit Europe for ever and to leave his wife and child to the mercy of her family—the two youths rushed off to the India House to be enrolled as volunteers. As it happened, they were just too late. The lists had been closed for that year, and not until March in the following year could they be received. By this accident and by nothing else Wolfe Tone was saved from what must be condemned as a cruel desertion of the nearest, the dearest, and the most imperative obligations of domestic life.

At this moment a new element entered into the case. The desperate position and the reckless character of Tone seem to have alarmed not only his own father but the father of his wife. Not unnaturally, that gentleman had been estranged by his daughter's runaway match with a youth who, to say the least, was wild and penniless. But the danger of her being totally deserted and left in absolute dependence, together with the intercession of friends, prevailed upon the father to do what he could for the rescue of his daughter. He agreed to give her upwards of 500*l.*, and he expressed a desire that Wolfe should return to Ireland. This Tone accordingly did, landing in Dublin in the last days of the year 1788.

If, in the new year then before him, 1789, Tone had 'taken to politics,' in sympathy with the wave of feeling which was propelled over Europe from the opening scenes of the French Revolution, there would have been nothing to be surprised at or to blame. Those hopes and expectations were deceiving men of almost all temperaments alike, from the practical and prosaic Arthur Young to the dreamy and poetical William Wordsworth. But the mind of Tone was inaccessible to such illusions. He was called to the bar early in 1789, and actually went on three circuits. He did fairly well, and it was nothing but his own 'incorrigible habits of idleness' and his dislike and contempt of the very name of law, whether human or divine, that made success impossible. Then it was that for the first time 'he turned his attention to politics.'[8] His vengeful vow against Mr. Pitt predisposed him, of course, to the cause of opposition to that Minister whenever and wherever it could be made effective. Lord Charlemont had then just founded the Whig Club in Dublin. Many of Tone's old college

[8] *Life*, i. 30.

friends were among the Whigs, and some of them had risen into notice by writing pamphlets. He thought he might try his hand at the same work. It was no difficult task to inveigh against the arts by which two Parliaments were then kept in step; nor was it difficult to recommend the constitutional reforms which were then the sole aims of the Irish Whigs. The leaders at once recognised in Tone's production a facile, clear, and trenchant pen. He was flattered by their notice, and interpreted certain private communications into proposals for a seat in Parliament. But nothing came of it, except a retainer in a Borough petition case with a fee of eighty guineas. Month after month passed and nothing better hove in sight. His Whig patrons seemed to be forgetting him. He could not afford to wait. He was living on his wife's little patrimony, and the end of it was coming into view. So, he determined to throw off the Whigs and to fight at his own hand for more revolutionary changes.

Accordingly, the next of Tone's writings is one which has a far higher interest than the mere character of a man. Out of the abundant confessions of his own mouth, he was an unprincipled and unscrupulous adventurer. But he was no fool. He had an acute intellect, and an excellent logical faculty for the best means of promoting desperate designs, by turning to account such natural opportunities as events afforded. One such opportunity was now arising, out of conditions which were in the highest degree hopeful for an anarchist. Tone had returned to Ireland in the middle of the crisis of the King's first attack of insanity. Mr. Pitt was then in the zenith of his power. Fox and his party had no hope of office except in the patronage of the Prince of Wales. He asserted, therefore, the absolute right of the heir apparent to the position of Regent with unrestricted powers. When Pitt heard the speech in which this doctrine was announced, he is said to have slapped his hand upon his thigh, saying: 'I will un-whig that gentleman for the rest of his life.' The great Minister asserted the opposite and more constitutional doctrine of the supreme power of Parliament. He was supported by overwhelming majorities in the British Parliament. But the smaller and less representative Parliament of Dublin took, as is well known, the other side. Mr. Fox, with indecent haste, was already anticipating his own immediate return to power, and was bribing Irish members of Parliament with promises of place. On the merits of the constitutional argument of that day it was possible, perhaps, to take either view without any very serious danger to the State. But that question has no relevancy now. What is still relevant is the proof then afforded—that there was one thing absolutely necessary to the safety of the nation, and that was that there should be no possibility of two opposite courses being taken by two separate parliaments, each claiming to be independent in determining questions as to the person and the powers of the Head of the State. From this time for-

ward the eyes of men were opened to the imminent danger of such disagreements extending to other questions equally vital to an united empire. The sudden recovery of the King solved the difficulty only by postponing it. The solution was good only until another occasion should arise when divergent action might be again determined by the accident of party majorities, and by the inherent susceptibilities which belong to all public assemblies when they are expected not to exercise admitted powers, or to exercise them only in harmony with another and a rival body. The swellings of this controversy were still unsubsided during the whole of 1789, and were kept alive by the measures of the Government to defeat the party which had shown such dangerous disaffection. They dissolved the Irish Parliament in the spring (April) of 1790, so that just at the time when Tone had begun to 'turn his attention to politics,' it was naturally arrested by the inevitable consequences to which the claims of the Irish Parliament might be pushed in the direction of complete independence and separation.

But this was not all. Nearly five years before this date, when as yet Tone was indifferent to such matters, and before he had gone to London, the jealousies of the Dublin Parliament had been so roused as to defeat the most generous and beneficent proposals ever made to Ireland, because in return for them they were asked to give some security for harmonious action in the cost of imperial defence. Mr. Pitt was one of the earliest disciples of Adam Smith. There was nothing, he repeatedly declared, nearer his heart than to admit Ireland into full participation in the vast commerce and colonial trade of England. But he required in return some engagement which would not leave to the mercy of chance majorities some moderate contribution from Ireland towards the expense of that navy upon which the whole depended. To effect this great object Mr. Pitt braved alike the spirit of commercial monopoly in England, and the narrow temper of self-asserting jealousy in Ireland. In the British Parliament the leader, who represented the Liberal party, boasted that he did not understand or believe in the new philosophy of free trade, and appealed to every selfish interest in the constituencies against the danger to English monopolies. In the Dublin Parliament Grattan declaimed with fervid eloquence against parting with an atom of their newly-acquired and indefinite license of dissent. Fox intrigued with the Irish Opposition against proposals which would have removed for ever the long-standing restrictions on Irish trade. In vain did Mr. Pitt point out that even as between wholly separate and independent nations the principle of commercial treaties involved the policy of voluntary limitations placed upon independent action.[9] Faction and vanity and ignorance had so far a triumph that insufficient majorities compelled Mr. Pitt to forego his

[9] *Pitt-Rutland Correspondence*, pp. 71, &c.

generous and enlightened scheme. The passions of this contest, and the claims which, by its result, became accepted if not established, were claims which eminently lent themselves to a man like Tone, who had then conceived the project of dismembering the British Empire.

And now suddenly there arose one of those accidents which, as Mr. Bright once said, 'are always happening' to bring out latent causes into active operation. In the far regions of Nootka Sound (Vancouver's Island) which had been surveyed by Cook, two Spanish men-of-war committed, in May 1790, an insolent and treacherous outrage on two British vessels engaged in the fur trade. The vessels were seized and plundered whilst the crews were put in irons. Mr. Pitt was still bent on peace. But he was the son of Chatham, and no British Minister could submit to such an outrage. There was an immediate demand for reparation, and an immediate outfit of a powerful fleet. When this news reached Ireland it does not seem to have at first occurred to Wolfe Tone that it might possibly reanimate his own old buccaniering hopes. At all events, he resolved to try his fortune first on another tack, that on which he was already sailing, namely—the tack of revolutionary politics. He was quick enough to perceive that a war with Spain would involve an application from the British Minister to both Parliaments for the cost of armaments. Such an application would of necessity afford an opportunity of raising the claim of the Irish Parliament to exercise a right of veto in all the great questions of peace and war. Accordingly, under the signature of 'Hibernicus,' he published an *Inquiry how far Ireland is bound, of right, to embark in the impending contest on the side of Great Britain.* It is in this paper that we first encounter some of the phrases which are so familiar now, but with this difference, that the real import of those phrases and the inevitable conclusions they involve, are, in Tone's pamphlet, openly avowed. 'Motives and interests purely British'[10] are opposed to those which are indicated as purely Irish. The quarrel with Spain was 'merely and purely English.' On its merits, indeed, 'the probability was that Spain was in the wrong, and England was acting with no more than a becoming spirit.' But that was not the question for Ireland, whose 'interference was no more demanded than if the debate arose between the emperor of Japan and the king of Corea.'[11] It was the quarrel of 'an alien,'[12] of a 'foreign state.'[13] But the bitterest passages in this production were those in which he alluded to the great Company in whose service he had not long before endeavoured to enlist, and to the absurdity of Ireland resenting any wrongs done to the commerce of 'rapacious English East-Indian monopolists.'[14] As to 'the Empire' and 'imperial' interests, he denounced the very names, and declared that, if

[10] *Life*, i. 328. [11] *Ibid.* p. 330. [12] *Ibid.* p. 333.
[13] *Ibid.* p. 339. [14] *Ibid.* p. 338.

Irishmen could be influenced by such ideas, they would be 'the dupes of a sound.'[15] But the deepest depths of hypocrisy are reached in a passage in which he speaks of the question of moral obligation. This man, who had been, who perhaps at that time was preparing to be, and certainly was again about to be, a suppliant to the English Minister to let him attack Spain and ravage the coasts of her colonies and plunder their churches, had the incomparable impudence to pen the following sentence: 'If the Spaniards fall by our hands in an unjust war, their deaths are murder; if we seize their property, it is robbery.'

But 'Grattan's Parliament' was not yet prepared for this practical application of its own highest doctrines. It was, after all, exclusively composed of Protestants, and neither old feelings nor new interests had as yet changed so far as to make it practically ally itself with Spain in a contest with the British Crown. Accordingly, in July 1790, it was summoned after the general election to grant a vote of 200,000*l.* in consequence of the aggression in Nootka Sound. To Tone's infinite mortification, or at least to the utter confusion of his immediate object, 'all parties were unanimous in support of his Majesty's Crown, and the inseparable connection of the two kingdoms.'[16]

To enable us to estimate aright the character of Tone, as evinced in his conduct at this moment, and in the months which followed, let us attend for a moment to the dates. The date of his first pamphlet, signed an 'Independent Irish Whig,' is given in his *Life*. It was the 16th of April, 1790, just before the general election. But the date of his second pamphlet, signed 'Hibernicus,' addressed to the members of both Houses of the new Parliament, is not given. Whether it was suppressed by his son or by himself, it is impossible to say. But we can fix the date approximately. The new Parliament met on the 10th of July, and was prorogued on the 24th of the same month, as soon as the vote had been taken. Tone's appeal on the impolicy and wickedness of Irishmen fighting with Spain must have been written late in June or early in July 1790. The next emanation from the same pen is dated the 20th of September of the same year, or, in other words, within eight weeks after the prorogation. And what was this new paper? It was a humble memorial to be allowed to attack and pillage Spanish America, addressed to another English Minister, the Duke of Richmond, similar to that which he had formerly addressed to Mr. Pitt.

There was a natural reason for this new selection. He could hardly venture to approach Mr. Pitt personally again. But his colleague, the Duke of Richmond, who was then Master-General of the Ordnance, happened to be the uncle of the young Duke of Leinster, and of his still younger brother, the gallant, impetuous, and unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was then a member of the Oppo-

[15] *Life*, i. 337. [16] Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*, ii. 226.

sition in the Irish Parliament, who was by early education almost half a Frenchman, and who was destined to be one of the many victims of Tone's conspiracy. To the English uncle, therefore, of these young Irishmen Tone determined to apply, as a possibly more favourable channel, proposing again his plan for a settlement in the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of fighting and plundering the Spaniards, and recommending it as a project which 'might prove of important service to England.'[17]

The audacity of this document is indeed astonishing. At the best, perhaps, there has always been rather a narrow line between the practice of privateering at sea and pure piracy. But between any, even the worst, form of civilised warfare and the profligate schemes of Tone there is a gulf indeed. He pointed out that the coast of South America from the latitude of about 14° N. to 45 S. 'was rich, populous, *superstitious*, and unwarlike.' That is to say, there was a seaboard of above 3,500 miles in extent which was open to attack and plunder. He pointed out, further, that Spain must be extremely weak along the whole of that vast line, as was proved by 'the uniform success of every paltry privateer, or pirate, half-armed, half-manned, and half-starved, in their various attempts on Lima, Panama, Guayaquil, Payta, &c.' He emphasises this lesson by hungrily dwelling on the fact that the last on this list of cities 'was twice taken and sacked, and ransomed by two different crews of disorderly seamen.' But it may be well asked—what could he mean by including the word 'superstitious' in his list of characteristics which made Spanish South America an especially desirable object of attack? Here, as usual, Tone is perfectly open and candid; the superstition of the Spanish population would make sacrilege a very profitable concern. 'In particular,' he says, 'the wealth collected in the various churches is almost beyond calculation,' and as the natives were effeminate and unguarded, 'a considerable part of those treasures must unavoidably fall a prey to the first bold invader.'[18] Then there were the Spanish galleons to be intercepted. All he wanted was some 500 men to found a purely military colony in the Sandwich Islands. The natives might be trained into a few battalions, on the model of the Indian Sepoys. He did not aim at 'permanent conquest.' All he wanted was a force 'sufficient for a predatory and incursive war.' They could enrich themselves, and so their country, 'by plunder,' and so 'render a service to England very much more than sufficient to compensate for the expense of their first establishment.'[19] Towards the conclusion of this extraordinary document he waxes eloquent on his theme. 'The experiment,' he says, 'of a colony purely military has not, perhaps, been tried since the days of ancient Rome.' No, nor was it ever tried by Rome for such a purpose. Her military colonies were never for mere piracy and plunder.

[17] *Life*, i. 519. [18] *Ibid.* p. 521. [19] *Ibid.* p. 523.

They were always for the only legitimate object of war, for the safety of possession and for the defence of empire. The man who could write thus was as insensible to the true glory of the military character as he was to every other motive and to every other principle which lift the pursuits of politics above the very lowest levels.

It would have been better, perhaps, if the Duke of Richmond had treated this great scheme of piracy as Mr. Pitt had treated it. But he did the next best thing in sending simply a civil acknowledgment, commending 'the perspicuous and compendious manner' in which the project was explained, and referring Tone to his colleague, Mr. Grenville, as the Minister to whose department such affairs belonged. Tone was enchanted with even this notice, and instantly sent off a letter of effusive and somewhat servile thanks:—'I was not prepared for the high honour which your Grace has done me on noticing my application to you on the subject of a settlement at the Sandwich Isles. I beg leave to return my most grateful thanks for a condescension so very unexpected and unmerited that I know not in what words to express my sense of your unmerited goodness.' He begged that the Duke would himself forward the memorial to Mr. Grenville, and, if possible, accompany it with 'some certificate of his approval.' By the same post he despatched a letter to Mr. Grenville, in which he quoted the Duke of Richmond's courteous notice as 'in a degree corroborating' Tone's own opinion of the plan. He offered to devote himself wholly to its execution, and declared himself ready to stake his 'whole future success in life, as he would his life itself, on the event.' This correspondence took place between the 20th and 30th of September, 1790. In the meantime, Mr. Pitt had prosecuted negotiations as eagerly as he had also prepared for war; and he was at that time in daily growing hope that his great aim of peace would be secured by means worthy of the Empire which he served. In the midst of these great concerns the 'predatory' proposals of the young Irishman seem for a time to have been forgotten; and it was not until the 23rd of October that Mr. Grenville's secretary was directed to reply that 'he would take as early an opportunity of considering the memorial as might be in his power consistently with the more pressing business which is now in his hands.' Tone very properly regarded this reply as a civil rejection of his project.

We now come to a new development in the character of our hero. Hitherto he had been at least audacious and undisguised. Insensible to the feelings which made his scheme revolting in the eyes of high-minded men, and incapable of appreciating the principles which would have made the adoption of it by a great Power a terribly backward step in the civilisation of the world, Wolfe Tone was by the merest accident suddenly brought at this time to see that it was open to more practical objections. In the galleries of the Irish

House of Commons he met with a youth of the name of Russell who was an officer in the 64th regiment of the British army, and who thenceforward became his bosom friend. To this young man he communicated his favourite idea of a predatory colony. Russell, in his turn, communicated it to a person of the name of Digges, who had lately come to Ireland from the United States. No man who had seen war conducted on the principles and for the purposes of George Washington could be otherwise than scandalised by the very idea of a war conducted for the purposes avowed by Wolfe Tone. By a natural association of ideas, every Anglo-American sympathised with any revolt of the American colonies against any mother-country in the Old World. But the plunder and devastation of those colonies by piratical expeditions under the British flag was hardly a scheme to captivate an enlightened citizen of the United States. Accordingly, on being now consulted by Tone, Digges sent him a memorandum recommending a scheme for the liberation, and not for the ravaging, of the Spanish American colonies, as the only proper object to be aimed at. He did so in terms as courteous as was possible. 'I am clearly of opinion,' he wrote, 'that no predatory expedition for the sake of plunder or territory will do good.' On Tone's purposes of systematic and enormous sacrilege he simply observed, 'the churches must be held inviolable from insult.' Digges' international morality, however, was lax enough. Congress was in amity with the Court of Madrid, and had even formed at one time a close alliance with it. But some individual States of the Union might be persuaded to give secret help, provided always that the aim and object of all action should be in the interests of political freedom, and on behalf of the native colonists of Spain. This Digges repeated emphatically at the end of the memorandum. 'The going for the purpose of conquest or plunder would certainly fail of success.' But he added that, if Tone would make known that his intention was to free the country, and not to injure the people in their rights, a revolution would be insured.[20]

Tone and Russell now laid their heads together under this advice, and Wolfe drew up a second memorandum for the Duke of Richmond, dated the 12th of November, 1790,[21] in which he announced that his former object, which 'went no farther than invasion and plunder,' had now been completely changed and expanded into a great scheme for the subversion of the Spanish Empire in the New World, and the liberation of her colonies from a government 'of grinding oppression.' He appealed to the Duke as a 'good Englishman,' to secure for his country this great benefit, and to secure for himself as patron 'boththe gratitude and the glory which may accrue.' In this most hypocritical paper the interests of 'England' were again and again appealed to. 'Either we shall have a war with Spain, or we shall

[20] *Life*, i. 541–42. [21] *Ibid.* p. 529.

not: if we have, we can immediately attack her on a system of plunder; if we have not, we lay an infallible train which will, in the lapse of a few years, blow her empire into the air. In the first case, England will be enriched with the immediate spoils: in the last, more slowly, but more certainly, beneficially, and honourably (!) by a free and unshackled trade with all South America.'[22] This second appeal to the Duke of Richmond was dated the 12th of November, 1790, and received from him the same answer as before, dated the 25th of November. Meantime, these conspirators heard that Mr. Pitt had not only made peace but had obtained mutual disarmament. Peace, says Tone, 'bore a frosty appearance for the warm hopes of my friend Russell, Digges, and myself.' But Wolfe was determined to make, as he expressed it, 'one exertion more for liberty and Mexico.' On the 7th of December, 1790, he addressed himself directly to Mr., now Lord, Grenville, and sent to him yet another memorandum setting forth the devices and subterfuges under which, in spite of the peace, war could be secretly and treacherously prepared for against Spain, how her trade could be assailed by smuggling and by violence, and how political disaffection could be set up among her colonists by a propaganda of 'sheets of information on the topics of general liberty &c., wrapped up in every bale of cloth.' This he called 'mixing some very honest politics with trade.'[21] Of all the documents connected with Tone's 'delicious reverie,' this last memorandum for Lord Grenville combines the most odious features. There is a horrible mixture of the popular phrases about liberty and liberation which had been put into his head by Digges, and of the violent and avaricious avowals of his own predatory nature. Specially horrible is the picture he draws, and over which he gloats, of the wealth and defencelessness of the South American populations. It seems to give human expression to the instincts of an animal of prey. It is as if a Puma had the gift of speech, and had expressed his feelings as he crept and stalked up to a herd of deer feeding in the rich grasses of the Pampas. Of course it is for the most part decently, although very thinly, veiled under the inducements of commerce. He speaks of South America as 'the region of gold and silver, populous, lazy, luxurious,' as the 'richest and idlest nation on the globe;' and in his accompanying letter of the same date (the 7th of December, 1790) he breaks out of all disguise and expressly reverts to his visions of 'plundering the Spanish coasts on the Pacific Ocean.'

At last, on the 17th of December, 1790, Lord Grenville replied that it would not be at all desirable that Tone should 'give himself the trouble' of coming over to England 'for the purpose of making any farther communications on the subject.' The effect on Tone must be given in his own words—words which refer, not to Lord

[22] *Life*, i. 531–32. [21] *Ibid.* p. 536.

Grenville, but to Mr. Pitt:—'The Minister's refusal did not sweeten us much towards him. I renewed the vow I had once made before—to make him, if I could, repent of it, in which Russell most heartily concurred. Perhaps the Minister may yet have reason to wish he had let us go off quietly to the South Seas. I should be glad to have an opportunity to remind him of his old correspondent, and if I ever find one I will not overlook it.'[24] Pitt had committed at least three unpardonable sins in the eyes of Wolfe. First, he had been at his old tricks of making peace; secondly, he had rejected adopting at the same moment perfidious preparations for a future war; and thirdly, he had rejected a proposal to commission two unknown Irish adventurers to establish a pirate colony in the South Seas. From this moment, in faithful performance of his vow, Tone led the life of a confirmed conspirator. Even now his mind was not political in the higher senses of the word. His one object was to break up the United Kingdom. He did not trouble himself at all about the system which—even in Ireland—might be substituted for it. Many men were then becoming Republicans. But he was not. His one passion was to secure the complete separation and independence of Ireland under any form of government whatever it might be; and the man who had just been fawning on two English Ministers in succession, and had been appealing to them to allow him to serve their interests and secure the everlasting glory of England, has the courage to tell us that to this new passion he 'was led by a hatred of England so deeply rooted in his nature that it was rather an instinct than a principle.'[25]

For four years and a half from this date, the beginning of 1791 to the middle of 1795, he pursued his designs with the most brilliant abilities and the most versatile cunning. He was all things to all men. Among the politicians of Belfast who were democrats in the French revolutionary sense, he was an eager Republican, plotting the overthrow of every institution which stood in the way of that ideal. Among moderate men he was, at the same moment and the same city, enrolling his name as a member[26] of the Whig Club, and signing its declaration, the very embodiment of 'paltry and peddling reforms' which he was ridiculing and denouncing among his boon companions. Among Roman Catholics he was pretending to be devout, and did not hesitate, in the town of Newry, when it was necessary for his purpose, to exhibit himself in a Catholic Church as attending mass.[27] He put himself forward before each party and section as the fervid supporter of the particular change which was most desired by them. To the Presbyterians of the north and the Protestant Liberals all over the country he baited his hook with Parliamentary Reform. To the Catholics he was the apostle of their claims for relief from the penal laws, and of such measure of enfranchisement as it was then safe to advocate in the face of the Protestant power and interest. His favourite idea was to get rid

[24] *Life*, i. 37. [25] *Ibid.* p. 55. [26] *Ibid.* p. 149. [27] *Ibid.* p. 176.

altogether of that antagonism between the great leading sects in Ireland through which alone, he held, the British dominion had been established. Perfect religious toleration on the part of men who themselves have any religious convictions or belief, is one of the noblest of human virtues. Religious toleration on the part of men who themselves have no religion of any kind, has a very different character and is never directed to the same ends. In Tone's writings religion is never mentioned except in terms of ridicule or contempt. It cost him nothing, therefore, to be one of the principal founders of the Club of 'United Irishmen' whose aim was to unite all the sects in one common organisation for the overthrow of the Government. Neither had he any difficulty, though not a Catholic, in joining the Catholic Association, or in serving them with that discretion which was necessary to conceal his sympathy with the outrageous heathenism of the Parisian Jacobins. He had great difficulties with the Catholic clergy, and especially with the higher and more educated dignitaries of the Church. In the interests of religion they justly suspected the organisations which were being set on foot. Tone records their opposition to his designs as serious in the beginning of 1792;[28] and in August of the same year we find in his journal the characteristic entry, 'Damn all the Bishops.'[29] Yet so deftly did he steer his way that at a time when his own circumstances were even more than usually embarrassed, he was appointed as successor of the son of Edmund Burke to the office of secretary of the Catholic Committee, at an annual salary of 200*l.*

The private journal of Wolfe Tone for this year, 1792, is full of a wider interest than that which attaches to his own character. It reveals much on the condition of Irish society at the time. We have all heard much, both in history and in fiction, of the thoughtless and dissipated life led by the smaller country gentlemen and landed proprietors in the country about this time. But Tone's journals exhibit exactly the same habits as prevalent in the very different classes with whom he principally consorted. The reformers were at least as bad as, if not worse than, those who had so much need of reformation. Their heated discussions over wine, their plots and conspiracies amid roars of intoxicated laughter, or mumbled in voices thick with the fumes of debauchery, present a disgusting spectacle. Tone's bosom friend Russell was so constantly drunk that his health, and even his mind, seems to have been seriously impaired. Tone himself, with higher intellectual powers, and some intervals of self-reproach, seems to have seldom gone to bed sober. 'Generally drunk,' is a frequent jotting, next day, of the previous night's proceedings. Sometimes it is relieved by that reckless humour which sees fun in the very beastliness of excess. To go to bed drunk was the common thing. But to awake drunk is recorded as a special achievement. The whole

[28] *Life*, i. 65. [29] *Ibid.* p. 168.

passage on that day's proceeding is a curious illustration of the mixture of fierce and thoughtless political passion with the low animalism of the society in which he lived :—

> Aug. 14, 1792. The Belfast men get warm with wine and patriotism. The Catholics offer to find soldiers if Belfast will provide officers. Agree to talk the matter over to-morrow, when we are all cool. Huzza! Generally drunk. *Vive la nation!* Down with the Empress of Russia! Success to the Polish arms, with three times three. Huzza! Generally *very* drunk. Bed. God knows how. Huzza! Huz——
>
> 15th. Waken drunk. Write a letter on the Grand Jury of Derry, *signed* '*A Derry Farmer.*' [30]

But there is another feature in this journal not less remarkable. We can hardly blame Tone for not seeing at that time what even Arthur Young had not seen—the tremendous danger of multitudes of a people breeding like rabbits, and subsisting for three-quarters of the year almost entirely on potatoes. A temporary and precarious plenty was then blindly reckoned by all parties as evidence of at least comparative prosperity. But what is remarkable in Tone's journals and writings at this time is that he was wholly undeceived by any of the economic fallacies which are now the accepted explanation of Irish troubles. On the 23rd of October, 1792, he happened to dine at a gentleman's house in company 'with a parcel of squires of County Down.' He mentions 'fox-hunting, hare-hunting, and buck-hunting' as the topics of conversation, but not unaccompanied with the somewhat useful subject of 'farming.' He repeats, as having struck him, an observation that 'a farm at a smart rent was always better cultivated than one at a low rent,' on which Tone's comment is 'Probable enough.' His rapid perceptions made him see in a moment that rents are not determined by those who receive them, but by those who pay them—that sharp rents imply competition, and that competition may naturally arise from an active and thriving industry. Or, if this reasoning was too abstract for him, at least he could understand how some necessity for exertion is a stimulus to industry, and how a low rent may often be nothing but a prescription for idleness made easy. It is worthy of notice, too, that from this dinner with the squires of County Down Tone escaped in a condition of sobriety, so that at nine o'clock he was able to attend one of his political clubs, and he was obliged to adjourn with Russell to a tavern to get as drunk as usual.[31] Neither was Tone deceived by any popular cant on the true sources of industrial progress. He was ready to record and to note any evidence which came before him that these sources did not lie in the multitude, but in the initiative, the enterprise and the capital of individual and instructed men. The very next day after his sober and comparatively intellectual dinner with the Down squires, he inspected one of the rising manufacturing industries of Belfast, and he notes this almost

[30] *Life*, i. 172. [31] *Ibid.* p. 148.

universal and significant fact, 'All improvement regularly resisted by the people.'[32]

But now a new scene was about to open in the life of this gifted but most perverted mind. In April 1793 the Irish Parliament conceded to the Catholics all that at that time they had themselves ventured to ask. There was a final abolition of the penal laws, and although Catholics were not yet allowed to sit in Parliament, and although there were some other trivial reservations, yet that inevitable herald and precursor of their eligibility was sent before, which consisted in their admission to the electoral franchise. But the Irish Legislature at that moment was not more disposed than the British to submit to the armed propaganda of the Jacobins. The disgusting atrocities committed in Paris, and the powerful influence of the writings of that illustrious Irishman Edmund Burke, had awakened the alarm, and were now stimulating the vigilance in both countries, of all who cared for the interests of religion, or of humanity, or of law. Tone's advocacy of the Catholic claims had been as a means to an end. It was therefore nothing but a source of infinite mortification to him to have to see them largely conceded, but in company with other measures which were calculated to foil his own secret and traitorous designs. There was an Act passed to establish a constitutional militia, instead of that anarchical and anomalous body, the Irish Volunteers. There was another Act of precaution as to the importation of gunpowder, and for the suppression of tumultuous assemblies. The House of Commons, too, voted an addition of 20,000 men to the regular army. Tone tells us with bitterness how all this was done by common and unanimous consent. 'Every measure,' he says, 'for strengthening the hands of Government was adopted by one party with even more eagerness than it was proposed by the other.'[33] Very naturally he was both disgusted and enraged. The only thing he could do beforehand, had been to incite the Catholics to refuse to accept such a limited emancipation.

But so early as February 1793 he felt that he was fighting a losing battle. On the 4th of that month he enters in his journal—'Will the Catholics be satisfied with this bill? I believe they will, and be damned.'[34] And yet, in spite of this malediction, he himself confesses that when the bill was compared with the Catholic petition, it appeared 'that every complaint *recited* had been attended to, every grievance *specified* had been removed.'[35] If we read by itself, and without reference either to historical facts or to these existing conditions, one of the papers written by Tone at this time,[36] we can do so not only with sympathy but with admiration. Nothing can be more vigorous or eloquent than his paper on the evils of political disabilities on account of religion. 'While a single

[32] *Life*, i. 148. [33] *Ibid.* p. 94. [34] *Ibid.* p. 247.
[35] *Ibid.* p. 99. [36] *Ibid.* pp. 75–103.

fibre of the old penal code, that cancer in the bosom of the country, is permitted to exist, the mischief is but suspended, not removed; the principle of contamination remains behind and propagates itself.' This is very fine and all very true. But the whole of this argument was, in his mouth, tainted by the most profound hypocrisy. At that very moment his sole aim in life was to make the Catholics of Ireland as traitorous as himself, and so, consequently, to make them —not on account of their religion, but on account of their politics— just objects of suspicion to the Government and people of the United Kingdom. His son frankly tells us that these papers, so eloquent and so plausible, were 'evidently written with caution and destined for publication.'[57] Nor can it be doubted that his conspiracy did actually postpone, for many years, the final emancipation of the Catholics. The truth is that the penal laws had originated entirely in political dangers and political apprehension. Some years before this date Arthur Young had found the Protestant landlords freely subscribing to the erection of Catholic chapels for their people. He treats it as hypocrisy to do this and yet to maintain the penal laws. And so it would have been—if these laws were valued in the interests of Protestant theology. Religious bigotry, no doubt, entered into the case in some minds. But this was not the prevailing element. The Catholics were held down, not because of their theological opinions, but because of their supposed political designs. They were persecuted, not because they believed in transubstantiation, but because they believed, or were held to do so, in the Pope's power to absolve subjects from their allegiance. They were held to be presumably always in league with the great conspiracy of the Catholic Monarchies on the Continent against the laws and the liberties of the British people. We can hardly realise now, how burnt this impression was into the very hearts and minds of that people, and especially into the hearts and minds of the Protestants of Ireland. Nor do we estimate easily how slow is the process by which men can open their eyes to those changes of external circumstances under which such dangers become gradually removed. We see in several entries in Tone's journal in 1792, what difficulties he had on this subject, even amongst the advanced democrats whom he was organising in Belfast. We have only to remember that so late as 1765 Burke had spoken of the exclusion of Catholics from 'all offices in Church and State' as 'just and necessary.'[58] Let us only remember, too, that even a man so liberal and enlightened as Lord Charlemont, long the leader of the Irish constitutional party, and the patron of Grattan, was to the day of his death opposed to the full measure of Catholic Emancipation. The very worst thing that could be done in the interests of genuine religious toleration was to connect once more the Catholic cause with political treason. Yet this was the work to which Wolfe Tone had now

[57] *Life*, i. 107. [58] *E. Burke on Irish Affairs* (Mat. Arnold), p. 13.

devoted himself, under the cover of a zeal for the Catholic cause. Nor was even this the worst thing he did. He had now resolved not only to upset the Monarchy and the Government, but he had determined to do so, if he could, by procuring the invasion of a foreign army. In all probability he had been meditating that deepest of all treasons ever since he had founded the society of 'United Irishmen.' But, at all events, his son has published, out of a fragment found among his papers, dated the 27th of March, 1793, the following entry: 'Probable consequences of any mishap befalling the English in the war: Ten thousand French would accomplish a separation.' [39]

This was the design which he now set himself to accomplish, with all his ability and with all his cunning. In another article we shall see how he proceeded with it.

ARGYLL.

[39] *Life*, i. 105.

THE ART OF THE PAINTER-ETCHER.[1]

THE time would seem to have come—I am speaking, of course, in the name of the Council as well as in my own—when, in the tenth year of our foundation as a Society for the recovery of a lost art, we shall do well to explain with somewhat more circumstance than we have yet done the precise nature of the task which we have imposed on ourselves, or, rather, which has (as I think I shall presently be able to show) been imposed upon us.

Notwithstanding all that has been said, written, and done within the last few years to bring about a clearer comprehension of the objects of our association, it is, we feel, impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that, owing to a variety of circumstances which it is a chief object of this address to point out, the whole subject of the painter-engraver's art is still but very imperfectly understood.

We all know what an ordinary engraving is, and associate it quite correctly with a reproduction more or less able but by means more or less mechanical—of a picture or design in the painting or inception of which the engraver has had no share; but very few of us, I imagine, are aware that, up to the death of Vandyk, it was the painter himself who was his own engraver, and that the class of engraver as we now know him had no existence—that he is, in fact, but a product of that degradation of all the arts which followed the execution of Charles the First, and from which, as to engraving at least, they cannot even yet be said to have wholly recovered. Well, it is on the revival of this great-master engraving, this original engraving, this painter-engraving—or, as it is more commonly called from the process usually employed in its production, this Painter-Etching—that the foundations of this Society are laid; a revival which should interest, we think, every true artist. We wished, indeed, in the first instance, that the Royal Academy should have the credit of this revival, and at all events hoped that we might look to that body for help to bring it about. We did not obtain it. For twenty years we sent in to the Academy original etchings which have since acquired a European reputation, and which only the other day obtained, at the hands of an International Jury sitting in Paris, the highest honours which

[1] The presidential address of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers, for 1890.

they had it in their power to award. In the Royal Academy they met with no encouragement whatever. When a vacancy occurred among its members, it was supplied by the election of the copyist engraver, and not by the original etcher; so that at last, worn out by the unequal struggle, we abandoned further effort, and formed the present Society. I can assure any member of the Academy who may happen to be here present, that I tell this story with the greatest reluctance, and only because it must be told to account for our existence as a separate Society. The retrospect, however—seeing that twenty years is a lifetime to an artist—is a painful one. I will not, and fortunately I need not, dwell upon it, since I have said all that it is necessary to say on the relative claims of etching and engraving to rank as Fine Arts, and to be represented as such in the Royal Academy, in a paper which I had the honour to read before the Society of Arts in 1883.

It is not to be supposed, however, that we have obtained our present position without having had to encounter other difficulties. I will not say that we have surmounted them all. We have not; but we have got through the perils of infancy, have cut our teeth, had the distemper, weeded out the weakly plants, and, as we say in Hampshire, have now a *strain* on which we think we can depend for a future vigorous growth. Better than all, we have no quarrel with the Royal Academy—none whatever—and now really think, both for our art and for ourselves, that we are better where we are. We think, on the other hand, that it would have been better for the Royal Academy if it could have seen its way to admit the painter in water colour and the painter-etcher; because the doing so would have made it, instead of a society for the advantage only of certain arts and certain artists, a Royal Academy of Arts worthy of the name. Nor can we persuade ourselves that the singular restriction of the Fine Arts to three [2] was anything but a pure accident on the part of its original promoters. Still the question remains, What will the Academy now think it right to do? Will it try to revive a practice which, in the hands of the present academician engraver, is as an art virtually extinct; or will it come to the painter-engraver for recruits and so tacitly acknowledge the value of the qualities which we cultivate here? Why not? We know quite well that, until a more perfect mechanism replaces them, there must be translator-engravers. We know quite well that, until he can found on his original engraving an income on which he can live, the Fellow of this Society must, from time to time, do unoriginal work. Well, why should he not? Our object being the advancement of all forms of the engraver's art by the infusion into it of qualities which the work of the unoriginal engraver does not at present contain, his doing so would be perfectly right and legitimate. We do not want to kill

[2] Oil painting, sculpture, and architecture.

the unoriginal engraver; our only objection to him is that he has wanted to kill us. I have seen within the last few days an engraving from a picture after poor Frank Holl, by one of our Fellows, which contains qualities that I declare I have never seen before in the work of the translator-engraver, and for this simple reason, perhaps, that until we began to insist on the cultivation of such qualities we never could see them. They were not to be found. What, therefore, we would suggest is, that if at any time it should see fit to elect a painter-etcher, the Academy should do nothing to discourage his still doing original work—in other words, nothing to sever him from his connection with us. If it do, and so discourage such work, his practice will assuredly, sooner or later, revert to the level of that of the present academician engraver. But there is no reason for any such severance. The distinguished President of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colour, for instance, has not ceased to be its President because, on the strength of the oil pictures he has painted, he is also a member of the Royal Academy. It is not the fault of the painter in water colour that he has had to form an Academy of his own, nor is it our fault that we have had to do the same. It is the fault of the Royal Academy. If we are not to be permitted to live under one roof, as at one time we aspired to do, let us at least live on neighbourly terms, and, while preserving our own independence, each respect and help the other.

So much then for our past difficulties with the Royal Academy; present difficulties with it, I repeat, we have none. I will even go further, and, while still insisting on the difference which we think ought to be made between the original and the unoriginal artist, willingly acknowledge the fact that, at certain times and under certain circumstances, the translator-engraver has evinced exceptional aptitudes and achieved real distinction. Those times, however, have always been when he has been working under the immediate supervision and with the actual assistance of the painter, as in the case of the mezzotint engravers who worked under, and with the assistance of, Turner, in the production of the 'Liber Studiorum;' and, again, in the case of the distinguished group of mezzotinters who wrought so entirely from the pictures of Reynolds that they became, so to speak, saturated with Reynolds. It is also noticeable, and suggestive perhaps of something in our climate which lends itself in a peculiar degree to the employment of Mezzotint, that it is in this particular phase of the engraver's art that these successes have been chiefly obtained. We shall endeavour to do the fullest justice to these men when we come to hang up, as I hope we shall one day be able to do, those plates of the 'Liber' which were engraved by Turner himself, side by side with those which received so large a share of his corrections as to be in part his own work, and in part the work of the engravers whom he associated with him, and whom he may be said to have

created for his purposes. In 'line,' as carried out by the purely translator-engraver, I know of no remarkable instance of this subordination of one mind to the purposes of another, and though we are accustomed to hear so much of the Wilmores, the Wallises, &c., I cannot admit that their work, as a whole, transcended in any appreciable measure the best sort of the mechanical engraving of that day. The line-engraving of Sharp was far beyond any such comparison, and yet, though I selected it as the best of its kind, and—in order to be perfectly fair—made it the subject of the illustrations in the paper referred to, it, in its turn, will not bear comparison, as to intelligent execution, with the line-work of Dürer and the old painter-engravers.

Another difficulty, and one of the most perplexing with which we have had, and still have, to contend, has been the readiness of the modern printseller to see in an Etching a commercial opportunity for turning it into something else, and, by the publication of plates which have no pretension to be called etchings, to apply the etching process to purposes for which it is altogether unfitted, and with which, in fact, it has nothing in common. It will be readily understood that this perversion of an art to mere purposes of decoration has very largely contributed, and is still contributing, to the misunderstanding of the whole subject which I mentioned when I began; and how much, again, this misunderstanding is increased by the daily announcements we see of 'New Etchings, after So-and-So.' The almost helpless position of a society like this, whose modest mission it is to explain that an Etching is an original work, full of fine qualities—after nobody—may be imagined. I see no way out of this difficulty but for the society to publish its own works, or to arrange with some special publisher or publishers to deal with them. There is room now, and by-and-by there will be plenty of room, for a lucrative business of this sort. I remember the difficulty I had some years ago to persuade our now 'master printer' to give up his then general business for the exclusive printing of etchings, for which he had shown a special aptitude. I should like to ask him, now, how many presses he has going at this kind of work alone, and whether, as I hear is the case, he is every now and then finding it necessary to enlarge his premises to make room for more. If I were a printseller, with judgment and capacity for such a business—with the independence necessary to carry it on untrammelled by trade combinations—and with gallery space fitted for the display of this kind of fine art *only*, to which the public might resort with the knowledge that whatever they found there would bear the *imprimatur* of this society—I would soon make my fortune, and, if he will forgive my saying so, that of the artist too. And this last consideration—the interest, that is to say, of the artist, no less than of his art—emboldens me, with the frankness which they have ever permitted

me to use with them, to beg those of our Fellows and Associates who may have an opportunity of doing so to dissuade their publishers from embarking in etched plates of exaggerated dimensions. Such a request, I am aware, is a delicate one, and I hoped to avoid having to make it by the somewhat Machiavellian alternative of hanging up —so that all who 'ran might read'—the models of real etching which you see behind me.[3] The dignified repose, and the strength which is an element of that repose; the entire absence of any straining after a violent effect, either in the work or in the printing; and such a moderation in the size of the plate as brings it well within the legitimate use of such an instrument as the etching needle would, I felt sure, strike everyone. Let us only consider for a moment the instrument with which the etcher works—its object, its scope, its capabilities and its limitations. Such an instrument I hold in my hand. Consider what a simple thing it is, and the vital process by which, in the hand of an artist, it becomes the exponent of his highest ideal. Follow out that process from its commencement to its termination in the stroke which he makes on his plate. He is etching, let us say, directly from nature, or, what is the same thing, from an image or a series of images which have presented themselves to his mind and impressed themselves on his retina—which is his 'mind's eye.' Well, he has to transmit that ideal, or that image, to the plate upon his knee. Consider the compound of psychological and physiological forces by which this is effected the nature of the message which he has to send down the nervous trunks which supply the arm till they divide into the branches which supply the fingers, and then, by the nerves of the fingers again, to the point which they grasp, and that in this long and complex transit there is no appreciable loss either of the force or the delicacy of the resultant line. Then look at the perversion of this power and delicacy in the huge reproductions which we occasionally see and which I believe are also called etchings! Understand, if you please, that I am only speaking of etching and the qualities which belong to it as inapplicable to the production of such things. I am not speaking of the beautiful and effective process of Mezzotint which *is* applicable to them, or of the happy mixture of Mezzotint and Aquatint which goes to the production of some of the larger plates which we see here and, for the matter of that, of the smaller ones also. All forms of the engraver's art, we have already declared, are equally welcome to us. Our object being to see the whole ground of engraving covered properly, we are not wedded to the etched line. All that we ask for it is its intelligent application to the purpose for which it is fitted; and, further, that unoriginal engraving, whatever the process employed, shall be no longer confounded with that form of original work which, by

[3] Etchings by Rembrandt.

common consent, is known as 'Etching.' Another year I may, and if I live I am sure I shall, be hanging up and speaking with equal warmth of the master-pieces of original mezzotint which have been left to us by Turner; just as, in after years, I would, if I were here, invoke your admiration of the line-work of Dürer, of Schoen, or of Lucas van Leyden. For a moment we are in the presence of Rembrandt, and, this being so, let us see what it is that he teaches us.

But first, as I am addressing not merely our own Fellows, but some who may not be fully acquainted with the etching process, let me explain in the fewest possible words what that process is. It is of two kinds: one which depends for its development on the action of any chemical agent which has what is called a strong affinity for the metal employed, and which, applied to that metal, corrodes or bites it; the other which depends for its effect on a simple indentation made in the plate by the etching needle alone. Here are plates prepared for each process; one, you see, is bright, the other covered with a black varnish. Well, if I take the varnished plate and, with the point in my hand, make a stroke upon it which divides the varnish and lays bare the metal (which in this case happens to be copper), and then apply to that stroke the chemical agent or mordant I spoke of, so as to eat into the metal and 'bite' it, I have performed all that is essential to the process of 'Etching.' On the other hand, if I take this bright plate and make on it, with the same point, a stroke with such force as not only to indent it but to plough up with it such a fringe of the metal as will hold the printer's ink, I have performed all that is essential to the process of 'Dry-point.' One of these lines again – the first, or the 'bitten' line—lends itself to sharp definition; the other the dry-point line—to what an artist would call colour. Now, when we hung up, in the Burlington Fine Arts Club, the whole engraved work of Rembrandt, as we did in the year 1877, we made a singular discovery, and that was that, for the first ten years out of the thirty which composed his practice of etching, he used exclusively the bitten process; for the second ten years the bitten and the dry-point process combined; and for the last ten years, having acquired apparently sufficient command of the instrument for the purpose, the dry-point process alone. A further acquaintance even with the portion of Rembrandt work which hangs here will enable you to trace in it these differences of practice. Our Fellows and Associates will, no doubt, see other qualities and discuss them among themselves. What I should most like to invite our non-etching friends to observe, especially if they are also buyers of etchings, is the entire absence from them of what I must call the obtrusive quality. As a rule I am afraid it is some such quality which first strikes us in our notice of a work of art. Yet it is in the *un*obtrusive quality—the quality which does *not* strike us but which

grows upon us, that the enduring charm of every work of art will be found to lie. Nature never stares us out of countenance. If she did we could not live with her, and we must remember that when we buy an etching we are undertaking to live with it, and hoping to discover in it new beauties every day. Well, of all etchers to live with, commend me to Rembrandt. I have had the honour, as an old and fastidious collector and observer of his work, to be intimately acquainted with him for more than fifty years, and I never take him out of the cabinet in which I keep him without his telling me something which I did not know before, and revealing to me some cunning secret which I had not yet discovered. I am afraid the time at our disposal will not permit me to offer to point out to you the many subtle variations in the plates which compose the long line behind me, and which, in the language of the etcher, are called 'states'; you can, however, see them for yourselves, and would, if you had other 'Rembrandts' to compare with them, see also the singular beauty and purity of most of the impressions. Many of the plates also unfold to us something of the domestic history of the artist. This also we discovered when we first hung them up in chronological order in the Burlington Fine Arts club, and I have embodied the observations we then made in a monograph on the subject. They are exceedingly interesting, and represent him in a light which, up to that time, was not the accepted light—the light by which he was supposed to be known. And this reminds me to say, in passing, that all the biographies of this great artist have a common source in the utterly worthless statements of the *racontеurs* of the day, and in the equally unreliable and, to all appearance, hostile representations of Houbraken.

But the greatest difficulty of all—and the difficulty which we have most taken to heart—is the difficulty we have had to make *every* painter understand that it is to his interest to be the exponent of his own thoughts and the engraver of his own works. The old masters understood this perfectly. The studio of the old master contained, besides his easel on which was his picture, his portfolio in which were his etchings. If he was not selling one he was selling the other. If the price of the picture was beyond the resources of the amateur, or if it were unattainable from other causes, the print was not, and the income of the painter was made up of the commerce of the two. A good deal is known of the commerce of the old master in his prints. He owed, in fact, a third of his income to it. We, however, owe much more to it, since without it we should be without the fine works which we have here. It is not possible to state with anything like accuracy the number of pictures painted by Rembrandt. We know, however, that he etched from 340 to 350 prints. Here, on the wall, are 100 of them. Hogarth, also, engraved from designs of his own (largely assisted, however, by others) a con-

siderable number of prints, on the copyright of which, I believe I am right in saying, his widow principally lived. I shall have something to say presently of the value of this copyright to the painter-etcher. Dürer also, in the relation he has left us of his journey into the Low Countries, has told us how he paid his way with them—bartering them not only for other works of art, but for the necessaries of life. Ostade, again, by the numerous variations he made in his etchings, and by the fastidiousness he showed as to slight changes in their composition, emphasises the interest he took in them, and the importance he attached to them. Then again, in entrusting his painted work to be reproduced by a stranger, the artist loses a portion of his identity, an identity which it should be his pride to keep intact. The lawyer need not feel this, for he administers a law which has been made for him; but the painter is his own law-maker and the creator of his own ideal, and cannot, without sacrificing something of its dignity and integrity, share it with anyone. Then, again, a time may come when, his hand having lost its cunning and his popularity possibly having waned, his copyrights in his prints and plates may prove of the greatest value to him. It is not pleasant to have to mix up prudential matters with matters of genius, but since here we are—a society for the advancement not only of the art, but of the interests of the artist—the two things *have* to be mixed up. Indeed, in a certain sense, the utility of an association of this kind in one of these directions is a measure of its utility in the other. I repeat, therefore, that it is to the interest of every painter who can do it to engrave his own work and to keep in his own hands both his plates and his copyright in those plates. His interest in them—his material interest I mean—and the interest of the publisher in them are two very different things. The publisher's interest is to become the purchaser of his plate, and, after taking a limited number of impressions from it, to destroy it, and by thus enhancing the rarity of the impression sell it to the public at a much higher price than would satisfy the artist. Obviously, this is good neither for the artist, nor for his art, nor for the public. A Fellow of this Society, for instance, in the course of a year has painted, say, half a dozen pictures, and done double as many plates. The first impressions from these plates the public expect to see *here*, and come here to buy them. The exhibition closed—and not till then—he sells as many *impressions* to the printseller at such a fair price as will enable any honest tradesman to make a good profit out of them—or places them with him for sale on a proper percentage—but his *plates* and the *copyright* which attaches to his plates, he keeps. They are his property, and form part of his estate, and, like other property, are cumulative, and, since he does a dozen of them in a year, largely cumulative. This was, doubtless, the prudent plan of the old painter-etcher, instead of

destroying his plate after an absurdly small number of impressions had been taken from it. To this prudence, in fact, we owe it that impressions from these plates have come down to us at all. If there had been in those days a middleman to treat them as the middleman treats them at present, not only would the artist have found one of the chief resources of his old age discounted, but not a single impression of his work would remain on the face of the earth. They are rare enough and costly enough as it is. I recommend therefore (and I have some right to speak with authority on this point) to the painter, in all earnestness, to consider well what I have here said, and, since a good etching is always a more saleable commodity than a good picture, to advance his own reputation as well as the sale of his picture by engraving it with his own hand.

I must not omit to mention before I bring these remarks to an end that, on a proper representation being made of the importance of the art which we are seeking to restore, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to make us a Royal Society of Painter-Etchers, and to grant us a diploma, a copy of which you may see on the front page of this year's catalogue. This diploma, I may gratefully say, represents, in terms to which they are fully entitled, the patience and loyalty which have distinguished the Fellows of the Society during its long and arduous struggle towards recognition. Nor must I neglect to recommend to your notice the beautiful design for that diploma, which we owe to the talent of Mr. Charles Robertson, a Fellow of the Society; nor the fine seal devised for us by Mr. Sherborn, another Fellow; nor the motto '*ne desilies imitator*'—don't descend to imitation—which is at the bottom of it. There is, in fact, but one great artist whom we *may* be permitted to imitate—one Mistress at whose shrine we may all worship—a mistress who in her many moods neither distracts nor palls upon us—whose smile and whose frown alike captivate us—and in whose studio, open as it is to the firmament itself, we need never be ashamed to be found.

And now, in the half-hour during which you have been kind enough to give me your attention, I have tried to explain to you—albeit, I fear, in a sadly colloquial fashion and in a very general sort of way—what it is that we are about; what the art is which we would see restored; in what that art differs from the kind of engraving to which we have taken exception; what our discouragements have been and how those discouragements have been compensated. We have described to you the essentially intellectual qualities on which the art of the painter-engraver rests, and have illustrated those qualities by the work of one of the greatest artists of that class that has ever lived; and, finally—by dwelling on the advantages derived from the practice of this art by his great prototypes—have tried to enlist in that practice the painter of the present day. We

cannot hope that, in what we have been able to *tell* him, we shall have fully succeeded in this, but we do hope that by continuing to *show* him year after year such examples of the work of the Etcher as we have here, we may, sooner or later, convince him, not merely of the charm which attends its practice, but of the reasonableness and utility of its pursuit as an *integral part of his art.*

FRANCIS SEYMOUR HADEN.

THE TITHES BILL.

BEFORE considering what this Bill is, it will be as well to say what it is not. It is not a Bill which deals with or affects any question of the disestablishment or disendowment of the Church; nor with the origin of tithes or the conditions, if any, on which they were granted or given; nor whether they are or are not national property; nor whether the substitution of the rent-charge for tithe in kind was a fair transaction; nor whether it should be considered as permanent and binding for all time; nor how, if altered, it should be altered. Anyone who votes for or against any of the Bill's provisions may vote either way on any of the questions I have mentioned. It recognises that the tithe rent-charge exists, and is to be paid or borne until otherwise enacted, and modestly, simply entitles itself 'A Bill to make better provision for the recovery of tithe rent-charge, and for its redemption.'

To consider its proposals properly, it is necessary to see what is the present condition of things and what is the law at present. Land was subject to tithe in kind, with exceptions which need not be noticed. It is now subject to the rent-charge. The landowner holds his land upon the terms that the tithe rent-charge owner is entitled to his rent-charge out of it. If the landowner has bought the land, he has given all the less money for it than he would have done if the land was tithe free. If he has inherited the land, or it has been given to him by will or otherwise, his ancestor from whom he inherited, or the devisor or donor, held it subject to the tithe-owner's title. The landowner, then, has no right to complain, and cannot in reason complain, that his land should be subject to this charge. By law the landowner is bound to pay the rent-charge to the rent-charge owner. It is expressly so enacted. But he cannot, as the law stands, be got at directly: the tithe-owner's remedy being by distress on land subject to the rent-charge. If any proof were necessary that the landowner is liable to the tithe-owner, it would be found in this: that, if the landowner did not pay the tithe-owner, and the goods of the tenant of the land were taken on

a distress for the rent-charge, the tenant would have a right of action against the landowner for not having paid the rent-charge, and so have subjected the tenant to the distress. Of course, if the tenant had agreed to pay the rent-charge, he would have no such right of action. He would have broken his agreement with his landlord. His landlord would not have broken his agreement with him. Further, whether landlord and tenant agree that the former or the latter shall pay the charge, it is clear that the burthen of it is on the landlord. If the tenant agrees to pay it, he pays the less rent; and if the landlord is to pay, he gets the more rent. Either way, the rent-charge comes out of, or perhaps, I might say, does not go into the pockets of the landlord, as its amount would if it did not exist.

Now, what the Bill proposes is to abolish this power of distress and substitute a different mode of recovering the rent-charge. It says, Section 6, that 'Tithe rent-charge issuing out of any lands shall be payable by the owner of the lands.' But it does not give the ordinary remedy against a man who is to, but does not, pay—that is an action—but gives (Section 1) a power to the County Court to order that the rent-charge due shall be paid out of the rents and profits of the lands, and (Section 3) that the order may be executed by the appointment of a receiver of the rents and profits of the lands, and in no other way. The receiver is to have all the powers of a receiver as in any other case. The tenant paying tithe rent-charge to a receiver may deduct it from his rent. If the tenant has agreed to pay the rent-charge and does not, the amount is to be added to his rent.

It is clear from this that no alteration is made in the amount or incidence of the tithe rent-charge. At present it comes out of, or does not go into, the pockets of the landowner, and that will still be the case if this Bill passes. The Bill is one of procedure, not of substance. It may be asked, What good will it do, then? One might say, it would do very little good if people were honest and reasonable. In that case no procedure would be wanted, for they would pay their debts—if they could—if they could not, no procedure could make them. But this Bill is wanted because people are not honest and reasonable. This is abundantly shown by the recent disgraceful riots that have occurred at distresses for tithe rent-charge. Objections to pay the charge have been made on the ground that it went to support a religion not that of the actual payer. This may have been honestly made in some cases, perhaps in most; but the mode of payment provided by the Bill will make it plain to the dullest and most fanatical of these people that the tithe rent-charge comes out of the pockets—not of the occupying tenant, but—of the landlord. And we may take it that he is ordi-

narily a member of the Established Church, or, at least, has the sense to know that, while the law is as it is, the right of the tithe-owner is as good as any other right which the law recognises and enforces.

In addition to this, the procedure by distress is to a great extent got rid of. That is an offensive procedure, and has given an opportunity for riots which would hardly be the case when the receiver was asking for part of the rent of the land. I suppose, however, that he would be obliged to distrain if the tenant refused to pay. He does not appear to have the powers of a manager except where the owner is occupier (Section 3, Sub-section 2). In reference to this (Section 18, Sub-section 3): 'The expression "Receiver includes manager" will require some explanation.'

Probably, when the paying of the rent-charge is in the hands of right-minded people, it will be done without the necessity of recourse to law; but I cannot see why the landowner should not be made personally liable to the tithe-owner. He owes the debt. The present law says so—the Bill says so—why should it not be dealt with as other debts? It has been said that, if made personally liable, he might be put in prison for not paying it. This is untrue. If he had the means of paying and would not, he might be put in prison for his dishonesty. And why not, as in the case of any other debt? I cannot think that any right-minded person could object to this. Of course some landowners, and many pretending to take their part, might cry out. If that would prevent the passing of the Bill, why, it had better remain as it is. Otherwise I cannot but think it should be as I suggest. The remedy would be cheaper and quicker than that of a receivership. Besides, there may be cases where the rent-charge is not paid because its being due is disputed. Suppose the landowner says he has paid; suppose he has a set-off—or says he has; suppose the amount is disputed, in all these cases the County Court Judge should have power to order payment if the debt or a balance is due, or dismiss the application if nothing is due. I would retain the process of receivership in case of need, or the tithe-owner would lose the security he has now.

There are some matters which should be considered in Committee. Section 1 says a person entitled to any sum on account of tithe-rent may apply to the County Court, &c. Any person, though not the tithe-owner—his mortgagee, the assignee of a year's rent-charge? Section 1 says the proceedings shall not be till three months after the charge is due. Why? Why should a man get a benefit by not paying his just debt when it is due?

The marginal note of Section 2 does not include Sub-section 2.

Why, in Section 3, is the remedy limited to lands of the same owner and occupier by the same occupier?

Section 6 says: 'Tithe rent-charge issuing out of any lands shall be payable by the owner of the lands, notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary between him and the occupier of such lands.' That is the law now. The agreement that the tenant shall pay the tithe gives the tithe-owner no right against him. It only takes away a right in the tenant to complain of his landlord for not paying the tithe, and so subjecting the tenant to a distress. If the clause means that the agreement shall be void as between landlord and tenant, it is mischievous and idle. It would be intolerable that a man living in London might not get his tenant in Cornwall to pay the tithe on a farm there. And it would be idle. The landlord would say, 'I don't ask you to pay the tithe as a duty, but as a favour to me, and deduct it from your rent,' which could not be forbidden.

It is said (and not to do injustice I had better quote the words): 'The Bill, which professes to be in relief of the occupier, is from that point of view a gross and cruel delusion.' I do not know nor see how it professed to relieve the occupier. It leaves him precisely where he was as to amount. 'It renders the situation of the occupier a great deal worse.' It does not—not any worse. 'The main injustice of the present Bill lies in the different treatment which is dealt out to the owner and the occupier.' Then it is shown how the owner is dealt with, and the charge goes on: 'But when the Bill comes to deal with the occupier, where the owner of the land is also the occupier, he is made tenant to the receiver in like manner as if he had attorned tenant to him as owner, and the sums payable in respect of such order' (*i.e.* the tithe due) 'were the rents payable to such owner.' Mr. Phelps, the late American Minister to this country, says 'Nothing is easier than to misunderstand except to misrepresent.' Which of these easy processes has caused this statement I know not. The beginning of the accusation speaks of the different treatment dealt out to the *owner* and *occupier* as the main injustice. I expected to find some grievous wrong done to the occupier who was not owner—that is to the tenant—something which would induce him to vote, and get his representative to vote, against the Bill. Not so. The different treatment dealt out is to the owner who is not occupier, and to the owner who is. The occupying tenant, not owner, is not affected by the provision quoted, as might be supposed. It is true that it is said, 'This is the manner in which it is proposed to deal with the small yeomen and freeholders farming their own land.' It may be said this shows that the occupying tenant is not spoken of when the different treatment dealt out to the owner and the occupier is spoken of. Perhaps—I do not know—but it would have been better to say so plainly than leave it to the next paragraph to explain it.

But it may be said, Why should that picturesque person, the small yeoman and freeholder, farming his own land, have different treatment dealt to him than is dealt to the owner who lets his land? The answer is, they are not differently treated in substance: they must be in form; and there is no hardship or injustice in the proposed treatment. Where there are owner and tenant, a receiver is to be appointed, who is to receive as much of the rent as equals the tithe, and with power to recover it. Where there is an owner and no tenant, there also is a receiver to be appointed—of what?—not of rent, for there is none payable. That he may have something to receive and power to recover it, the yeoman, small or big, is made as though tenant to the receiver for the amount of the tithe. The objection is frivolous and unfounded. It is not true that the agent of the 'parson' (is the parson an obnoxious person?) is made the owner, and that the yeoman becomes tenant of his own freehold except so far as to enable the agent of the 'parson' to recover the debt due from the owner. Let the small yeoman pay his small debt like an honest man, and he will not be troubled by the 'parson's' agent. It is not true that he is made more personally liable than any other owner; that he may have an action and judgment against him; that he can be made bankrupt and deprived of his land. The Bill is express (Section 3) 'that the order of the court shall be executed by the appointment of a receiver of the rents and profits of such lands, *but shall not be executed personally against the owner, nor by sale of the lands, nor by any process of law other than that provided by this Act.*' All that is meant by the occupying owner being tenant of the receiver to the extent of the tithe is, that there may be something to receive. There is no doubt about it—no possible doubt as to the intention. If there could be, a word or two would remove it. Perhaps it would be better—in order to prevent an unfounded objection—if, instead of Sub-section 2 of Section 3, it was provided: 'Where the owner is occupier, the receiver shall have the same power of distress for the tithe as he would have for rent.'

Then it is said that the condition of the occupying tenant is very similar, because the amount of the tithe, when the landlord has paid it, is constituted part of the rent. The sum the tenant has to pay is not increased; but the grievance is that 'the landlord has the same remedy for it as for his rent, including distress, action, ejectment, whereas at present the tenant is only subject to distress by the obnoxious "parson." This complaint is ludicrous. It really comes to this: that the tenant is not subject to two distresses, but to one only. There is not to be a separate distress for the rent-charge. One would think it was an improvement for the tenant.

True, if the landlord sues by action for his rent, he must sue for a larger amount. When an action is brought for rent, the consequences

are the same, whatever the amount sued for. The objection really amounts to this: that the tenant will not be able to wrong or worry the tithe-owner as easily as he can now. It is said that 'the occupier will be placed under the harrow of the tithe-owner in a far greater degree than at present.' Is he under the harrow now more than anyone else who, having agreed to pay a debt, or occupying land subject to a right to have a debt levied out of it, does not pay it? This is said to be the 'main injustice of the present Bill.' Where is the injustice?

Costs will probably be increased, but may be avoided by the simple expedient of honestly paying. The costs of obtaining the certificate of special rateable value are costs of a proceeding not for the benefit of the tithe-owner, but of the tithe payee—the landowner (Section 1, Sub-section 2).

Then it is said that, 'if owing to agricultural distress the occupier has a *fair* claim on the tithe-owner for an *equitable* reduction of the charge, he has some chance of obtaining it owing to the reluctance of the tithe-owner to levy the distress.' Prodigious! 'A *fair* claim to an *equitable* reduction. What on earth is the idea here represented? Leave out the adjectives and there remain 'a claim to a reduction.' What claim has he or can he have except to the charity of the tithe-owner, 'the parson'? If the tithe and rent are more than the worth of the land to be hired, it is the rent must abate, not the tithe. The tithe question is not one between the tenant and the tithe-owner, but between the latter and the landowner. I thought this was at last by this time understood. Is it right—is it reasonable—that a man entitled to money should be limited to a remedy for its recovery so odious that he foregoes it or part of it?

The provision for an abatement of the tithe, when it exceeds the letting value of the land, is vastly preferable to the provision for that purpose in the Bill of last year. That would have involved an inquiry every year into the net profits. With this absurd consequence: that if in one year there were no net profits—no tithe—while if in the next year there were large net profits enough for two years' fair net profits, the tithe-owner would only get one year's tithe.

I firmly believe the present Bill to be honest and just. It respects every right, it increases no burthen, it leaves the duty of paying the tithe, where it is at present, on the landowner, and gives a remedy against his property, his rent, if he does not, and gets rid of the odious and mischievous procedure which exists at present.

But I think it might be amended in one particular. It provides a remedy against land being left uncultivated where the letting value of land is not equal to the tithe. But that remedy only applies where the land is already cultivated. Good, as far as it goes.

But there should, in addition, be some provision by which the land and tithe owners might agree to some abatement of the tithe for the future. For ever, in the case of tithe in lay hands, if the parties choose; for a term of years, when the tithe is in clerical hands as such. Of course it would be necessary to take the usual precautions against the waste or undue dealing with clerical property.

The part of the Bill relating to redemption of the rent-charge is totally unconnected with the part I have dealt with.

BRAMWELL.

LEFT-LEGGEDNESS.

MAN has long been defined to be a 'talking animal,' and of more recent years, the region of the brain presiding over the faculty of speech being proved to be in most cases situated in the left cerebral hemisphere, man is stated to be essentially a 'left-brained animal'—that is, one whose organism presents a marked division of labour, extending even to the central nervous system, the two sides of the brain acting, in many cases, more or less independently. From these facts Professor Ball (in his lectures entitled 'Le dualisme cérébral') has described man in the following words: 'Generally speaking, man chooses the left brain; in some exceptional cases he gives the preference to the right side; but it may be stated with certainty that man is not naturally unilateral.' Again he says: 'He is the first of the animals, he is the king of creation—not, as the philosophers of the last century said, because he possessed a hand, but rather that he has a *right* hand. I consider the preponderance of the right hand, not as the cause of the superiority of man, but as the immediate consequence—as the most eminent sign—of his moral pre-eminence.' There is a popular idea that, because the right arm is more often used, and therefore stronger than the left, so the right leg is stronger than the left. This, I believe (as is so often the case with popular theories), is not correct; but there is evidence that the left leg, in most people, is stronger than the right. From the theoretical point of view, it would appear that, in all manual labour requiring increased use of the right hand, the left leg is also employed on the principle of equilibrium. Thus, a person standing working with the right hand, there is a tendency to use the left leg for the purpose of balance: that is, with every movement of the right arm, there is an inclination to move the left leg. A child, when first learning to write, usually accompanies the movements of the fingers with movements of the tongue and other muscles. It might be said that, even in writing with the right hand, there is a correlation of movements of the left foot. But these movements are more clearly seen in swinging a stick while walking, the right arm swinging simultaneously with the left leg. So, again, in the case of the lower animals (except

ambulators—camels, &c.) and babies, when walking on all fours, the right fore-limb moves with the left hind-limb, and *vice versâ*. It follows from this that man, using the right arm more than the left, would probably use the left leg more than the right. Many people find less exertion in walking round large circles to the right than in going to the left. Thus, in walking round the inner circle of Regent's Park in London, one naturally and more agreeably walks from left to right. This is also the case in race paths for athletic sports, nearly all of which are arranged for the racers to go in circles to the right in running. Again, travellers have observed that hunters, when lost on prairies, wander round in circles to the right. This fact has been attributed to their following the course of the sun; but this does not appear to be necessarily the case. Many skaters can perform more figures on the left than on the right foot—or, at any rate, in commencing, figures are more readily done on the left foot. With rope dancers it is usually observed that the more complicated feats of balancing are performed on the left foot. In dancing, gyration is chiefly to the right, but few being able to reverse. In dressing, many men must put the left leg into their trousers first, before the right, some even going so far as to state that if, through some accidental circumstance, they should have reversed the process, they have to remove the offending right trouser or boot before continuing their toilet.

The rule in walking nearly all the world over is to keep to the right. It is asked—Why should it be the universal rule to keep to the right in walking? Curiously, a very large number of people are unaware of any rule and yet keep to it. Thus, for purposes of observation on this point, a hundred men and a hundred women were selected casually from the better educated classes, the men being principally London students of medicine or undergraduates at the University, and the women ladies met in society, and for statistical evidence the following question was put to each one: In driving, the rule is to keep to the left; is there any rule for walking? Dividing the answers to this question into three classes, A, B, and C: (A) those who answered correctly, that is, said 'one keeps to the right'; (B) those who answered incorrectly, 'one keeps to the left'; and (C) those who did not know.

Of the men, 67 per cent. came under Class A, 11 per cent. under Class B, and 22 per cent. under Class C; or, adding the two together, give the result: A, 60 per cent.; B, 9 per cent.; and C, 31 per cent.

Thus, of the men, 67 per cent. knowing the rule would probably keep to the right but, of the women, only 53 per cent. would do the same. These figures were taken some few years back from the upper classes living in large towns. Upon asking a number of the lower classes, as hospital patients, I hardly ever received a correct answer;

and even from policemen I obtained but very vague and conflicting opinions.[1]

Thus it follows that the fact that the large majority of people keep to the right in the streets is not because they are aware of any rule, but from some other reason. Again, it being an almost universal rule to keep to the right, there must be a common origin of the law. The chief reasons given in England for such a rule are: (1) Because of the mode of carrying arms in olden times. This may or may not have something to do with its origin; but one of the exceptions to the rule occurs among the Afghans, who keep to the left in order that they may not leave their unguarded side exposed when passing a stranger on the road. (2) Another reason assigned is the danger of being run over, and also the splashing of mud from carriages and carts passing. Thus, in walking to the right, vehicles approaching are met face to face, and pass by quickly; but this can only apply to Great Britain and her colonies; for in all parts of the world, with one or two exceptions, driving, as walking, is to the right.

It is maintained that, the left leg being stronger than the right, there is always a tendency on the part of individuals to bear to the right, and hence the origin of the universal law. The answers received from many people to the question mentioned above illustrated this point very clearly; thus a good many said, 'I am not aware of any rule, but I always go to the right; it seems more natural,' or something to this effect. It might be worth while to add here that asking a large number of persons some simple question, such as the one above, appears to be a very ready means of determining the general information or intellectual status of the average individual.

That it is more natural to a large majority of people is often clearly demonstrated; crowds always tend to bear to the right, as was well illustrated recently in the Paris Exhibition in the case of the two large wooden bridges erected opposite the Trocadero to convey foot-passengers over the roadway. Here, although for what reason was not apparent, the authorities commanded people to pass over the bridges to the left, instead, as in the case of other bridges in the same Exhibition, to the right. After crossing the bridges the majority of the crowd would be seen bearing to the right, causing endless pushing on crowded days. The left leg being the stronger, it is naturally more readily used than the opposite one. Thus troops in England, Germany, and France always start off with the left foot. As the right hand is the more readily put first into action, so is it with the left foot; and so, in mounting horses or bicycles, it is the left foot which is placed in the stirrup or on the step. In bicycle races and bicycles on the stage, they usually circle to the left, the probability

[1] These figures were collected before the days of large exhibitions in London, with 'Keep to the right' placarded everywhere about. I have no doubt that now a larger proportion of people are aware of the rule.

being that, doing more work with the left than right leg, the machine more readily and agreeably bears to the left.

So, in jumping, most men take off from the left foot. In football, opinions differ as to which of the two feet is brought the more frequently into action. In the water, however, most men, especially in racing, swim with the right half of the body downwards, thus not only maintaining their equilibrium with the heavier half lower, but also placing the chief propelling power, namely, the left leg, in the most direct line of action.

It is also interesting to note that the armless man in Barnum's Show is markedly left-footed. In writing or drawing, the pen or pencil is held by the toes of the left foot. When I asked him why he did this, he said he knew no reason except it seemed natural. I believe, however, that another well-known armless gentleman, who was to be seen almost any day painting in the picture gallery in Antwerp, is right-footed. Of course it might be suggested that, if he had possessed arms, he might have been a left-handed individual.

Some few years ago Mr. G. H. Darwin made some observations of the following nature. He got eight village school boys from ten to twelve years of age, and offered a shilling to the boy who should walk straightest blindfolded. Before the contest, he scattered some sawdust on the ground, and, after making each of the boys walk over it, measured their strides from right to left and from left to right. He states that they were all right-handed in throwing a stone, but believed that two of them exhibited some mark of being partly left-handed. The six who were totally right-handed took longer strides from left to right than from right to left, hopped with the left foot, and rose in jumping from that leg. Taking them then into a field and making them successively look at a stick at about forty yards distance, he then blindfolded them and started them to walk, guiding them straight for the first three or four paces; the result was that the six right-handed and left-legged boys all diverged to the right, the two somewhat left-handed and right-legged boys diverged to the left.[2]

Mr. Darwin in his paper also mentions that, in observations upon himself and some friends, 'we all diverged to the right, excepting one of us who was strongly left-handed.'[3]

With respect to measurements of the limbs Dr. Garson ascertained the size of the two legs in the skeletons of seventy persons with the following result.[4] Ten per cent. showed right and left limbs of equal length, and of these only two cases in which the femur and tibia of one side corresponded respectively to the femur and tibia of the other. In 35·8 per cent. the right limb was longer than the left, the average preponderance of the former over the latter in these cases

[2] *Nature*, 1881. [3] *Ibid.*, 1884.
[4] *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, 1879.

being 3·3 mm. In 54·3 per cent. the left was longer than the right, and its average preponderance over the right was 4·8 mm. He further remarks: 'The left limb, therefore, is not only more frequently longer than the right, but the difference between the limbs is greater on an average when it is the longer than when the right is the larger, the greatest preponderance of the right limb being 8 mm., whereas that of the left is 13 mm.' To ascertain the relations of the two feet I have collected the drawings and outlines of feet, together with measurements of the same, from bootmakers who placed at my disposal their books for some years past, containing most valuable information. The calculations were taken from drawings of the two feet of people who for some reason or other supposed their feet not to be of equal size, and therefore thought it necessary to have both feet measured to insure the exact fitting of their boots; when attention is not specially directed to the fact, only one foot being measured. Taking 200 pairs of feet, consisting of 150 males and 50 females, in the order of occurrence, avoiding any cases that appeared ambiguous, or when the drawing showed very obvious deformity of one or other foot, I obtained the following results:—

In actual length, in 44 per cent., the left foot was longer than the right; in 21·5 per cent., the right longer than the left; and in 34·5 per cent. they were the same. Measuring at the first joint (meta-tarso-phalangeal), 56 per cent. left were the larger, 24 per cent. right were larger, and 20 per cent. the same size. Measurement at the instep showed 42·5 per cent. left larger, 26·5 per cent. right larger, and 30 per cent. both the same size. All these figures show an excess of measurement for the left as compared with the right foot. Measurement, however, at the heel gave somewhat ambiguous results, as here in 36·5 per cent. the right was larger, and only in 33 per cent. the left, and in 30·5 per cent. they were the same size.

In comparing the feet of the two sexes the following points were noted: The left foot was more frequently the larger in the male than in the female, also the percentage of feet of the same size was greater in the female. This is what would be expected, seeing that men are as a rule more active than women. Whereas the instances in which the left was larger, and those in which both feet were the same size, varied considerably in number, the percentage in which the right was larger than the left remained fairly constant, the same applying to both sexes.

These figures are naturally somewhat rough, as not sufficient notice is taken of deformity of the feet from artificial circumstances, the drawings and measurements being taken through socks or stockings. To collect a sufficient number of measurements of normal feet from a civilised race at the present day would be almost impossible,

and so, perhaps, these figures are worth recording as approximately correct.

Right-handedness and left-leggedness may be considered one of the attempts of nature to preserve, as far as possible, a bi-lateral individual. If everything tended to right-sidedness, we should soon become very asymmetrical one-sided objects. So, although through the process of evolution in the higher animals there is a tendency to asymmetry, especially of internal parts, an external symmetry is maintained by the compensating development of some organs on the right side and some on the left.

Man, being naturally or artificially right-handed and left-footed, tends unconsciously to bear to the right; lower animals, on the other hand, appear nearly always to circle to the left.

WALTER K. SIBLEY.

IRELAND.

I.

RETIRING THE LANDLORD GARRISON.

A BILL introduced by a Tory Government which is opposed by Irish landlords, or, at least, by the unreasoning portion of that class, is deserving of the fullest and most careful consideration from even the most Radical Irish land reformers. It is, indeed, an anomalous situation which is thus created by Mr. Balfour's Land Purchase measure. In the early part of 1888, a deputation of Irish landowners waited upon Lord Salisbury and laid before him, in carefully prepared statements, a claim for compensation at the hands of the State for the reduction of their incomes caused by the agrarian legislation of the previous seven years. The Prime Minister expressed his strongest sympathy for the case thus made out, and, while pleading the insuperable difficulty there would be in helping them directly from the coffers of the Imperial Exchequer, he promised that the friendly action of the Government could be counted upon by the deputationists. A 'Landlords' Relief' Bill has consequently been looked for with somewhat opposite emotions by the Irish landlords and Irish tenants, as a result of this promise and as a necessary sequence to the measure which really deserved that name, the Ashbourne Act of 1885. The promised Bill has come, but Lord Erne, addressing a meeting of brother Irish landlords in Fermanagh on the 5th of last month, declares it to be 'a Bill for facilitating the expulsion of the English Garrison from Ireland'!

I candidly confess to having something more than a 'sneaking regard' for whatever proposal has the good fortune to meet with or merit the opposition of Irish landlords as such. They have always been, and are apparently fated for ever to continue, in the wrong. They are more Bourbon than the Bourbons in learning nothing from their own experience or misfortunes, or from the progressive march of ideas and events. The world, to them, is retrograding because the days of rack-renting and of a servile tenantry are all but vanished. They sigh over the times when they ruled the roost in everything, from a board of guardians in an Irish village to the representation of all Ireland in Westminster; and, instead of becoming reconciled to the inevitable by accepting philosophically the political defeat which the ballot and an extended franchise have inflicted upon the once all-powerful

'garrison,' they seek every available occasion to loudly lament their lot, and curse the people who are no longer their slaves. What is better still—for such people—the landlords are beginning to treat in the same manner all and sundry English statesmen who dare to recognise the economic change that is revolutionising the conditions under which land is held in these islands. Ireland to them means rent, that and nothing more; and parties and politicians who make legislative trespass upon that preserve are warned off, unless they come as advocates of coercion or upholders of eviction. They scorned the Land League proposal of 1880, which offered them twenty years' purchase of their rentals, at Griffith's valuation. Mr. Gladstone's equally generous offer, in 1886, was rejected with insults; and now, when their own party has to supplement eviction and coercion with something of a like attempt to grapple with the evil that is father to such offspring, the spoilt children of English rule in Ireland kick up their heels, because the Bill is not to provide all candy for them and all stick for those who have not friends in office.

The chosen spokesman of the Fermanagh landlords, Mr. H. de F. Montgomery, delivered himself as follows, at the meeting of the 5th of April, upon what his class thought should alone have governed the action of the Government in drawing up the Purchase Bill:

> Had half the ingenuity displayed in securing the British taxpayer from risks which, such as they are, he ought to be ashamed to shirk, been devoted to devising means to smooth the working of the measure and to do some sort of justice to the landlord, the Bill might have been made an acceptable one.

This is outspoken enough, and has much landlord modesty to recommend it; but the chairman of the meeting, the Earl of Belmore, disposed of the thirty millions of possibly interested people in Great Britain in a single sentence, by saying, 'As to the British taxpayer he did not pity him at all.' The personage thus deprived of his lordship's consideration may possibly survive the loss with as much fortitude as Lord Belmore and his brethren will be likely to exhibit if the British taxpayer makes up his mind to repay them in kind.

It was the reading of the speeches made on the occasion of this meeting, and the pronounced and unqualified opposition of the reputed landlord organ, the *Dublin Express*, to the Government Bill, that has induced me to extend to that measure an amount of study which Mr. Balfour's speech on its introduction was not calculated to invite. The Bill deserves the closest attention on its merits, and altogether apart from the negative attraction given to it by Irish landlord fears of its ultimate results.

The two points upon which I would most strongly condemn and most strenuously oppose the Bill, namely, the attempt to dispose of the land of Ireland by the machinery of an unrepresentative Land Department, and the proposal to turn tenants into occupying pro-

prietors at the expense and risk of the State, are matters which the public opinion of Great Britain and Ireland is almost certain to pronounce against, if not immediately at no distant day. Landlordism by great estates or by small ones, through territorial magnates or peasant proprietors, cannot, in view of its hideous failure in its primary form in Ireland, or in face of the growing popular demand for municipal and national ownership of land in Great Britain and Ireland, be long-lived; no matter how many bills a pro-landlord Government, with a pliant majority, may force through Parliament. Individual as against public right in land values cannot, and will not, stand against movements which the Irish agitation has set going against the class ownership of the soil. As it will take forty-nine years under Mr. Balfour's Bill to free the tenant from the position of a State creditor and to convert him into a small landlord, I think Land Nationalisers need not feel much alarmed at the vesting clauses of this measure. As for the price which Mr. Balfour thinks should be paid for the selling landlords' interest, the tenant, unless he is a fool, will bide his time before agreeing to conditions which would offer him very little, if any, relief for half a century to come.

The Bill can, therefore, be freely examined with the view of showing how impossible it will be to make it a 'Relief Bill for Irish Tenants' while it retains provisions and clauses manifestly introduced into the measure so as to render it a 'Relief Bill for English Mortgagees.'

This new title can easily be made good by a close examination of a few facts relating to the actual condition of the land market of Ireland. 'At present,' wrote one of the ablest of the Irish landlords in 1889, 'there are locked up in the Landed Estates Court upwards of 30,000,000*l.* worth of unsaleable lands, awaiting impossible sales; and the judge of this court now stands as a *quasi*-trustee between the mortgagor and the mortgagee; but the time must come when the lands, which have in vain been put up for sale over and over again, must at last be knocked down to the first mortgagee.'[1] The close relation between the figure here given and the 33,000,000*l.* asked for in the Government measure, may be only a coincidence. But what Mr. Erck had to say about the land lying in the Landed Estates Court, and what would have to become of it in the natural course of events, will enable the students of the Government Bill to appreciate Mr. Goschen's regard for the interests of the English mortgagees in the scheme of which he is supposed to be the real author.

The Bill provides that the Land Department may order the sale of the estates which lie for sale in the Landed Estates Court. For years past these properties have been put up to public auction, with

[1] *The Present Position of Irish Landlords and Encumbrancers.* By Wentworth Erck, LL.D. King and Sons, publishers, 5 King Street, Westminster, 1889, p. 7.

rarely a purchase effected. The reason is obvious: the mortgages are in excess of the market value of the landlords' property in the land, and the mortgagees, almost invariably, refuse to assent to a sale unless the full amount of mortgage is offered. Then there are owners of rent-charges and other encumbrances who are opposed to sales which will not cover their interests. If, in addition, the nominal landlord has any interest at all left in what was once his property, it is the right of his wife under a marriage settlement; and he also objects to a sale in the Land Court which would wipe out his wife's charge. Hence the accumulation of the 30,000,000*l.* of landed property remaining unsaleable in the ordinary land market of Ireland.

It goes without saying that one of the first administrative acts of the new Land Department will be to sell off the estates which for years have blocked the business of the Land Court, estates which have been managed by a *corps* of receivers and bailiffs, under the direction of the officials of the court, with ruinous effect to all the interests concerned, particularly to those of the unfortunate 'owner.' The department will sell to the occupier; but will it expect—will the judge who has presided over the Land Court, and who will be an important head of the new department, be prepared to ask—more for such land than the market value already ascertained through many an abortive sale by public auction? This is a fair question to ask of such a doctrinaire political economist as the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The way in which it is answered by the new department in its treatment of the 30,000,000*l.* worth of landlord property lying at present in the Landed Estates Court and in the Court of Chancery, will show whether or not Mr. Goschen's scheme was, or was not, conceived and brought forward as a measure of relief for English mortgagees.

It may also be asked in this connection, why should the money-lenders of London be made the object of State aid? Why should the public credit be pledged in order that London banks and London Jews may get paid their private debts? Shall the breakfast-table of the industrial classes continue to be taxed, and the public credit be enlarged to thirty or fifty millions, in order to insure the money-lenders against any loss in their past transactions with Irish landlords? Bearing in mind that it is the poorest, the worst rent-paying land, with the most impoverished tenantry upon it, that will absorb the greater portion of the 33,000,000*l.*; and that hitherto it has been on such land and amongst such tenantry that periodical destitution has prevailed, and that famine has from time to time appeared; is it unreasonable to predict that the new landlords which Mr. Balfour is to create will, periodically, find themselves unable to pay their annuities under this Bill? Then will the schools be closed, dispensary doctors be without pay, and the

paupers be put on short commons: all because the principal and interest guaranteed to the land stock by the Treasury under this Purchase Bill must be paid to the banks and money-lenders of London.

Lord Randolph Churchill's criticism is certainly 'thorough,' while being marked as usual with all his accustomed regard for prevalent popular prejudices. His attack is based mainly—though not exclusively—upon the hypothesis of an organised repudiation of the annual repayments of the tenants; and he points out, very truly, that their leaders have combined them in past years against the payment of rents to the landlords. Such organised repudiation is, I admit, possible; but only under circumstances and conditions which Lord Randolph would himself, in a measure, be a party to creating, if some of his suggested amendments to the Government Bill are adopted. But there is this difference between the cases cited in support of the possibility of a predicted repudiation, and the likelihood of it. The Land League Executive issued a 'No Rent' manifesto, it is true; but it was after such executive had been arrested and imprisoned without trial. It was largely, if not entirely, an act of retaliation, provoked by a most despotic proceeding. And in other instances referred to or hinted at by Lord Randolph Churchill, in cases of strikes against individual landlords or in the combinations of the plan of campaign, the objects of attack stood on a far different footing from that which the State would occupy when it became the landlord. Land Leaguers have frequently fought their landlord opponents by 'cutting off supplies,' pending the landlord's consent to reduce his rents or forgive arrears. In instances of this kind, the original 'contract' of tenancy was agreed to by a tenant who had practically no alternative but to accept conditions imposed by a man who had power to dictate them. The tenant had to consent or starve, where, practically, no other employment but the land offered itself. The decisions of the Land Courts since 1881 have modified, to some extent, these original enforced conditions. In such cases only have tenants been advised to 'strike' for better terms. But in no single instance in which a tenant has gone with his eyes open into a contract with the State, in the purchase of his holding under the Land Act of 1870, or any subsequent measure of the same kind, has the Land League, or any member of the National League, to my knowledge, advised, or in any way countenanced, any repudiation of the terms, favourable or unfavourable, which the tenant voluntarily agreed to as the basis of such a purchase contract.

I am not surprised to discover in the main scope and object of the Government Bill, traces of previous programmes of Irish land reform. It appears to be a medley of the Land League plan of Parliamentary land reform of 1880, and of the scheme outlined by Mr. Giffen of the Board of Trade, in a letter to the *Statist* of the

9th of January, 1886, followed by an article in this Review for the following March, on the same subject. Mr. Balfour's measure, however, lacks the two essential requisites contained in the schemes from which he or Mr. Goschen has copied—the compulsory character of the League plan and the State proprietary nature of Mr. Giffen's proposal. It is, however, somewhat consoling, with the recollection of the Special Commission in one's mind, to find her Majesty's Government (whisper it not in Printing House Square!) actually harking back from the year 1890 to 1880 in order to borrow from the programme of the 'Criminal Conspiracy' not only the plan of the Land League, but its proposed machinery as well, for the settlement of the Irish land war! Here are the two schemes, side by side:—

THE BILL OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, 1890.	PROGRAMME OF PARLIAMENTARY LAND REFORM, SUBMITTED BY THE LAND LEAGUE EXECUTIVE FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE LAND LEAGUE CONFERENCE HELD IN THE ROTUNDA, DUBLIN, ON APRIL 30, 1880.
The Land Department. Constitution and Jurisdiction.	*Creation of a Department of Land Administration for Ireland.*
LIV.—(1) There shall be a Land Department for Ireland, consisting, in the first instance, of six Land Commissioners, one or more of whom shall bear the style of Judicial Land Commissioner.	To carry out the permanent reform of land tenure referred to, we propose the creation of a Department or commission of land administration for Ireland. This Department would be invested with ample powers to deal with all questions relating to land in Ireland:—
PART I.—*Sale and Purchase of Holdings.*	*Sale and Purchase of Holdings.*
I.—(1) If the landlord and the tenant of a holding in Ireland make an agreement for the sale of a holding to the tenant, and either— (*a*) The purchase money is agreed on by them, and specified in the agreement; or (*b*) The agreement refers it to the Land Department (hereinafter mentioned) to fix the price of the interest which the tenant agrees to buy in the holding. And such agreement provides for an application to the Land Department to carry the sale into effect under this Act, and to make an advance to the amount specified in the agreement in or as a contribution to the payment of the purchase money, the Land Department, subject to	(1) Where the landlord and tenant of any holding had agreed for the sale to the tenant of the said holding, the Department would execute the necessary conveyance to the tenant, and advance him the whole or part of the purchase money, and upon such advance being made by the Department such holding would be deemed to be charged with an annuity of 5*l.* for every 100*l.* of such advance, and so in proportion for any less sums, such annuity to be limited in favour of the Department, and to be declared to be repayable in the term of thirty-five years.

the provisions of this Act, may make an order (in this Act referred to as a vesting order) for carrying the sale into effect, and may, if the price of the interest which the tenant agrees to buy in the holding is referred to them, fix such price, and may in manner provided by this Act make the said advance.

(2) If such agreement refers the price of the interest which the tenant agrees to buy in the holding to the Land Department, and further provides that a sum not exceeding the amount of two years' rent of the holding shall be added to such price in satisfaction of arrears of rent due to the landlord in respect of the holding, the Land Department may, if they think fit, add to the said price the sum so agreed on, and such price with the sum so added shall form the purchase money.

(2) Where a tenant tendered to the landlord for the purchase of his holding a sum equal to twenty years of the poor-law valuation thereof, the Department would execute the conveyance of the said holding to the tenant, and would be empowered to advance to the tenant the whole or any part of the purchase money, the repayment of which would be secured as set forth in the case of voluntary sales.

Purchase Money.

XVIII.—(2) After the making of a vesting order the claims of all persons in respect of any estate, right, charge, or interest into or on the holding (except the tenant and persons claiming under him), shall attach to the purchase money in like manner as immediately before that date they attached to the holding, and shall cease to be of any validity as against the holding, and, subject as in this Act mentioned, shall be redeemed or discharged out of the purchase money, and the Land Department shall determine the rights and priorities of such persons and distribute the purchase money in accordance therewith.

Purchase Money.

(4) The Department or the court having jurisdiction in this matter would be empowered to determine the rights and priorities of the several persons entitled to or having charges upon or otherwise interested in any holding conveyed as above mentioned, and would distribute the purchase money in accordance with such rights and priorities, and when any moneys arising from a sale were not immediately distributable, the Department would have a right to invest the said moneys for the benefit of the parties entitled thereto.

Provision would be made whereby the Treasury would from time to time advance to the Department such sums of money as would be required for the purchases above mentioned.

PART III.

LVII.—(1) There shall be transferred to the Land Department jurisdiction the powers and duties following, namely—

The jurisdiction which was by the Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877, transferred from the Landed Estates Court, Ireland, to the High Court, including the control and direc-

Easy Transfer of Land, Compulsory Registration, &c.

To render the proposed change in the tenure of land effectual it would be necessary to make provision for the cheap and simple transfer of immovable property.

. . . .

The Landed Estates Court would be transferred to the Department of Land

tion of the Record of Title Office of the Landed Estates Court, Ireland, and all powers and authorities exercised by the judges of that court, or any of them, under the Record of Title Act (Ireland), 1865.

Administration, its system of procedure cheapened and improved. In each county in Ireland there would be established a registry office wherein all owners of land would be compelled to register their titles, &c., &c.

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Mr. Balfour's scheme is, as a matter of course, more elaborate than that of the Land League, and in its clauses and details proposes to do many things and to secure certain results that were not embodied in the original Land League edition. But, singular to relate, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Patrick Egan proposed a higher price for the landlords' interest than Mr. Goschen and Mr. Balfour calculate upon securing for it by their amended plan. I did not agree to or sign the Land League programme, as it proposed to give twenty years' purchase of Griffith's valuation (which would represent about twenty-five years' purchase of the net judicial rents of to-day) for an interest which would not then fetch fifteen years' in the open market any more than it will command twelve now, if not inflated by aid of State-loaned funds. I am therefore free to criticise that part of the Government scheme which even falls below the offer of the Land League of 1880 in the matter of compensating Irish landlords.

Where the Land League plan of 1880 falls short of what Ireland requires, as will that of the Government if it becomes law, is in the attempt to ignore the full play of economic forces, present and prospective, upon the rent-earning power of Irish land, and the fact that neither the Irish nation nor the British taxpayer will feel safe, or justified, or willing, to pay for the land of Ireland being transferred from one set of bankrupt Irish landlords to another and a larger class, who will have to mortgage the agricultural industry of Ireland for the next half-century, in order to become at the expiration of that time as selfish, as grasping, and as arrogant masters of the soil of Ireland as those whom they would replace. It is fortunate, therefore—fortunate for the future of Ireland, though unfortunate for the landlords—that the plan of 1880 was not adopted. It will be fortunate for the landlords, and still unfortunate for the country which they have all but ruined by their extravagance, if Mr. Balfour succeeds in 1890 with the Land League programme of 1880.

The scheme proposed by Mr. Giffen in 1886 is much less recognised in the Government Bill than is that of the Land League. As explained in his letter to the *Statist*, it is as follows:

The plan is for the Imperial Government (1) to buy out every landlord in Ireland, giving him Consols at par equal in nominal amount to twenty years' purchase of the present judicial rents; (2) to give the land free to the present occupier subject only to a rent-charge of one-half or two-thirds of the present judicial rent payable to the new local authorities in Ireland; and (3) to relieve the Imperial Exchequer of all payments now made out of it in connection with the Local

Government of Ireland. The plan is, in fact, to throw the cost of local government in Ireland upon Irish resources exclusively, and to give the Irish people the rent of the country for the purpose of conducting it. The conflict between landlords and people would thus come to an end. We need no longer fear that if we give Ireland Home Rule the property of the landlords would be confiscated.

When this plan was first put forward, it received—subject to differences of opinion upon matters of detail—an amount of support from Home Rule leaders and popular Nationalist opinion in Ireland such as no previous proposal of land settlement had been favoured with from the Irish people. Mr. Parnell, in his speech at the opening of the session (1886), referred to the scheme with favour. Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel, writing to the *Statist* of the 6th of February, hailed the plan as one that would solve the Irish agrarian problem.* The whole Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, in a letter addressed to Mr. Gladstone on the 17th of the same month, referred approvingly to it; while the daily and weekly organs of national sentiment accepted it likewise as embodying the method by which the long and bitter strife between landlord and tenant could be finally brought to a close. Expressions of opinion more or less favourable were likewise given by landlord organs not adherents of Home Rule, while many English Radical papers also backed up the scheme. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* of February 1886 (supposed to be Mr. Chamberlain) said of it:

The scheme published in the *Statist* newspaper, and which has been attributed to Mr. Giffen, has been objected to in some of its details, and it certainly appears to contemplate too large a payment to the existing landlords, while the amount of the grants from the Exchequer to local purposes seems to be estimated too highly. But in any case the fact remains, that such grants are made anually to a very large extent, and that they represent a capital sum which affords the basis for an immense operation in the way of land purchase, and of the municipalisation of the land of Ireland by its transfer to local authorities, who may be invited and empowered, under proper conditions devised to prevent sub-letting and the re-creation of the landlord class, to deal with the existing tenants, and to give them full and independent rights of ownership, subject to a quit-rent of very much less than the present payment.

A more remarkable consensus of opinion in favour of a scheme which proposed to end the agrarian war of Ireland, by recourse to a heroic remedy, could not well be hoped for. The Irish landlords as a body did not, it is true, give their adhesion to Mr. Giffen's plan; but neither did they as a body condemn it. It received, on the whole—that is, the main features, not the details—such an amount of support as any measure must command which is framed with the purpose of making success a moral certainty, not only through its completeness as a remedy and its adaptability to the exigencies of the case, but the cordial acceptance of it by the Irish people and their leaders as well.

The chief objection raised in Ireland was to the price fixed by Mr. Giffen for the landlords' interest. This was twenty years' purchase of the then present rental—a figure doubtless suggested to him by the Land League proposal of 1880. Mr. Chamberlain—assuming the *Fortnightly Review* article quoted from to have been his—also took exception to so high a price. In the *Statist* of the 6th of February, 1886, Mr. Giffen himself appears to have thought twenty years an excessive figure, as he said in a letter in which he replied to a communication from the Archbishop of Cashel, 'In suggesting twenty years, I was desirous not to suggest too low a figure. It was important to show that the scheme was practicable, even if the landlord got very good terms.'

I will return to a further consideration of this plan after dealing with some more vital flaws in the Government measure.

There are more devices than one in the Bill whereby the landlords' interests can be seen to in a most friendly way by the new Land Department. Here is one: There was a guarantee to the Treasury in the Ashbourne Act which compelled the selling landlord to allow one-fifth of the purchase money to remain in the hands of the Land Commission. This was an all-round reasonable arrangement. Notwithstanding the apparent intention of the authors of the new Bill to safeguard the interests of the British taxpayer, by means of a multitude of guarantees, it is proposed to leave to any two members of the Land Department the power to lessen to the extent of one-tenth, or, in certain cases, to dispense with entirely, the very substantial guarantee secured under the Ashbourne Act from the landlord's side of the purchase transactions. The other guarantees are provided, without exception, from tenant or public resources; and in case of repudiation or loss it is public interest that must alone suffer. The discretionary powers given to the members of the Land Department, prominent among whom will be two noted partisans of the landlord class, will be sure to be so exercised as to have as little as possible of the 33,000,000*l.*, provided for the landlords and mortgagees, retained to make good any possible loss that may be incurred by the Treasury in the work of replacing the old by the new landlords.

The economic objections to the Bill are even stronger than those which can be urged against the *arrière pensée* of its reputed author. Mr. Balfour admitted only a few years ago[2] that land was now 'an almost unsaleable commodity.' It is, assuredly, less saleable in Ireland in 1890 than it was in 1885, and my contention from the passing of the Ashbourne Act of that year until the present moment has been, that these purchase measures, by means of elaborately

[2] *Land Law Reformers and the Nation.* Paper read by Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., before the Industrial Remuneration Conference, Manchester, on the 30th of January, 1885.

calculated schemes of long periods of repayment of State-loaned money, have one paramount object in view, namely, to enable the owners and mortgagees of this 'unsaleable commodity' to obtain forty or fifty per cent. more of a price for it than it is worth in the ordinary market, in which the value of every saleable commodity is determined by the landlords' once infallible law, 'supply and demand.' Another view of our Chief Secretary's, as carefully and forcibly expounded in the paper referred to in the footnote on the preceding page, is deserving of the closest attention now when he proposes the creation, upon a vast scale, of the system of peasant proprietary in Ireland. Speaking of peasant proprietary in France he said:

> If its success has been so qualified under the exceptionally propitious conditions which prevail on the other side of the Channel, there is no ground whatever for supposing it would be other than a disastrous failure here, where neither the habits of the people, the traditions of the country, nor the character of the agriculture are suited to it: where it has shown no tendency to take root in districts in which it has not previously existed, or to thrive in districts where it has. The truth is that, except in the case of market-gardening, the system of peasant proprietorship lies in unstable equilibrium between two opposite dangers, from both of which it rarely succeeds in escaping. If, on the other hand, the small freeholders are but feebly influenced by 'land hunger,' those of them who are lazy and thriftless will sell rather than mortgage their holdings whenever the inevitable demand for money comes upon them: while those of them who are energetic and enterprising will also sell, because in old and settled countries it is usually more profitable to farm and pay rent for much land than to own and cultivate a little. If, on the other hand, the peasants are powerfully moved by 'land hunger,' then, rather than sell, they will mortgage their holdings, if necessary at extravagant rates; rather than not buy, they will give extravagant prices for any plot of land that comes into the market; rather than give up their share of the ancestral fields on the death of a parent, they will submit them to ruinous subdivision. In the one case, the system gradually dies out; in the other it produces little but evil.

Yet this is the very system which Mr. Balfour and his party are now about to spend 33,000,000*l.* of taxes in building up in Ireland, where the 'land hunger' is supposed to operate more than in any other European country; and this vast sum is to go, in the first instance, as an outlay for what the Chief Secretary considered a few years back to be 'an almost unsaleable commodity'!

Whatever views may underlie the support which this Bill will receive, or the opposition which it is certain to encounter, it ought to be a paramount consideration with every land reformer who will expend his criticism upon it, either as a Tory, Liberal, or Parnellite, or advocate of peasant proprietary or land nationalisation, to inflict no burden upon a poor country like Ireland which she will not be fully capable of bearing. If the present Bill passes, it will inevitably force Ireland to carry such a burden for half a century more. Either it will do this, or, in order to relieve Irish agriculture from such a dead weight of financial obligation, the tenants' leaders will

be compelled to fulfil Lord Randolph Churchill's prediction and organise a revolt against what must otherwise crush the life out of the chief industry of the country.

In the speeches for and against this Bill so far, no note whatever has been taken of the uniform downward tendency of the price of agricultural produce, due entirely to economic causes, which has been going on during the past twelve or fifteen years. Surely it is most pertinent to the question 'What number of years' purchase is the landlord to get for his interest?' under this measure, to ask, and to keep in mind, the kindred but far more important query, 'What are the Irish tenant's prospects of being able to meet the obligations that will be contracted by him after the landlord exacts his price?' It is no answer to either of these questions to say that a ten per cent. or a twenty per cent. reduction will be effected in the payments of the tenants under the new as compared with the old arrangements. All this is dependent entirely upon the figure which the landlord will insist upon for the purchase of his interest; and, with a sympathetic Land Department, the indirect influence of the Coercion Act, and the power possessed by the seller to evict the buyer for arrears of the old rent, unless he purchases at a certain sum, what possible guarantee is there against such 'bargains' being made as will lessen the payment upon the tenant's holding to even a clear ten per cent. after new charges, in additional rates and taxes, will confront the occupying proprietor? There is no clause in the new Bill to arrest the progress of the economic forces that are bringing the food-producing areas of America, Canada, and Australia into competition with the agriculture of these islands. In the year 1870 Great Britain and Ireland had more land under cultivation than statistical figures can boast of for last year. This is the brief history of twenty years of British and Irish agriculture. Take now a country in most active and expanding competition with us, the United States. During these twenty years, considerably over a hundred million acres have been added to its cultivated land: in other words, the States have increased their area of food-production during that comparatively brief period to over twice the entire existing area of food-production in the United Kingdom. But this is not all: there are over a thousand million acres yet to be added to the food-growing lands of America, when population, railway extension, and irrigation shall open these vast regions to the enterprise and labour of the great Republic. Recollecting also the almost illimitable resources of the South American continent, Canada, and Australia, into which British capital is flowing in streams that will bring under the sway of vested interests the fruitful resources of countless millions of acres; remembering likewise the daily increasing swiftness and cheapness of transit from these countries to ours: what prospect is there of Irish agriculture being in a position, say,

ten or twenty years hence, to bear even a twenty or a thirty per cent. less rental-burden than it does to-day?

An answer can be given in the facts of a case which came before the Head Land Commissioners here in Dublin in November 1889. The tenant had got a reduction of 2*l.* per acre from the Sub-Commission in 1888, against which he appealed on the grounds of insufficiency. The farm consists of sixty-six Irish acres, is well watered, and is situated within four miles of the city of Dublin. The previous tenant's interest was purchased by the present occupier in 1873 for 850*l.*; the farm being then, and remaining until 1888, under a rent of 5*l.* 5*s.* per acre. The following facts and figures were tendered in evidence before the Head Land Commission by the appealing tenant, in support of his case for a greater reduction than 2*l.* per acre per annum.

Average Produce per Acre of the different Crops grown in the Dublin District, together with the Prices current in the years 1873 *and* 1887 *respectively.*

		Yield per Acre	Value per Acre	Depreciation per acre in 1887	
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
1873	Wheat	11 barrels	1 15 0	19 15 0	—
1887		11 „	0 17 0	9 7 0	9 18 0
1873	Oats	17 barrels	0 16 0	13 12 0	—
1887		17 „	0 10 0	8 10 0	5 2 0
1873	Barley	14 barrels	1 0 0	14 0 0	—
1887		14 „	0 14 0	9 16 0	4 4 0
1873	Hay	2½ tons	6 0 0	15 0 0	—
1887		2½ „	4 0 0	10 0 0	5 0 0
1873	Potatoes	8 tons	5 0 0	40 0 0	—
1887		8 „	2 10 0	20 0 0	20 0 0

Cost of cultivating an Acre of Wheat on this Farm.

	£ s. d.
Grubbing and harrowing stubble	0 17 0
Ploughing and harrowing	1 18 0
Rubbing and harrowing	1 8 0
Seed and sowing	1 7 6
Bird-boy	0 6 0
Weeding	0 5 0
Reaping	5 0
Carting, stacking, and thatching	2 6
Thrashing	10 0
Marketing and commission	0 0
Total	11 19 0

The evidence comprised in these dates and figures was submitted by the tenant after his farm had been visited and inspected by Sub-Commissioners of the Land Court, and, though he challenged any contradiction of the facts of his case, none was given or attempted.

It was further sworn by the tenant that he could as easily have paid 10*l.* per acre for the land of this farm in 1873 as to farm it free of rent in 1887. The appeal was dismissed, the decision of the Sub-Commission reducing the old rent 2*l.* per acre was confirmed, leaving the 'fair' rent standing at 3*l.* 5*s.* per acre.

Allowing for possible errors or exaggeration in the foregoing case, and that the cost of labour will be higher near a large city than in the rural districts, still the enormous depreciation in the price of produce in the best rent-paying county of Ireland during the last seventeen years, considered along with the external competition that is sure to go on growing until the available food-producing areas of the American and Australian continents are brought under cultivation, demands the most serious attention to the following question: What prospect is there in the agricultural outlook of Ireland that a possible reduction of fifteen per cent. in their rents, which may be effected by Irish tenants under the provisions of Mr. Balfour's Bill, will enable them to live and thrive, pay increasing wages to the certain demands of labour, pay increased rates and taxes as 'occupying proprietors,' and be able to regularly pay the annual instalments that will remain as a State charge upon their holdings during the next forty-nine years?

It may be contended, on the other hand, that the price of cattle, one of the great food products of Ireland, will not be materially affected by the competition of the meat-growers of America, owing to the non-success of the ranch experiments on the western prairies. It would be rash to prophesy what Americans will not eventually succeed in accomplishing, in order to supply meat to such a market as Great Britain. But, even could we safely assume that cattle-breeding in Ireland would continue to remain practically untouched by the meat-producers of other lands, it would mean the continued and direct impoverishment of agricultural labour, as well as the starvation of the business of the small trader or country shopkeeper; because grazing lands give little or no employment in comparison with that of tillage farming, upon which also so many other industrial interests depend for very existence in a country like Ireland.

It is most earnestly to be hoped that facts such as these—facts based upon palpable, operating economic causes, and not upon party or political interests or arguments, will be studied and weighed before the British public gives its sanction to the enactment of the Government land purchase scheme. To enable the 'landlord garrison' of Ireland to obtain money enough for its 'almost unsaleable commodity' by the aid of Mr. Goschen's most skilfully contrived process, may be a piece of very necessary Tory statesmanship for Mr. Balfour to carry through before a landlord Government quits office; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the recognised champion of the money-lenders of England, may deem it to be of paramount

importance that the mortgagees of Irish land shall be secured in an equivalent to their loans, no matter how the transaction may affect the present prospects or future condition of Irish agricultural industry. The position of the Irish landlord, with his encumbrances and 'unsaleable commodity,' is, beyond question, a serious one for any statesman or government to be face to face with. That of the English mortgagee, with such a security, is equally grave: more especially as, according to the late Mr. Wentworth Erck, no less a sum than 160,000,000*l.* hangs as a debt upon the entire landlord property of Ireland. How these interests are to be extricated from such a position may well exercise the financial genius of Mr. Gosehen and put Mr. Balfour's faith in the sentiments he gave expression to in 1885 to a severe strain.

There is but one safe way out of the maze of this Irish land difficulty, and that is the way of courage and of principle which, it is to be feared, neither Tories nor Gladstonians will as yet consent to travel. It is the way marked out by Mr. Giffen in 1886. Give the land of Ireland and its rental to a representative national authority in Ireland. Let such rental, or rather what will be substituted for it, a land tax, be the source from whence such national authority will derive the necessary revenues for the administration of the country. Let Ireland's present fiscal contributions to the Imperial Exchequer continue, and allow such revenues to pay the interest upon the Consols with which the landlord's interests would be expropriated. To meet possible objections to this, on the score of alleged partiality to Ireland, in such an arrangement, Mr. Giffen further wrote:

> It might be thought at first that the concession is extravagant, that we concede far too much to Ireland; but the truth is that the account would be nearly balanced as far as the Imperial Exchequer is concerned. Taking the rent of Ireland, as settled judicially, as about 5,000,000*l.*, the Consols at par to be given in exchange at twenty years' purchase would be 160,000,000*l.*, involving an annual charge of 4,800,000*l.* upon the Imperial Exchequer. At present we spend annually upon Ireland for its local government—for law, prisons, police, education, and such matters—close upon 1,000,000*l.*, exclusive altogether of the outlay for the army of occupation, for the collection of revenue, and other imperial matters. If it is thought that the account should be exactly balanced, it could be arranged that the local authorities in Ireland should pay over to the Imperial Exchequer, out of the rent-charge which they would be allowed to collect, any sum needed to make up the difference between the cost of the Consols necessary to buy out the landlords and the amount now spent out of the Imperial Exchequer on the local government of Ireland.

Of course the 'twenty years' purchase' here mentioned would be an extravagant price and would be subject to discussion. Other details would also have to be considered, and provision would have to be made for a sinking fund, by which Ireland would in time wipe out her national debt. But the plan of the scheme would not require a single farthing of the British taxpayers' money, either by

credit or cash. The final settlement of the agrarian war in a national or State administration of the land, and the satisfaction of national claims to autonomy in the creation of a representative National Assembly in Dublin, would insure such peace and contentment as would enable the cost of government to be so reduced that an immediate relief of forty or fifty per cent. could be given in the matter of rent to the great and paramount industry of the land. This, together with statutory leases including the right of free sale, but prohibitive of sub-letting, would satisfy every tenant farmer in Ireland, prevent the re-growth of landlordism, and enable Irish agriculture to weather the storm of external competition. 'Congested' districts could be dealt with by County Councils which should follow the organisation of a National Assembly. The landlords, drawing the interest on their Consols from the English Chancellor of the Exchequer, out of Irish fiscal revenues, could remain in the country for the discharge of other and more useful functions, national and municipal, than they have ever performed as the 'English Garrison;' while the popular or national sentiment of Ireland would become the best guarantee that those who should occupy the land, under the favourable conditions indicated in Mr. Giffen's plan, would faithfully fulfil their obligations, as not to do so, with the community as the 'landlord,' would insure popular odium instead of public sympathy for the tenant who should refuse to pay the fair rent of his holding to the Irish State.

MICHAEL DAVITT.

II

THE GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS.

WHATEVER may be said of the main provisions of the Land Purchase Bill, the Government need not have much hesitation in asking the House to consider the measures which, under Part II. of the Bill, they propose for dealing with the congested districts. The condition of the population in those overcrowded parts of the country is one of such extreme hardship, and altogether so exceptional, as to demand exceptional treatment at the hands of Parliament, especially when it is borne in mind that Parliament is responsible for the laws from the operation of which, prior to the Land Act of 1870, that condition was naturally evolved. Ireland as a whole, with its five millions of inhabitants, is not over-populated, but, owing to causes which are clearly traceable in the social and political history of the country, it has a congested population in certain parts lying along the western seaboard, where there are, in the aggregate, no less than 50,000 families, or about 300,000 persons, struggling for a bare subsistence on small patches of land of the poorest quality. In good seasons they are unable to wring from the poverty of the soil an adequate supply of food, and in bad seasons, when their crops fail, they are brought suddenly to the verge of starvation, and are wholly dependent upon the charity of the world. Thousands of these poor people would have died from famine in the year 1880 were it not for the relief then provided by Parliament out of the Irish Church surplus, and the charitable contributions sent from foreign countries, particularly the United States. The amount voted in the Relief of Distress Act, 1880, was a million and a half, and if we add to this the money distributed by benevolent associations at the same period, it will be safe to say that a sum of fully two millions sterling was expended in the relief of distress in that one year alone. Now this is the sort of temporary remedy which has been applied in the congested districts, at every recurring period of distress during the last fifty years. As much money as would be required to effect a complete and final cure of the malady has been spent ten times over in measures which, at their best, could only reach its temporary symptoms, and in

measures which must have been demoralising to the last degree in their influence upon the character of the people.

The early days of subdividing on Irish holdings go back nearly a hundred years, to the year 1793, when the Catholics were admitted to the franchise. Influential politicians, anxious to multiply their voting power, encouraged their tenants to subdivide, on the principle that the more farms the more votes, and as every tenant in those days voted as a matter of course with his landlord, it became the aim of the latter to create as many holdings as possible on each estate. Hence the creation and rapid increase of the forty shilling freeholders. Several Acts of Parliament were passed in the first quarter of the century to enlarge the landlord's power of eviction, which was so often unsparingly exercised; and when the great famine of 1846 came, and the workhouses were crowded with the starving people for whose support the land was chargeable, a system of clearances was inaugurated by which the tenants were chased from the rich and fertile lands into the bogs and mountains, where their descendants now compete with the snipe and the curlew for such scanty sustenance as their dreary haunts afford.

With the valuable aid of the late Professor Baldwin, who was a Land Commissioner in Ireland, and the experienced counsel of Sir Baldwyn Leighton, I brought forward in the House of Commons on the 10th of April, 1883, a motion which is recorded in the following terms:

That the chronic distress prevailing in certain congested parts of Ireland can be most safely and efficaciously relieved by a judicious and economic system of migration and optional emigration, together with a consolidation of the holdings from which tenants are removed; that in the present condition of Ireland such a scheme can be successfully carried out only by a Government Commission, with certain statutory powers, including those of purchase and sale; and that in the opinion of this House this is a subject which demands the serious attention of her Majesty's Government with a view to early legislation.

A glance at Clause 42, in Part II. of the Land Purchase Bill, will show that the proposal which I laid before the House six years ago is in principle the same as that which the Government now undertake to carry out by the provisions of their Bill. Clause 42 declares:

For the purpose of amalgamating holdings in a congested districts county which are of a rateable value of less than *ten pounds*, or any higher sum fixed by the Congested Districts Board, that Board may, out of the moneys at their disposal, give special aid to the emigration or migration of any tenant of a holding on condition of his interest in that holding (whether that of tenant or proprietor) being transferred to an occupier (whether tenant or proprietor) of a neighbouring holding, and of the holdings being amalgamated, and there being on such amalgamated holding only one house used as a dwelling-house; and recommend the Land Department to make such arrangements (which the Land Department are hereby authorised to make) for carrying into effect such amalgamation of holdings, whether by the apportionment of a purchase annuity and of the guarantee deposit, or by a sale to a tenant or otherwise as may seem expedient.

By Clause 45 the Congested Districts Board is empowered to make grants to any persons for the purpose of aiding the emigration or migration of inhabitants of any congested union or electoral division, or any other place in Ireland, the circumstances of which appear to the Board to render such aid desirable. The Board receives a grant of a million and a half from the Irish Church Surplus Fund in aid of their operations, and as this is Irish money, and the amount will be ample to cover all contingent losses, the British taxpayer may consent to Part II. of the new Land Bill without being ruined by his generosity. The Congested Districts Board does not get under this Bill all the powers which I think such a body ought to possess. I strongly insisted in 1883, and I still think, that it ought to have compulsory powers of purchase; and, although there is a provision in the Bill that there shall be only one dwelling-house on each consolidated holding, I am convinced that something more than this is needed in order to prevent future subdivision, and the consequent reproduction of the evil which Part II. of the Bill is designed to remove. But the discretion of the Board is very wide in questions of administration generally, and it might be limited with advantage in one particular, and that is as to the amount of money to be expended in emigration.

There have been many debates in Parliament on the advantages and disadvantages of emigration, but as all parties are agreed that it must be voluntary, I asked the House of Commons in 1883 to give the people the option of migration, and allow them to decide for themselves whether they would go or stay. Many who have relatives abroad to receive them, and who have no family ties at home to bind them, will go, and will be happy and prosperous in their new homes beyond the sea. A still larger number will, I trust, elect to stay and carve out their fortunes from the developed resources of their own country. In any case the Congested Districts Board will be able, by the proper administration of the provisions of this Bill, to render great and much needed help to the very poorest of the Irish agricultural population. It is not generally known in England, but it is nevertheless a fact, that in the very counties in Ireland where the greatest congestion prevails there is plenty of semi-waste and unoccupied land upon which migrated families could be settled in holdings of sufficient size to afford them the means of a good livelihood. If any one doubts this, I refer him to the evidence given before the Richmond Commission by Professor Baldwin, where abundant testimony will be found confirmatory of what I say. It will be the duty of the Board to get possession of this land, and assign suitable allotments to those who remove from their own small holdings, and who, at the same time, are unable or unwilling to emigrate. The Board is further authorised to provide seed potatoes and seed oats, on certain conditions, to all these small landholders;

and, lastly, it is given large powers to aid Irish industries. It has power to apply the moneys at its disposal in the development of the fisheries, in the instruction of persons in the curing of fish, and in teaching the knowledge of practical and scientific agriculture, and of the breeding of live stock and poultry, and in the improvement and development of weaving or spinning, or any other industries.

One word more as to the policy of these provisions. I venture to assert that it is sound and statesmanlike; and if a similar case can be made out for the crofters of Scotland, who are also the victims of the old system of eviction, it ought to be dealt with in a similar manner. The overcrowding which festers in the large towns of the United Kingdom stands on the same footing. It is as great a scandal to our religion and our law. It is equally dangerous to the State, and appeals with as loud a voice to all the instincts of humanity.

J. O'Connor Power.

III.

THE ULTIMATE GUARANTEE.

EVER since the Government announced their intention of bringing in a Land Purchase Bill for Ireland in the ensuing session, the question of the security for the advances involved has attracted discussion. Little attention, however, has been given, as yet, to one, and that not the least important, branch of the subject, namely, the capabilities of the soil of Ireland. For whether the proprietors of the future make less difficulty about paying instalments of purchase-money than the tenants of the past have about paying rents—or the contrary—it is obvious that their ability to pay either rent or instalments must depend ultimately on what they can get out of their holdings in the way of produce.

When the reductions made by the Land Commissioners under the Act of 1881 first attracted attention, and the Judicial Rents fixed by them were contrasted with the Poor Law Valuation, the writer pointed out (in this Review for October 1882) that the average produce per acre for the years 1871–80 was very much less than it had been at the time when Sir R. Griffith was at work; the output of potatoes, for instance, during the later period averaging only 3 tons per acre, as against 5 tons 8 cwt. for the years 1851–3. And of course the power of tenants to pay anything would gradually get reduced to vanishing point if agriculture in Ireland had continued to make progress in that fashion.

Fortunately, however, that has not been the case. All authorities from Mr. Parnell downward agree that the standard of farming there has never been a high one; but there was much dispute about the cause; and while most contended that it was largely due to conditions of tenure which virtually put a premium on bad cultivation, there were not wanting others who argued that the Irish tenant would never be industrious without the incentive of a stiff rent. Such facts as can be obtained by comparing the statistics for recent periods seem to favour the former view, and to warrant the belief that from the farming standpoint the benefits conferred by the Land Acts have not been given in vain.

The area of land under tillage in Ireland (excluding clover, &c.) is rather under 3,000,000 acres, of which less than 300,000 acres are in wheat or barley, while more than 2,000,000 are in oats or potatoes; 2,000,000 acres more are meadow or clover; more than 10,000,000 are

in grass, and 5,000,000 acres, 26 per cent. of the whole country, are wood, water, or waste.

It is obvious under these circumstances that the ability of Irish farmers to meet their engagements depends mainly on their live stock and dairy produce, on their oats and on their potatoes; and that improvement or deterioration, whether in the soil itself or in its cultivation, are important factors when we are considering what the occupiers of the land may be able or willing to pay for it in the future.

The Irish Agricultural Returns for 1889 have lately been presented to Parliament, so it is possible to give the averages of produce, &c., for the eight years that have passed since the Land Act of 1881; and though averages of *prices* have been rather discredited lately, the period is long enough to be unaffected seriously, as regards produce, by the ordinary fluctuations of weather and seasons. Comparing then the produce of the years 1882–9 with that of the previous decades, we find that the average per acre comes out as follows:—

	Oats		Potatoes	
	Acres	Cwt.	Acres	Tons
1851–60	2,074,000	13·3	1,010,000	4·5
1861–70	1,788,000	12·0	1,045,000	3·1
1871–80	1,481,000	13·1	901,000	3·0
1882–89	1,326,000	13·3	805,000	3·6

This shows an improvement of over 3½ bushels of oats and of 5 cwt. of potatoes per acre, as between the last eight years and the ante Land Act era; while, if we compare the same eight years with the period 1871–80, the increase, though trifling in oats, is equivalent in potatoes to 200,000 tons, worth a matter of 3*l.* per ton, and that the produce of a smaller area.

It is equally true of course that thirty years ago the produce of the land was a good deal greater, and it would be interesting to know what caused so heavy a fall in the potato crop after 1860; still twenty-eight years is a fairly long period for purposes of agricultural statistics, and fluctuations within it are of more practical value for the present purpose than an inquiry into the causes of the poverty of the land at the beginning of that time.

Comparisons of live stock are not so easy as those of produce, for there is no standard common denominator to which cattle, pigs, and sheep can be reduced, but the total numbers of each kind are as follows:—

Average	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
1851–60	3,479,870	3,297,500	1,174,000
1861–70	3,526,600	4,038,000	1,183,200
1871–80	4,051,100	4,134,800	1,248,900
1882–89	4,120,046	3,397,021	1,850,512

It will be observed that sheep have diminished of late years while cattle and pigs have increased, as has happened throughout the United Kingdom. But the following tables, which are taken from the *Times* of the 10th of January, show that Ireland is the only portion of the United Kingdom in which there is not a falling off generally.

Number of Live Stock per 100 *cultivated Acres.*

	England	Wales	Scotland	Great Britain	Ireland	United Kingdom
1869						
Horses .	4·9	5·2	4·2	4·8	3·4	4·3
Cattle .	15·9	23·3	22·9	14·0	23·8	19·7
Sheep .	84·8	107·5	157 6	95·8	29·7	74·3
Pigs . .	7·0	6·8	2·9	6·3	7·0	6·6
Total .	112·6	142·8	187·6	120·9	63·9	104·9
1889						
Horses .	4·3	4·9	3·8	4·3	3·4	4·0
Cattle .	17·4	23·3	22·8	18·6	27·4	21·4
Sheep .	63·2	99·6	144·5	78·3	25·2	61·5
Pigs . .	8·4	8·4	3·1	7·6	9·1	8·1
Total .	93·3	136·2	174·2	108·8	65·1	96·0

'Cultivated acres' in this return appears to include all land that is not waste. The figures would be still more favourable to Ireland if for purposes of comparison the cattle are reckoned as each equivalent to six sheep, and if the horses—which are the same in both years—be omitted: the proportion per hundred acres then coming out:

1869 172·5 'sheep' + 7 pigs.
1889 189·6 'sheep' + 9 pigs.

In other kinds of live stock, also, the increase has been marked and continuous for at least twenty years, the returns being as follows:

Year	Horses and Mules			Poultry
1869	547,757	171,664	205,861	10,801,687
1879	596,331	188,694	277,802	13,786,976
1889	604,040	206,002	303,708	14,854,917

I cannot attempt to express donkeys or cocks and hens in terms of sheep, but the differences between the three dates speak for themselves.

I have purposely avoided the question of prices, and of the areas under the respective crops. I have no wish to underrate the importance of the former, but prices are no test of the capacity of the soil, and no one can be sure from the past what they will be in the future. Nor would any comparison of cultivated areas in Ireland be complete unless allowance was made for boycotted and derelict farms; the acreage under crops seems inclined on the whole to diminish, and that

under grass to increase, but the most decided alteration of late years is in 'waste,' the proportion of which has been steadily growing, and has increased more than a seventh since 1872: but I do not think too much importance should be attached to this; the low prices have driven a good many acres out of cultivation in England too, and the distinction between mountain pasture and 'waste' must always be rather an arbitrary one.

However that may be, Irish farmers seem to be getting more out of their land since 1882 than they did in the twenty years preceding; notwithstanding that the later period with its two elections, its numberless public meetings and general restlessness has hardly been a favourable one for industry; and the figures I have brought together seem to justify the hope that Irish land, *quâ* its capacity for producing food, is on the whole an improving security.

EBRINGTON.

THE COMTE DE CLERMONT.

Of late, owing possibly to the celebration of the centenary of the Revolution, an abundance of literature relating to the last decades of the French eighteenth century has flooded the book-market, throwing into the shade the not less instructive, though less sensational, era which comprised the reign of Louis the Fifteenth. Every reader is tolerably familiar with the celebrities of that reign, but it is not the least remarkable feature of the time that its minor notabilities played an important, if unconscious, part in precipitating the events of 1789, and should be remembered, because of the strange and striking example they afford of the character and customs of a system which brought upon itself such a tragic dissolution.

To M. Jules Cousin we are indebted for a curious and valuable sketch of the life of the Comte de Clermont, which has remained comparatively unknown. It was printed, so the author tells us, on good paper, and in fine type, but the issue was limited, so that it might minister to the enjoyment of bibliophiles alone.

Of his hero the Comte de Clermont it must be confessed that, though of illustrious birth, he was not an illustrious personage in the other and more creditable sense of the word, and perhaps his memory would be better served by being ignored—a remark which, however, might apply with greater force to many of his more eminent contemporaries whose higher responsibility enhanced their guilt.

He was the great-grandson of the great Prince de Condé and Mlle. de Nantes, a legitimised daughter of Louis the Fourteenth and Mme. de Montespan, and third son of the Duc de Bourbon, and was born in 1709, a memorable date in French history. France had not been in such straits since 1420, when by the Treaty of Troyes Henry of Lancaster was made regent and heir to her throne. Her military power was humbled, her trade and commerce were paralysed by religious persecution and half a century of those wars which Louis the Fourteenth sorrowfully admitted on his deathbed he had loved too passionately. Decimated on the battlefield abroad, and by famine at home, and oppressed by the wanton exercise of seignorial rights, the people were suffering indescribable misery. The various branches of the administration were thrown out of gear by the absolutism of a

despot who was past the age to correct the abuses which his arrogance, his egotism, and his bigotry had caused. Nevertheless, all classes of the population submitted to the tyranny of Louis the Fourteenth, and seemed to endure with indifference the scandals of the Regency and the profligacy of Louis the Fifteenth.

It should be borne in mind that liberty of the subject, equality before the law, and religious toleration were then as unknown in France as they are now in Russia; and it required all the vices and the long misrule of Louis the Fifteenth, and the growth of enlightenment and learning, to efface the glamour which the glory of the seventeenth century still shed on the darkening shadows of the eighteenth; and to dispel the idolatrous belief in the divine attributes of the king with which Louis the Fourteenth had saturated the whole of Europe. 'Unquestionably there are certain functions,' were the words which he had written for the instruction of the dauphin, 'in which taking the place of God we seem to participate in His knowledge as well as in His authority. . . . Exercising on earth an entirely divine function, we must try to appear incapable of the agitations which can detract from it. . . . Everything that exists in our state, of whatever nature it may be, belongs to us; the coin which is in our cash-box, that which is in the hands of the treasury, or that which we grant to the trade of our people.'

For some time these demoralising and corroding principles had been silently, but surely, undermining the old order of things Their effects became manifest in 1715, when, on the death of Louis the Fourteenth, a cry of relief went up through the land, and the man who had been deified in his lifetime was spoken of as a good riddance the moment he was gone. The country was secured by the Peace of Utrecht from all external danger, but was thoroughly exhausted, and longed for a rest of which it could never be certain while the breath remained in the old king. Of the great statesmen, warriors, and writers whom he had honoured, none were left to mourn the sovereign who had ended his days in a gloomy and priest-ridden court, or to assist his successor with their experience. A new generation had sprung up that had long chafed under severe restraint, and on the death of the monarch who had kept it in subjection broke into the most extravagant license with all the recklessness of youth and the vivacity of its race.

On the throne sat a child of five, surrounded by a host of legitimate and legitimised princes and princesses, who had inherited all the arrogance, but none of the commanding qualities, of their blood, and used their position solely for the furtherance of their personal ends, and in utter contempt of the commonweal. The Duc d'Orléans was regent by right of birth, but during the last years of the previous reign he had been kept back in disgrace by the influence of the legitimised children of the king. So artfully had he been calumni-

ated by them, that the premature deaths of the lineal descendants of the sovereign were laid to his charge, and at the funeral of the Duke of Burgundy he was nearly torn to pieces by the infuriated crowd. One of the first acts of the new government was to annul by parliamentary decree the will of Louis the Fourteenth, and to order that the legitimised princes should lose their royal rank and be ineligible for the succession to the throne. For the first time in French history the royal authority was represented in the State documents as a mandate, so that there was no longer any question of its sacred origin or inviolable character. The nation, under this new dispensation, had the right to dispose of itself, the monarchy being regarded as a mere contract, which the contracting parties had the right to revoke. In this manner the first step was taken towards the revolution.

Such was the state of affairs during the infancy of the Comte de Clermont. As a younger son he was condemned by the prevailing system of primogeniture to forego his share of the ancestral inheritance, and was marked out for the Church from his birth. The hardship of his lot, however, was not as great as might be supposed. France was studded with monasteries and convents, possessing rich endowments, the wealthiest of which were exclusively reserved for the benefit of the nobility. Remiremont and Fontevrault, the former situated in the Vosges, the latter near the Loire, were two small principalities whose abbeys enjoyed a splendid income, position, and privileges. To be admitted into the chapter of Remiremont, an unblemished ancestry extending over two centuries was essential, and when the daughter of Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis the Thirteenth, expressed the desire to become its abbess, she was refused, on the ground that the house of Bourbon, by its alliance with the Medici, had derogated from its position. Fontevrault had five churches, its possessions and authority extended over four provinces, and it boasted of forty-five priories. Of its abbess, who in default of a legitimate, had at least to be an illegitimate princess of France, it was said that she wielded not a crozier, but a sceptre.

But it should not be forgotten that there were two kinds of abbés in France—the clerical and the lay abbé. The needy offspring of a wide-spreading aristocracy, the *abbé au petit collet*, had nothing of the ecclesiastic about him but the garb, and used all the art at his command to obtain the favour of the great ladies, and the patronage of the great nobles, to secure the reversion of a wealthy abbey *en commende*, with whose religious duties he would have no concern, but whose revenues he could squander at his ease. These abbeys *en commende* were conferred by the king on lay clerics and by right, one-third of their revenue only could be appropriated by the abbé, while of the other two-thirds, one-third should go for alms and the

repairs of the church, and the remaining third to the support of the religious community. But lay cardinals, ministers, and princes of the blood asserted their claim to the same rights as the ecclesiastical abbés, and appropriated the whole income. Cardinal Dubois drew 70,000*l.* a year from his see, which he never visited once. The Abbé Terray, Finance Minister and Minister of Public Works, built up a fortune at the public cost, which went chiefly into the pockets of the king's favourites, and a conception can be formed of the magnificence of the residence which he erected for himself in Paris, from the fact that he spent 400,000 francs on his bed alone. The Cardinal de Bernis, the impecunious younger son of an illustrious family, owed his preferment, at the age of nineteen, to the charm of his manners at fashionable supper parties. When he first applied to Cardinal Fleury for a place, he was curtly told to wait, and that he had nothing to expect in his lifetime. 'Well, then, I shall wait,' he rejoined to the octogenarian minister; and he waited not in vain. Mme. de Pompadour, whom he had conciliated by his graceful verses, gave him a pension and an apartment in the Tuileries, sent him as ambassador to Venice, and then appointed him Minister for Foreign Affairs. How Bernis looked after the spiritual welfare of the many thousands committed to his care, and who were ground down to provide him with his income, can easily be surmised.

Many of the lay abbesses of France reflected as little dignity on the Church as their brethren the lay abbés. One of the most remarkable of them was a daughter of the Regent, who, though more notorious for her devotion to the Duc de Richelieu than for any inclination to a monastic life, secured the removal of the reigning Abbess of Chelles in order to step into her place. In her capacity of Abbess she employed her time in hunting and shooting, arranging displays of fireworks, and in giving ballets and balls. After the ceremony of her enthronement she presided at a grand banquet with the Regent on one side and a nun on the other; when the company had retired, the crowd was allowed to come in and scramble for the remains of the feast. In this way she showed her consideration for the poor.

To this career the Comte de Clermont, the youngest of three brothers, was destined. The eldest, the Duc de Bourbon—the father of the Prince de Condé of the Emigration, and ancestor of the Duc d'Enghien, Napoleon's victim—became the nominal tutor of the young Louis the Fifteenth, and shortly afterwards Prime Minister. He amassed a large fortune in three years, and during his short administration he excelled by his venality and corruption, at a time when those vices were the monopoly of his class. His successor, Cardinal Fleury, sent him into exile, and though he was allowed to return, he had to abstain from interfering in politics. The infamy of

the Comte de Clermont's second brother has become historic, and of him the words of M. Lacretelle convey all that is needful. 'The Comte de Charolais became one of the vilest scoundrels of the day. He began by murdering one of his servants whose wife he had been unable to seduce; and he shot a slater for the fun of seeing him roll off the roof. He deserved the scaffold twenty times, and would have suffered on it had there been, under the monarchy, such a thing as justice for a prince.'

Of the princesses who adorned the house of Condé, Mdlle. de Charolais—the eldest, the brightest, and the most beautiful—signalised herself above her sisters by the levity of her conduct. From the diaries of the time we learn that, though she had the honour of preceding Mme. de Pompadour in the affections of Louis the Fifteenth, the number of her previous and subsequent intrigues defies enumeration. However, she varied them with an occasional attack of devoutness, of which some diverting reminiscences are extant. One day fancying herself ill, and fearing that her last hour had struck, she cried out for the immediate assistance of a confessor, and a monk from a Capuchin monastery, who happened to be the nearest at hand, was brought to her bedside. On entering the apartment of the princess the good friar was transfixed with admiration and awe, so that he dared neither move nor utter a word while the fair penitent unburthened herself of her lengthy narrative. At the end, making a low bow, and in a voice trembling with emotion, he muttered, 'Now perhaps her Highness will graciously permit me to give her absolution.'

For the advantage of these estimable relatives the Comte de Clermont was tonsured at the age of six, and was presented with half-a-dozen of the fattest abbeys in the land. Some of these he afterwards was made to exchange for the Abbey *en commende* of St.-Germain-des-Prés, a monastery of the Benedictines, the richest ecclesiastical benefice of the kingdom. Besides a palace in Paris, the abbey owned the Château de Berny, on the Orleans road, and there Clermont passed the greater part of his life. Nominally he had his private apartments in the royal residences, but as these were often requisitioned without his permission for the use of distinguished visitors, he abstained from claiming them, and when he visited Versailles he found in the seclusion of a villa, in the vicinity of the Parc aux Cerfs, a more congenial atmosphere and one more favourable to his pursuits.

Clermont lost his father a year after his birth, and was entrusted to the tuition of the Comte de Billy, an officer in the Condé household, who became first gentleman of his court, but died soon after his appointment, leaving a son, whom Clermont adopted. Of Clermont's education we have no special record, but we may gather that

it was not confined altogether to fencing, riding and dancing lessons; for at the age of fourteen, having lost a pet monkey, he announced the mournful event to his friends in a poem, and further commemorated the sad event in three rhymed epitaphs, composed for a mausoleum which he erected over the ashes of his deceased favourite. These verses were mere platitudes, it is true, but they gave some indication of a bent towards literature. A young prince could hardly be expected to grieve long over a monkey, even though it were the most perfect of its kind, and we read that in the following year, when accompanying the young king on an expedition to Chantilly, Clermont fell a victim to, or was made a victim of, the fascinating Mme. de Grave. Her husband, though irritated on discovering the intrigue, courteously and wisely forbore from interfering, and subsequently, when a lady indulged in a somewhat serious flirtation, she was spoken of at Court as *une femme grave*. A year passed, and Mme. de Grave was forsaken for a certain Mdlle. Quoniam, a damsel of thirteen, whose father kept an eating-house in the suburbs of Paris. These were the halcyon days for couples of incompatible temper—the days of the *lettres de cachet*, when, during the administration of Cardinal Fleury alone, eighty thousand were granted or even sold for a few louis by ministers. Some striking illustrations of the uses to which this summary power was put at times are afforded in the memoirs of the Comte de Ségur. There was in Paris a flower-girl named Jeanneton, whose beauty attracted the notice of the gentlemen of the Court, and the Chevalier de Coigny, happening to find her looking particularly sprightly one day, inquired the reason. 'My husband was such a brute and such a monster,' she answered, 'that I have bought a *lettre de cachet* from the Comte de St. Florentin for ten louis to free me from him.' The chevalier lost sight of Jeanneton for a couple of years, and when he met her again she was pale and dejected. 'Where have you been all this time?' he asked. 'I hardly knew you again.' 'Alas, sir,' she replied, 'I was a fool to rejoice. My wicked husband had the same idea as myself, he too went to the minister and bought a *lettre de cachet* for me; so it cost our poor household twenty louis to get both of us locked up.' For reasons of her own, into which we need not inquire, Mme. Quoniam also considered the presence of her lord and master an obstacle to her domestic happiness. One bright summer afternoon she took her confiding husband for a drive in the Bois, and when he was alighting from his cab, a troop of archers seized him, and, before he had time to recover from his bewilderment, he was handcuffed and shipped off to the West Indies, and was never heard of again.

In the meanwhile Clermont spent an idyllic time in his Arcadian retreat at Versailles, and though he soon tired of Mdlle. Quoniam,

he experienced no difficulty in severing the ephemeral ties which bound him to her. His cousin, the young Prince de Conti, who had just entered the bonds of matrimony, was nothing loth to free him from his burthen, so that he might transfer his affections to the Duchesse de Bouillon. The personality of this lady, who enjoyed the reputation of being the frailest of her sex, has been preserved for us in the well-known play of *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, though there she is confused with her step-daughter-in-law, the Princesse de Bouillon. The somewhat mysterious and dramatic circumstances of Adrienne Lecouvreur's death, which was at the time falsely laid at the door of the Duchesse de Bouillon, but was in reality the result of a long illness, only partly account for the interest which still attaches to her name. The fact is, that she was endowed with qualities that are rare at all times, but were rarer still in those in which she lived. As a woman she could not fail to be influenced by that laxity of morals against which there was no prejudice at the time, but her intrigues were never tainted with venal motives, and never gave rise to any scandal. She was beloved by the greatest general of her day, and by Voltaire, who dedicated his most touching elegy to her memory. Though Lord Peterborough ventured to address her with the words, 'Allons! qu'on me montre beaucoup d'amour et beaucoup d'esprit,' which illustrate the position then held even by a great actress, owing to her perfect tact, as well as to her great intellectual accomplishments, Adrienne Lecouvreur's house became the resort of the best society, including the ladies of the Court. As an actress she entirely reformed the old stage mannerisms, and introduced that natural and unaffected delivery which it has ever since been the ambition of the French stage to preserve, instead of the traditional pompous, artificial, and ranting style of declamation. Her profession, which until then had been looked down upon with profound contempt by all classes, she succeeded in raising by her own efforts into something like esteem.

Clermont's intrigue with the Duchesse de Bouillon was of short duration; and now, for a period of eight years, Mlle. de Camargo reigned supreme over his heart, his purse, his abbey, and his court. With Camargo's private adventures we are not concerned. She ruined many admirers of high degree, and lavished her fortune on others of her own class. Camargo, who was a genius in her way, was the daughter of a poor music master named Coupis, but claimed descent from the old Spanish family of Camargo. But her assumed ancestry did not protect her from the jealousies of the Green Room, nor did it ensure the rapid acceptance of the innovations she sought to introduce into the art of dancing. Until her time, ballets consisted merely of a majestic or graceful kind of motion, and dancers were, into the bargain, doomed to wear the tall, ungainly head-dress

of the former century, as well as the heavy brocaded gowns and enormous hoops in fashion at Court. Camargo was disheartened by the failure of her attempts to reform the ballet in Paris, and she proceeded to London with a letter from an academician to the French Chargé d'Affaires, who obtained for her an engagement at Covent Garden. There she appeared in two ballets she had composed, introducing for the first time that costume and style of dancing with which we are now familiar. When she returned to Paris her success was prodigious. Eight years of Camargo's society having exhausted the affection of Clermont, he fell under the charm of another votary of the terpsichorean art—Mdlle. Le Duc—who was destined to exercise a more durable influence over his life.

It may seem surprising that all the gossip concerning not only every member of the Government but every social notoriety should have been chronicled and preserved. For this we are indebted to the peculiar disposition of Louis the Fifteenth, to whom the most secret actions and intrigues of his subjects were of more moment than the affairs of State, and who found in their details a temporary relief from his chronic affliction of the spleen. Every letter, before it reached its destination, took a circuitous route through Versailles; and, in consequence, many a peer and a poet found themselves in the Bastille for having penned some joke at the expense of the king or Mme. de Pompadour. But not content with perusing the correspondence of his subjects, the king kept an army of spies at their heels to report to him their most private conversations at their social gatherings. A minister, the Comte de Maurepas, was exiled from Paris for having written a satirical song concerning the king and his favourite, though it was only given for the amusement of a private supper party. In one of the police reports made to the king, in the year 1753, we are treated to a biography of Mdlle. Le Duc, whose father, a Swiss porter, employed his leisure in the management of a wine shop. The details of her life before she captivated Clermont may have amused her splenetic sovereign, but would hardly bear repetition. Whether, as one diarist states, Clermont was fascinated by her as she laughed and joked at the bar of her father's wine shop, or whether, as another tells us, he was attracted by her pirouettes on the stage, is immaterial—though either would be equally significant of his mode of life. At any rate, the young lady suited his disposition so well that they never parted again. All the extravagance and dissipation he had indulged in with Camargo were repeated in a more exaggerated form, and the abbey palace was turned into a pandemonium.

This was the home in which Clermont's adopted son, young Billy, received his education, and where it is needless to say he was not exactly inculcated with the discipline of a Benedictine monk. At

sixteen years of age he was appointed by Clermont to the command of a regiment, and left to join the army a thorough scamp, dreaming only of plays, ballets, and suppers, an accomplished musical *dilettante*, but proved himself brave and devoted to the service of the king. Two years of camp life did not diminish the attractions of the *coulisses* for young Billy, and Clermont decided that he should marry and reform. The fortunate person on whom the choice of the Comte had fallen was the daughter of a treasurer of the Fleet, a Mdlle. Moufle, whose large dowry was to gild the pill for Billy. Clermont put all his influence forward to bring the negotiation to a successful issue, but the watchful father would not be dazzled by the prospective advantages of the alliance, and instituted inquiries as to the career of the young profligate. In a series of letters, which have been preserved for the edification of posterity, Clermont apprises 'Cupid,' as he styled his adopted son, of the conception, growth, and ultimate failure of his plan. In these letters, which are chiefly written in the fashionable slang of the day—that then used in the harlequinades—Clermont entertains 'Cupid' with accounts of the doings at the Château de Berny, of the hunts and plays of which life consisted there, and finally breaks to him the news of the collapse of the matrimonial plot. A pamphlet which had been drawn up for M. Moufle by some friends, in which the record of the young aspirant to his daughter's fortune was set forth in detail, was the leading cause of this catastrophe.

> Moufle asserts (writes Clermont) that if you were to give up soldiering you would only return to the crapulous life you have always led, and either drag your wife into it or abandon her; that the only women whose company you frequent are of the worst character; that your companions are idiots and bandits; that your only aim is to live on other people, and that those who support you would be the first to suffer from your tricks. M. Moufle consequently asks me to cancel the engagement, and I think that, rather than get into the law courts, where probably a great many things would come out which you would not like to be known, it is better for me to assent.

Such had been the fruits of the education of a young nobleman at the hands of a royal prince and an ecclesiastic, in the early part of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth. To console Billy for the loss of the dowry, Clermont endeavoured to obtain for him the military order of St. Louis, but before the cross was pinned on his breast he died in camp, prematurely exhausted by his excesses.

In spite of his enormous income Clermont was unable to meet his liabilities, and was obliged to sell his Duchy of Châteauroux to the king, who bestowed it shortly afterwards on a fresh favourite. It is almost pathetic to note the penny-wise foolishness by which Clermont sought to retrench. While staying at Versailles he asserted a privilege as a royal prince to frank his letters; but Louis

the Fifteenth, who resented on the part of his family even trivial abuses which he perpetrated without compunction himself, compelled Clermont to pay the usual postage. Then Clermont set up a right to escape the *octroi* duty for eatables conveyed from his château to his town house. On one occasion, after a day's shooting, he ordered his steward to send some game into town for his supper. The official on duty at the *octroi* station, who happened either to be especially vigilant or out of sorts, detained the steward and laid hands on the game. When Clermont arrived at the station and heard what had occurred, he flew into a violent passion, and directed his groom to administer a sound flogging to the official, which we are expressly informed was applied with an English horsewhip. These economies of Clermont's did not extend to Mdlle. Le Duc, on whom he squandered money more lavishly than ever. We are told that though he abstained from wearing a sword, he attired himself in the richest velvet, and wore a powdered periwig; while we have a graphic picture of Mdlle. Le Duc, as she drove one day in the Bois in a new equipage which her protector had presented to her. The carriage is described as a barouche made of cane, painted blue, and mounted with silver. It was drawn by six ponies no bigger than dogs, with a postilion richly costumed in red and silver, with a blue plume in his hat, and a chasseur in blue and white with a shako ornamented with silver. Mdlle. Le Duc held the reins, apparelled in a gown covered with diamonds, with her sister by her side; while in three succeeding chariots were her friends from the stage, dressed in her colours, blue and white. This exhibition was too much even for the public of that day, and Clermont was lampooned not only by the man in the street but in some verses written by the king himself. Though Clermont only devoted his energies to the prosecution of such frivolities as these, and was never able to persevere in any useful undertaking, he was not deficient in good instincts or worthier aspirations. At the age of twenty he showed his appreciation of the value of knowledge by forming an association, at whose meetings he often attended, and which consisted of several branches, including letters, art, science, and technical arts. Later in life his literary ambition induced him to become a member of the Academy.

The French Academy of Letters is one of the few institutions which survived the ancient monarchy without losing its prestige. It was suppressed by the Convention in 1793. Several of the Academicians had died shortly before the Revolution who had not been replaced; eleven had emigrated and were proscribed; seven were imprisoned and three were guillotined; three committed suicide and two died of fright. The last President of the Academy was the Abbé Morellet, who, with eleven of his colleagues only, passed through the Reign of Terror unharmed. The Convention had

decreed that every royal and aristocratic emblem should be erased from the Louvre. Morellet, with great presence of mind, surreptitiously removed eighty portraits from the Academy as well as its archives, and other documents, and saved them from the fate of the artistic and literary valuables contained in other portions of the palace.

The Academy was reorganised in 1795, and finally established on its present basis at the Restoration. Its influence on French literature varied considerably according to its constitution, and it only became a close republic of letters in the democratic days of our century. At its outset it was very powerful, and the Academicians were generally recognised as the arbiters of literary taste. French literature owes less, however, to the earlier Academicians than to the independent efforts of the great writers of the seventeenth century, who were only admitted within the sacred circle long after they had earned a claim to that distinction, and who wrought a change not only in the style of French literature, but in the spirit and education of the governing classes, which had not been paralleled before, and has never since been surpassed. Spelling remained for some time as erratic among them as it was in fashionable circles in England, but the ancient feeling that it was derogatory for a man of quality to occupy himself with literature, and the practice of looking on men of letters as parasites or jesters, was rapidly disappearing, and the tendency was setting in towards the opposite extreme. Nevertheless, long before 1662, when the Academy first obtained from Louis the Fourteenth a permanent domicile in the Louvre, and was placed under the direct patronage of the sovereign, it had shown its subservience by electing the mere nominees of ministers and grandees. It had excluded, on the one hand, Corneille, during the lifetime of Richelieu, because of the cardinal's jealousy of his eminent talents, and, on the other, it afterwards admitted a youth of seventeen, the Marquis de Coislin, because he was the grandson of Chancellor Seguier, who naively recommended his election on the ground that he had 'a taste for letters.' Even Louis the Fourteenth dabbled in poetry, and submitted some of his compositions for the opinion of Boileau, whose reply is worthy of repetition. 'Sire,' said the poet, 'there is nothing that your Majesty cannot do; your Majesty wished to make some bad verses, and your Majesty has succeeded.' Men of quality sought entrance to the Academy and filled it to the exclusion of professional writers, so that Voltaire could eventually say that at the Academy 'one meets dukes, marquises, churchmen, and, occasionally, men of letters.' When a vacancy occurred, every section of society intrigued for its nominee, who often was a mere nonentity, and usually the Court influence proved supreme. Yet on some rare occasions the Academy asserted its independence, as when it declined to elect the

Duc du Maine, a youth of fourteen, a legitimised son of Louis the Fourteenth, and when it chose La Fontaine in preference to Boileau, who, despite his sarcastic criticism of his verses, was supported by the king. Almost the last communication of Louis the Fourteenth with the Academy was two years before his death, when the cardinal Academicians refused to attend the meetings, on the ground that the distinction of an arm-chair, which they maintained was due to their rank, was accorded only to the officials of the Academy. Louis the Fourteenth solved the difficulty by presenting the Academy with *fauteuils* for the whole forty.

For some time after the death of Louis the Fourteenth the Academy continued to be dominated by the clerical and aristocratic tendencies of the past, the belief apparently being that by electing persons of high degree it added to its dignity and power. But clericalism in those days was not synonymous with religion, as the Academy might have perceived when it elected Cardinal Dubois, who boasted of his atheism, or the Abbé d'Antin, merely because he was the grandson of Mme. de Montespan. It had even come to the point that some families claimed to form an Academical dynasty. The Duc de Richelieu was elected at the age of twenty-four, his only literary compositions having been his love letters to the daughters of the Regent. Consequently towards the beginning of the eighteenth century the literary standard of the Academy fell to a low level. A poetaster, Moncrif by name, more famous for his dancing and singing than for his verses, was recommended for election by Clermont, though the only work he had produced was a history of cats, and his reception was marked by an incident which might seem more appropriate to an assemblage of undergraduates than to that of the intellectual luminaries of France. While he was delivering his reception speech, some wag liberated a cat in the hall, which naturally began to miaow with terror, at which the audience burst into loud laughter and miaowed in unison. Moncrif, to add to his sorrows, was lampooned by the poet Roy, who, however, paid for his wit with a sound thrashing. Poor Roy was destined to the lash, for, having ventured to lampoon Clermont after his election, the prince had him unmercifully flogged in a public thoroughfare, and, to aggravate the insult, he had the punishment inflicted by a negro footman. Horse-whipping appeared to have been the method specially chosen by princes and noblemen to remind men of letters of their social inequality. On meeting Dancourt, a poet and actor, at supper, the Comte de Livry warned him—'Beware, my dear sir, if you show more wit than I do before the end of this repast, I shall give you a hundred strokes with my cane.' The following extract from Comte d'Argenson's memoirs is more characteristic still of the peculiar contrasts and the political shortsightedness of the most brilliant society that ever existed. 'Rousseau from Geneva,' says d'Argenson, 'an

agreeable writer, but imbued with some philosophical conceits, has said that men of letters should take vows of poverty, liberty, and truth. This speech put the Government against him, and being repeated in the private apartments of Versailles, the king exclaimed that he would do well to have Rousseau sent to Bicêtre. "It would serve him right," added the Comte de Clermont, "if he received a good thrashing." Despite its admission of such mediocrities as Moncrif, or of personages like Clermont whose only recommendation was his rank, the Academy towards the middle of the eighteenth century was regenerated by the genius of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists, the men who had 'some philosophical conceits,' and who were soon to exercise such a paramount influence not on the Academy only, but on the history of the civilised world. The election of the philosophers was due chiefly to the intrigues of their patrons or patronesses, in whose *salons* great artists, men of science and of letters poured forth the stores of their intellectual wealth, and lesser celebrities were petted and pampered in return for the charms of their conversation, or for a sonnet or a play in which the noble Mecænas was duly honoured and flattered. The whole atmosphere of Paris was literally redolent of literature and poetry. It was a continuous ebullition of the mind; it was an epidemic which affected every class. The martial song which recently electrified the audiences of the *cafés chantants* was a revival of the methods by which enthusiasm was then aroused about every political event. Every ministerial or parliamentary decree, every piece of social gossip or scandal, was at once wittily commented on in verses which were set to a popular tune, and sung at public and private entertainments. In this way public opinion was formed and expressed. The literary activity which at the beginning of the eighteenth century found an outlet in England partly in the writing of political pamphlets, in France gave birth to an innumerable amount of poems and plays and songs; though, were it not that many of these works were bound by the best binders, and illustrated by the best artists, and are now on that account sought for by bibliophiles, they would long ago have been consigned to oblivion. But their authors while they lived, save for an occasional flogging or insult, had little to complain of, and meekly bore the inveterate disdain of men of quality for the plebeian, for the man who lived by his brains.

The peculiar relations between the patron and his literary dependent are graphically depicted in the journal of Collé. Collé himself never sought Academical honours, though he was better qualified for them than many an 'immortal.' One of his plays at least has kept the stage, *Une partie de chasse de Henri IV.*, which he frankly confesses he adapted from Dodsley's *King and the Miller*. The whole of Collé's journal is flavoured with a cringing obsequiousness to his patrons,

combined with a mean contempt towards the actors who appeared in his plays, but we may gather one incident from it which is an exception to the general rule. Together with some of the most distinguished men of letters of his acquaintance, Collé had founded a society called the 'Caveau,' with the object of enjoying brilliant conversation over the pleasures of the table, and submitting for mutual criticism the new works which members had written. The meetings of the 'Caveau' became so famous that some gentlemen of the Court, bent on an hour's amusement, made up a party to pay it a visit. When they arrived they found the members just sitting down to dinner, and they were politely asked to join them, an invitation which they haughtily declined, and they remained standing, plainly showing by their demeanour that they expected the company to begin at once to amuse them. They were rebuked for their insolence by complete silence, and they had to leave without enjoying the entertainment they had anticipated. Owing to this unpleasant incident the society gave up its meetings, and it was shortly afterwards dissolved. Some of Collé's plays were written for the theatre at Berny, where he saw much of Clermont, who treated him with good-humoured familiarity. In one of these comedies Clermont thought fit to alter a scene or two. After having discussed the alteration for some time with the author, Clermont called it 'our' play, then went on to speak of it as 'my' play, and, by a simple process of delusion, finally assumed that he had written it all himself.

But we must now go back some years and show Clermont in a different light, and in circumstances which, though they may seem to be strangely at variance with his ecclesiastical character, still furnish an honourable episode in his life. To fight for their king had been from the earliest days of the monarchy the pride and privilege of the French nobility. But clerics (even lay clerics) were precluded from displaying their valour in the field, and with the exception of two cardinals they had obeyed this prohibition. The blood of the Condés tingled in the veins of Clermont, and he easily obtained a dispensation from the Pope enabling him to join the army; but after a brief stay in camp, he returned to the arms of his disconsolate Camargo, having merely succeeded in crippling himself by the costliness of his outfit and the extravagance of his entertainments under canvas. However, in 1744, when he served in Flanders under Marshal de Saxe, he started in earnest on his military career—at last the Abbé had found an occupation congenial to his nature and worthy of his name. He literally revelled in the life. The smell of gunpowder suited him far better than the perfume of incense, and the swearing of his troopers more than the chanting of his choir. At the siege of Menin, of Ypres, and of Furnes, he fought like a lion, and General de Beauveau was killed by his side. An unfortunate accident, typical

of the man, prevented him from gathering his share of the laurels of Fontenoy. He had been unable to resist the temptation of relating his exploits to Mdlle. Le Duc, and sprained his ankle while playing at battledore and shuttlecock with her at the Château of Berny. When he returned to the camp he was laid up with a slight illness, and to this circumstance we are indebted for a quaint illustration of the customs of belligerents in those days. During his illness his tent was in an exposed position, and Marshal de Saxe sent to the Archduke Charles to supply him with a guard. The Austrian commander-in-chief not only granted the request, but added an extra body of cavalry to ensure Clermont's safety. When Clermont was well enough to move he sent one of his officers to apprise the marshal of the fact. The French General set off under the protection of an Austrian escort, and on reaching the Marshal's tent he was dismayed to find that it was defended only by a guard of honour. Such was military etiquette in the eighteenth century; but these courtesies between princes in no way abated the terrors of war, or saved the people from being pillaged and oppressed both by friends and foes. For the next two years Clermont applied himself heart and soul to his military duties, and earned unqualified eulogies by their punctual discharge, and by his conduct in the field. In September 1746 he was nominally entrusted with the carrying on of the siege of Namur, though Marshal Lowendal virtually directed the operations. 'Sir,' wrote Marshal de Saxe to Clermont towards the end of the siege, 'my respect for your Serene Highness increases as you prove your zeal on behalf of the service of his Majesty; the skill and the spirit you display in conducting those interesting operations deserve my highest praise, and leave nothing to be desired.' 'To be praised by you,' replied the prince, 'gives me indeed a great opinion of myself.' The fall of Namur was followed by the victory of Raucoux, where Clermont again distinguished himself, and Raucoux by the fall of Antwerp. At this stage of the campaign five royal princes, who were serving with Clermont, considered that they had done enough for fame, and returned to their pleasures. But Clermont stayed on. 'It is but the princes who leave,' he replied on being asked whether he too was going. 'I remain.' These words were retailed in the streets of Paris, and Clermont became the hero of the day. After the victory of Lawfeld, which still further contributed to his fame, Clermont had reached the turning point of his career, that crucial period which occurs sooner or later in every life, when the crisis arises which tests the stuff of which a man is made. To him such an opportunity was now given. Berg-op-Zoom, the eighteenth-century Sebastopol, considered to be an impregnable fortress, was to be the next point of attack. The intoxication of success and the fumes of flattery had bewildered Clermont's brain, and had apparently

caused him to regard himself as a great general. He was anxious to conduct the operations, and on hearing that they had been entrusted to Marshal Lowendal, he threw up his commission and retired from the army. Had he been content to bide his time, to serve under an experienced general, and make himself thoroughly conversant with the technicalities of his profession, he might have performed a creditable, if not a leading, part in the history of his country, and might have been spared much sorrow and humiliation in later years. But the vices and the frivolity of his nature had only lain dormant for a while, subdued by the novelty of camp life and the excitement of personal danger. Before the end of the campaign he had already given evidence in some letters to his friends of the canker which had eaten into his soul, and which was bound to assert itself sooner or later with all its malignity. In one of these letters, which teem with trivialities, and the style of which defies description, he relates that he has purchased a pair of ravens the size of turkeys, that they are as black as moles, and are fighting with each other like devils. 'I shall have to put a stop to their fighting at once,' he says, 'as it altogether prevents me from telling you much that is of greater importance—though I can assure you that this to me is quite important enough.'

So Clermont returned to his château and his friends, to Mdlle. Le Duc and her satellites, and for the next ten years was entirely engrossed by his passion for the drama, showing even more zest in the management of his theatre than he had evinced in fighting in the trenches of Flanders. Private theatricals had been for some time, and remained until the fall of the monarchy, the chief amusement and occupation of French society. Clermont's aunt, the Duchesse du Maine, a person remarkable for the smallness of her size and the greatness of her ambition, had always found time to take a leading part in the entertainments in her theatre at Sceaux, which were carried out on the most elaborate scale. Voltaire and his friend, the Marquise du Châtelet, had been her constant guests, and the great philosopher not only wrote plays for her stage, but acted in them himself. To relieve the incurable *ennui* of the king, Mme. de Pompadour, who was an accomplished actress, danced in ballets, sang in operettas, and acted in comedies in the theatre at Versailles. Every great house in and near Paris had a stage of its own, where the ladies of the Court, assisted by professional members of the craft, displayed their beauty and histrionic skill. In default of a Voltaire, Collé, Laujon, and other writers of less note, were constantly employed in writing operas, comedies, ballets, and burlesques for the theatre of Berny, where, under the personal direction of Clermont, they were performed by a company in which the leading parts were filled by Clermont's former officers, by Mdlle. Le Duc

and her old colleagues, while Clermont's *aides-de-camp* acted as supernumeraries. The demand for tickets for these performances became so irksome that Clermont, in the end, for the convenience of his friends, moved his company to Paris, and set it up in a house in the Rue de la Roquette, close to the present jail of that name. Compared with the *petites maisons*, where men of fashion indulged their frolics under the shelter of a supposed incognito, La Roquette may have been considered a modest establishment, though the word modest could hardly be applied to the performances on its stage or to the theatre itself, which was as luxuriously and lavishly decorated as the most coquettish boudoir. At Berny, Molière's and Corneille's classical plays had occasionally furnished the programme, but at La Roquette it mainly consisted of burlesques of an obscene character. The fair leaders of society, wearing black masks to hide the blushes that probably never came, were furtively driven to La Roquette in dark grey chariots, by coachmen and with footmen out of livery, to witness these performances from dimly lit boxes. We further learn that in them an actress from the opera assumed the part of columbine, while that of harlequin fell to a descendant of the great Condé, a prince of the blood, the Comte de Clermont, the Abbé of St. Germain-des-Prés.

But the day of retribution was at hand. Ten years of extravagance had played havoc with Clermont's income and resources, and in 1757, with ruin staring him in the face, he was compelled to close his theatre and dismiss his company. Unfortunately for him, and still more for France, an important military command happened to be vacant at the time. France, through her alliance with Austria, had joined in the Seven Years' War, and had gratuitously involved herself in the task of fighting the greatest military genius of Europe. The Marshal d'Estrées had shown much experience and prudence in the Westphalian campaign of 1757, but in spite of his victory of Hastenbeck, was recalled and replaced by the Marshal de Richelieu, the favourite of the king and Mme. de Pompadour. Richelieu, on arriving at the seat of war, hastened, for reasons which have never been satisfactorily elucidated, to conclude the Convention of Kloster Zeven with the Duke of Cumberland, under which the allied armies were bound to disperse. Without waiting to see the Convention carried out, Richelieu left for another part of the scene of operations. Meanwhile, Marshal Soubise was ignominiously routed by Frederic the Great at Rosbach, and then the allies, elated with their success, repudiated the Convention. Richelieu was so ashamed of his carelessness that he asked for and obtained his recall. At this juncture Clermont applied to the king for the command of the army and it is impossible to decide which was the more astounding, the audacity of Clermont in making, or the criminal levity of the king in acceding

to, the request. The vainglorious conceit of Clermont can only be ascribed to the demoralising effect of his life, which blinded him to his incompetence as a general, and made him measure the capacity of his adversaries by that of his own set. He anticipated an easy progress from victory to victory, and looked forward to loot and plunder to retrieve his fortune.

Financially embarrassed as he was, he set out with a train of thirty-five post-horses, but on arriving at the seat of war he found the French army in a condition almost as hopeless as Falstaff's ragged regiment. He wrote to the king:—'I find your Majesty's army divided into three classes. The first is above ground, and consists of stragglers and thieves, all of whom are tattered from head to foot; the second is underground; and the third in hospital.' He then cynically inquires how he is to deal with the first of these classes, or whether he should wait until he joined the other two. As a matter of course Clermont was surprised by the enemy, and his best regiment cut to pieces. To make matters worse, he fell ill and found himself in the third category he had described to the king. For eighteen days no orders were given, no measures were taken, and nothing was done to ensure the safety of his troops. When he recovered from a sort of lethargic stupor, the only idea he could conceive was to destroy his artillery and throw his ammunition into the water. His army of 157,000 men met with a series of disasters, the result of his gross incapacity and negligence, and had dwindled down to 80,000, when at Creveld it came on the forces of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, which were but half that number. When the battle began, Clermont was at dinner, eating somewhat sulkily off pewter, as his silver plate, for fear of accident, had been sent back to Berny. Orderlies came hurrying into his tent to ask for instructions; but the commander-in-chief would not be disturbed at his meal. The result need hardly be told. The rout of Creveld ranks second only to that of Rosbach; and yet when Clermont returned to Versailles his sovereign graciously forbore from alluding to his mishap, merely inquired after his health, spoke at some length about the town of Cologne, and the election of the new Pope. But the public were less lenient, and scoffed at Clermont, and he was derided unmercifully in verse and song.

Henceforth he retired into private life, and only once again intervened in public affairs. The various parliaments of France had coalesced in opposition to the king, who had bidden them to sanction certain taxes which he desired to levy. All the princes of the blood, including Clermont, and with the single exception of the Comte de la Marche, drew up and signed a protest in support of the Parliaments; but the king's will was law. The members of the Parliaments were driven into exile or fined, and a new and more

obliging judicial body was called into existence, with Chancellor Maupeou at its head, to sanction the wanton expenditure of the king. Clermont's share in this protest was the last manifestation of his better nature, the last flicker before the candle went out. A few weeks after this event, in 1771, he died, preceding the king to the grave by three years.

Unlike Louis the Fifteenth, who up to the last continued to dishonour his name and his crown, Clermont spent the concluding years of his life hiding his shame and remorse under the now silent roof of Berny. Ruined, broken in health, disheartened by the failure of his most cherished hopes, disgusted with himself and the world, he sought and found in complete solitude, and in a bigoted attention to religious observances, if not a solace, yet a forgetfulness of his past. To set himself right with his conscience he went through a matrimonial ceremony with Mlle. Le Duc, or rather the Marquise de Tourvoie, as she chose to be called, from a small property Clermont had given her adjoining his own demesne.

To single out Clermont as an abnormal specimen of the caste to which he belonged would be unfair. A polished man of the world, but a libertine; a gallant soldier, but an incompetent general; a smart writer, but a sorry Academician; he was no worse if no better than others of his class, and fell a victim to the force of circumstances. It would be equally unfair to fasten the corruption of the governing classes on the country at large. The very exclusiveness of the aristocracy, the thraldom in which it held the Crown and the government, its jealous guardianship of its privileges and immunities, its greedy monopolisation of every resource and benefice and of every important diplomatic and military post, its blind ignorance of the drift of public opinion, were as many causes of its decay as they were influences in promoting the energy and power of the *Tiers-Etat*, and in rendering imperative a drastic reform of the whole system of administration. To cleanse such an Augean stable, to save the tottering fabric of the French monarchy on the death of Louis the Fifteenth and reconstruct it in harmony with modern ideas of popular right, even an administrative Hercules might have been incompetent, how much more so a princeling reared under the eyes of a Du Barry, in an atmosphere vitiated by a century of prejudice, folly, and corruption. When the collision occurred between the governors and the governed the weaker vessel necessarily foundered, though it would have been better for the fair fame of France had it not gone down in a storm of violence and in a sea of blood. The revolutionary cyclone swept away most of the memorials of those now ancient times. Of the Abbaye de St.-Germain-des-Prés nothing is left but the church, shorn of its charterhouse and chapels. The broad and busy Boulevard St. Germain, with its many tributaries, passes over the site of the monastery and its extensive pleasure grounds. Close

by the church stands the Abbey Palace, a massive structure of the end of the sixteenth century, but dilapidated and unkempt, and inclosed by clusters of dismal lodging-houses. It is now the abode of clinical and elementary schools, bric-à-brac dealers and impoverished gentlemen. The house in the Rue de la Roquette was transformed into a warehouse, and in 1847 was pulled down to make way for municipal improvements. Berny and Tourvoie were marked out for the Vandalism of 1793. A portion of a wing of the château still remains, but is disfigured by an uncouth plastering and a high chimney, and, to add insult to injury, it has been converted into a steam mill. The shrubberies, gardens, and ornamental waters have disappeared. In the avenue some trees linger on, but cattle sheds line the road. Berny grinds flour, and Tourvoie bakes bricks. Thus, mutilated and degraded, the larger and the lesser château are made to share the present struggle for life, and expiate in compulsory labour the frivolities of their past.

FERDINAND ROTHSCHILD.

DARWIN'S LATEST CRITICS.

IT is always pleasant to read anything that is written by the Bishop of Carlisle, because it is sure to be actuated by good feeling rendered in clear style. At the same time, when he deals with such subjects as 'Darwinism,' there is equally sure to be evidence of such a want of grasp as belongs to the hand of an amateur. And inasmuch as his recent review in these pages of Mr. Wallace's last book is not free from this defect, I think the occasion is a suitable one for considering in a popular way some of the more popular 'difficulties' regarding the theory of natural selection which he has reproduced.

'In the first place,' he says, 'objection may be taken to the phrase, *the fittest survive*.' And his objections are these. First, he says, 'fitness implies something of moral superiority.' But does it? Etymologically, to be fit means to be made; hence, to be suitably made, or adapted. And, in accordance with this originally passive signification, the term is primarily applicable to things inanimate. We may properly speak of a key as fitted to a lock, without implying that we regard the key as virtuous. Moreover, even with respect to things animate, ethical qualities are the very last to which the term comes to be applied. We more primitively speak of a man as fit to dig than we do of a man as fit to die; for in the former case we have reference to his *make* (he is suited to such work as a key to the unlocking of a lock); while in the latter case we have reference to his *making*, or to the thing which, as our words here imply, we believe him to have *made*—i.e. his *character*. All this, however, is merely a verbal quibble; and if the Bishop does not like Mr. Herbert Spencer's term 'survival of the fittest,' he is quite at liberty to substitute any other, such as *survival of the best adapted*. But, in the second place, he says,

> It is not difficult to suggest examples in which the expression *survival of the fittest* manifestly breaks down. Sir Isaac Newton was, as is well known, a very delicate child, difficult to rear. Suppose that Newton and a powerful navvy, or coal porter, or grenadier, had been compelled to rough it as children at Dotheboys Hall, or some similar institution, which would have survived? Not Newton; and yet it may be fairly argued that in many respects he would have been the fittest.

Now, without question, in many respects Newton would have been the fittest; but, as the above argument itself shows, these respects would not have been those which had reference to survival in such an institution as Dotheboys Hall. In the phrase 'survival of the fittest,' we must of course understand 'the fittest' *in relation to given surroundings*, and this with exclusive reference to *survival* in a struggle for *existence*. Newton's superior fitness in the 'respects' of intellectual endowment would have had no reference to a struggle for life in such an environment as that supposed. Only when the environment was changed, so that the struggle for existence should have reference to the fitness supplied by such endowment, could it be possible that this particular kind of fitness would determine survival. And as regards that new environment—to wit, the 'institution' known as the University of Cambridge—the Bishop of Carlisle must be one of the very last men to underrate the severity of a struggle for existence, which in his time imposed the ordeal of selection in such a form that only one of the fittest could possibly survive as the Senior Wrangler of his year. In short, wherever the question is a question of survival, it is obvious that the qualities wherein the fitness consists must be taken to be the qualities which are best fitted to the conditions of the struggle: it may *not* be 'fairly argued' that the race ought to be to the strong, and the battle to the swift.

Again, it is said,

> In the case of not a few creatures which have survived, it is difficult to give any good reason for their survival, except upon the assumption of their fitness, as proved by the very fact of their survival. Thus their fitness leads to their survival, and this survival leads to the conclusion that they must have been the fittest. Which is arguing in a circle.

But this is *not* arguing in a circle. If it be a fact beyond question (and this is allowed) that 'their fitness leads to their survival,' then the fact of their survival legitimately 'leads to the conclusion that they must have been the fittest.' As thus presented, indeed, the 'arguing' might be accused of tautology (fitness is the condition to survival: *ergo*, survival is conditioned by fitness), but not of circular reasoning; and, if the presentation implies anything, it is that the Bishop regards the fundamental doctrine of 'Darwinism' as self-evident. And this, I take it, is substantially his real opinion; for in the next paragraph he says, 'natural selection is a *vera causa*; the question is, What is the extent of its action? how much can it do?'

Turning next to this question the writer proceeds to adduce the following difficulties which have occurred to him while reading Mr. Wallace's book. 'I confess that I have never been able to perceive how the principle [natural selection] can be brought to bear upon

such phenomena as the architecture of insects—for example, that of bees and wasps.' For, he says, there is a difficulty 'in conceiving the original start of insects in the direction of architecture; and, secondly, in perceiving the connection between good architects and survival in the struggle for existence.' But in the *Origin of Species* Mr. Darwin has been at elaborate pains to anticipate both these questions, devoting an unusually large proportion of his space to a consideration of the cell-making instincts, and showing how, in different species of bees and wasps, there is a beautiful gradation from virtually 'the original start' through increasing 'economy' to 'the geometrical skill' in question. Moreover, he shows very clearly that economy of such precious material as wax must be a matter of no small importance in the struggle for existence between competing hives of the same species. Now, the Bishop of Carlisle does not allude to any of these facts and considerations; but merely asks, 'Can we get over these difficulties?' To the best of my judgment, Mr. Darwin has already got over them; but if anybody thinks otherwise, let him state wherein he supposes Mr. Darwin to have failed.

Precisely the same remarks apply to what the Bishop says with reference to protective colouring and mimicry; until he gives his reasons for dissenting from Mr. Darwin's treatment of the identical 'difficulties' which he adduces, there is no basis for discussion. Passing on, therefore, to what he urges with regard to the horse and its geological pedigree, he allows 'we are sure that *orohippus* has rightly been improved off the face of the earth in order to make room for *equus*; all this is, in the best sense of the phrase, in accordance with the principle of the survival of the fittest.' 'But,' he continues, 'I confess that I find it difficult to realise the transformation of *orohippus* into *equus* upon the pure and simple notion of advantageous variations in the struggle for life; for, in truth, if the question be one of mere survival, it is difficult to say, when the earth was inhabited by wild creatures, in what manner the possession of one toe instead of three or four should give *equus* any advantage over *orohippus*.' Now here, even more than in the previous cases, if he had referred to the literature of the subject, the Bishop would have found that there is no 'difficulty' at all. The monodactyl type of foot is greatly superior to the polydactyl where 'fitness' has reference to swift locomotion over the hard and level ground of open plains, to which 'environment' the whole organisation of the existing genus has clearly been gradually adapted. Therefore, if 'one can quite understand that a jury of Newmarket jockeys would decide that *equus* was fittest to survive,' I am quite unable to comprehend why 'in the absence of human judgment the conclusion is not so easy to reach.' Does the Bishop suppose that a jury of Newmarket jockeys have a better eye to the points of a horse in respect of 'fitness' than

is furnished by the ever-watchful vigilance of natural selection? If so, he and Darwin are on such totally different lines of thought, that it seems useless to hope they can ever be brought together.

And so it is with the next paragraph. For example:

> May it not be, then, that the Eocene period of creation presented a condition of things out of which a higher condition was evolved, not simply by the perpetuation of advantageous variation, but much more by virtue of an internal principle of growth, similar to, or at least comparable with, the principle which develops the fœtus or which transforms tadpoles and caterpillars?

Does the present critic of 'Darwinism' suppose that Darwin invoked any transcendental 'principle' in order to explain the transformation of tadpoles and caterpillars into frogs and butterflies? Or does he think that Darwinists suppose any other 'principle' than natural selection to have been concerned in the fœtal history of an individual horse, when this is regarded by them as a necessary outcome of the whole ancestral history of the horse-like pedigree which the fœtus recapitulates?

To my mind the only 'difficulty' raised by such criticisms is that of understanding how they ever came to be regarded as criticisms at all. And this remark is not intended to apply invidiously or particularly to the Bishop of Carlisle: it is merely an honest expression of wonder at the generality of the misconceptions which are still so prevalent regarding the first principles of 'Darwinism.' Thus, for example, the pages of *Nature* have recently been burdened by a renewal of an already threadbare controversy upon a point which the Bishop touches, where he says:

> It is certainly difficult to conceive of chance as being a principal factor, say, in the production of a horse . . . The philosopher may still say, How comes it that the advantageous variations should occur? Must not this occurrence be the result of some pre-established principle or law of development?

Here we have the Duke of Argyll's doctrine of 'prophetic germs;' and seeing that he has presented it more clearly as well as uncompromisingly than anybody else, I may appropriately devote a few words to what he has said upon it. The argument as presented by the Duke is as follows:—

> If the doctrine of evolution be true, then it follows of necessity that the primeval germs must have contained potentially the whole succeeding series. Moreover, if that series has been developed gradually and very slowly, it follows also, as a matter of necessity, that every modification of structure must have been functionless at first, when it began to appear. . . . Things cannot be selected until they have been first produced; nor can any structure be selected by utility in the struggle for existence until it has not only been produced, but has been so far perfected as to be actually used.

Now, this argument is at fault both in its premiss and in its conclusion. The premiss is not true; and, even if it were, the conclusion would not, as alleged, necessarily follow.

First, as to the premiss, it is not true that every modification must necessarily be functionless, when it first begins to appear. There are two very good reasons why such should not be the case in all instances, even if it should happen to be the case in some. Take, for example, what is perhaps the most wonderful instance of refined mechanism in nature—the eye of a vertebrated animal. Comparative anatomy and embryology combine to testify that this organ had its origin in modifications of the endings of the ordinary nerves of the skin. Now it is evident that, from the very first, any modification of a cutaneous nerve whereby it was rendered capable, in however small a degree, of being differently affected by light and by darkness, would be of benefit to the creature presenting it; for the creature would thus be able to seek the one, and shun the other, according to the requirements of its life. And, being thus useful from the very moment of its inception, the structural variation would afterwards be improved, stage by stage, as variations of more and more utility presented themselves, until not only would finer and finer degrees of difference between light and shade become perceptible, but even the outlines of solid bodies would begin to be appreciated, and so on, stage by stage, till from an ordinary nerve-ending in the skin is evolved the eye of an eagle.

Again, in the second place, and still having regard to the Duke's premiss, it very often happens that an organ which began by being useful for the performance of one function, after having been fully evolved for the performance of that function, finds itself, so to speak, accidentally fitted to the performance of some other and even more important function, which it thereupon begins to discharge, and so to undergo a new course of adaptive development. In such cases, of course, and so far as the new function is concerned, there is no difficulty arising from the first inception of the organ; for here the organ has already been built up for one purpose before it begins to discharge the other. For instance, the lung of an air-breathing animal was originally a swim-bladder, or float; and as such it was of use to the aquatic ancestors of terrestrial animals, in the same way as it still continues to be to numberless species of fish. But as these aquatic ancestors gradually become more and more amphibious in their habits, the swim-bladder began more and more to discharge the functions of a lung, and so to take a wholly new point of departure as regards its developmental history. But obviously there is here no difficulty at all as regards the inception of its new function, because the organ was already well developed for one purpose before it began to discharge another. Or, to take only one additional example out of hundreds that might be adduced, I suppose there are few structures in the animal kingdom so remarkable in respect of adaptation as is the wing of a bird or a bat; and at first sight it might well appear that a wing could be of no conceivable use until it had already

acquired enormous proportional dimensions, as well as an immense amount of special elaboration with respect to general form, size of muscle, amount of blood-supply, and so on. For, obviously, not until it had attained all these things could it ever begin to raise the animal in the air. But, now, observe how fallacious is this argument. Although it is perfectly true that a wing could be of no use *as a wing* until sufficiently developed to serve the purposes of flight, this is merely to say that until it has become a wing it is of no use as a wing. But it does not follow, 'as a matter of necessity,' that it was of no use for any other purpose. The first modifications of the fore-limb, which ended in its becoming an organ of flight, may very well have been due to adopting it as an organ for increasing rapidity of locomotion of other kinds—whether on land, as in the case of its now degenerated form in the ostrich, or in water, as in the case of the greatly expanded pectoral fins of the so-called flying-fish. Moreover, in the so-called flying squirrels we find the limbs united to the body by means of large extensions of the skin, so that when jumping from one tree to another the animal is able to sustain itself through a long distance in the air by merely spreading out its limbs after the manner of a parachute. Here, of course, we have not yet got a true wing, any more than we have in the case of the flying-fish; but we have the foundations laid for the possible development of a future wing somewhat upon the pattern which has been so wonderfully perfected in the wing of a bat. And through all the stages of progressive expansion which the skin of the squirrel (or the fin of the flying-fish) has undergone, the expansion has been of use, even though as yet the organ has not so much as begun to acquire the distinctive functions of a wing. Here, then, there is obviously nothing 'prophetic' in the matter, any more than there was in the case of the swim-bladder and the lung, or in that of the nerve-ending and the eye.

So much for the Duke's premiss—viz. that 'every modification of structure must have been functionless at first, when it began to appear.' This premiss is clearly opposed to observable fact. But, now, the second position is that, even if such were not so, the Duke's conclusion would not follow. This conclusion is, that if incipient structures are useless, natural selection can have had no part whatever in their inception. Now this conclusion does not 'necessarily' follow; for Mr. Darwin has shown, in considerable detail, that all parts of any given organism are so intimately bound together, or so mutually dependent, that when one part is caused to change, some other parts are very likely to undergo modification in consequence. This principle in organic nature is known as the correlation of growth; and, without waiting to give special examples of its occurrence, it is evident that in it we may find a conceivable explanation of the origin of such adaptive structures as could not have been originated by natural selection acting directly on the first beginnings of these

structures themselves: their first beginnings may have been due to natural selection developing other adaptive structures elsewhere in the organism; and, if so, when once started in this way, the correlated structures, whenever they happened to prove of any use, would themselves have come under the *direct* action of natural selection, and so have had their further evolution determined with or without the correlated association which first led to their origin by the *indirect* action of natural selection. Hence, it does *not* follow, 'as a matter of necessity,' that even structures which at first *are* functionless cannot be developed by utility in the struggle for existence 'until they have been so far perfected as to be actually used,' and this is the only point with which we are now concerned.

I think, then, that these considerations effectually dispose of the doctrine of 'prophetic germs'—at all events to the extent of exposing the faultiness of the logic in which the doctrine has been presented. But with reference to a kindred difficulty, or that which arises from the presumably frequent—as distinguished from the necessarily universal—uselessness of incipient organs, I should here like to make one further statement of greater generality than any which has hitherto been advanced. This statement is that we ought to remember how large a stock of meaningless changes must be always arising in the course of specific modification, not only by correlations of growth, which we have just been considering, but also by the direct action of external conditions, together with the constant play of all the many and complex forces internal to organisms themselves.[1] In other words, important as the principle of correlation undoubtedly *is*, we must remember that even this is far from being the only principle which is concerned in the origination of structures that may or may not chance to prove useful. Therefore it is not only natural selection when operating indirectly through the correlation of growth that is competent to produce new structures without reference to utility. In all the complex action and reaction of internal and external forces, new variations are perpetually arising without any reference to future possibilities in the way of usefulness. Among all this multitude of promiscuous variations, the chances must be that some small percentage shall prove of some small service, either from the first moment of their appearance, or else after they have been developed to some extent through the continued operation of the causes which first originated them. Now, it is only these variations that are afterwards wrought up by natural selection into adaptive structures, or working organs; and, therefore, what we see in organic nature is the net

[1] I present this consideration to those naturalists who depart from Darwin, and follow Wallace, in holding that all specific characters must necessarily be useful. In supporting this unwarrantable dogma, they are greatly strengthening the objection to Darwinism which arises from the inutility of incipient characters, as is apparent from the above argument.

outcome of the development of such happy chances in the way of variation. Thus it comes that the appearance presented by organic nature as a whole is that of a continual fulfilment of structural prophecies, when, in point of fact, if we had a similar record of all the other variations, it would be found that not one such prophecy in a thousand is ever destined to be fulfilled.

Of course if the question were with regard to the conceivable use, or the conceivable correlation, of any *particular* adaptive structures or organs at the time 'when they first began to appear,' the chosen instances would require to be considered upon their own merits; and the issue would then no longer be one having regard to general principles, but merely to special cases: the ground of discussion would no longer be logical, but biological. Such cases, however, have not been adduced either by the Bishop or the Duke; and therefore nothing more remains to be said upon this branch of their common criticism.

Both these critics of Darwinism, however, further agree in deprecating the idea of 'fortuity' as attaching to variation. But this head of 'objection,' although a very popular one, rests upon a mere misconception. When Darwinists speak of variations as arising 'fortuitously,' 'spontaneously,' 'by chance,' or 'by accident,' they do not mean—any more than Darwin meant—that they arise without adequate causes. What they mean is that in such cases the causes are 'accidental' in relation to any utility which may subsequently arise as a consequence. The ambiguity might perhaps be removed if we were to employ, more habitually than we do, the word 'promiscuous,' which would better convey the meaning of variations perpetually occurring in all directions, instead of in the 'predetermined' directions of the Bishop, or the 'prophetic' directions of the Duke. The idea of variations as thus occurring only – or even chiefly—with any antecedent reference to utility, is not sustained by observation in any one department of organic nature; while the endless modifications which a cumulative artificial selection is able to produce in our domesticated plants and animals, in almost any direction that may be required, is a standing and incontrovertible proof of the very opposite—viz. that variation does not occur in predetermined lines, but promiscuously in all directions. Therefore it ceases to be apparent that 'the philosopher may still say, How comes it that advantageous variations arise?' It comes because it would be nothing short of a 'pre-established' miracle if they did *not* arise. If among ten thousand variations in as many different ways there were not one which could be of the smallest advantage, then indeed 'the philosopher' might say, How comes it that advantageous variations should *never* arise?

A careful reading of the Bishop's article will show that only two other points remain to be considered. The first refers to the origin

of man, and the second to what he says touching my own theory of physiological selection.

With respect to the origin of man, he says:—

> The most striking and interesting feature of Mr. Wallace's book, from what I may describe as the *human* point of view, is to be found in that part of his work in which he denies, and (as he believes) proves himself to be justified in denying, the application of the principle of natural selection to the evolution of the human faculties. This denial is a fact of the first order of magnitude; and I confess that I can see no ground for the language of strong depreciation in which Professor Romanes, in the article already referred to, describes this portion of Mr. Wallace's book. . . . No argument in the article justifies this condemnation . . .

Now, first of all to set myself right as regards this personal matter, I may remark that there were two reasons why, in the article referred to, I abstained from arguing the point in question. Not long before the appearance of that review I had published a book on *Mental Evolution in Man*, where the question of the 'Origin of Human Faculty' was dealt with at greater length and in more detail than it has been by any other writer. Of course the Bishop of Carlisle may deem my analysis of this question a failure, or perhaps he may not have read it; but if he has ever so much as seen it, one might have supposed he would have readily understood that in reviewing Mr. Wallace's book I had nothing further to say upon 'the evolution of human faculties.' Again, in the second place, so different was my estimate of Mr. Wallace's treatment of this subject from that which is expressed by the Bishop, that my respect for Mr. Wallace as a naturalist prevented me from dealing with what appeared to me—as it has appeared to so many other evolutionists—his deplorable weakness as a 'philosopher.' It is in the concluding chapter of his book, much more than in any of the others, that we encounter the Wallace of spiritualism and astrology, the Wallace of vaccination and the land question, the Wallace of incapacity and absurdity. The other Wallace—the Wallace of natural selection and geographical distribution, the Wallace of travel and observation, the Wallace of ingenuity and originality—we all agree in admiring. Therefore it was that in my review I devoted my space to considering the man of science, and refused to follow him where he became the man of nonsense.

In one part of his book—that which treats of hybridism—the essential elements of these two individuals blend, so as themselves to constitute a hybrid of the most extraordinary character. And here we touch the last point in the Bishop's article which still remains to be considered—viz. Mr. Wallace's opinions on the theory of physiological selection.

In January 1888 I published in this Review an answer to the criticisms which Mr. Wallace and others had, up to that time, advanced against this theory. In his *Darwinism*, Mr. Wallace now

reproduces his former criticisms, while totally ignoring my former answer to them. But this is the least remarkable part of his analysis. For, besides reproducing, with scarcely any alteration, his previous criticisms, without attempting to deal with my previous replies to them, he furnishes what he presents as an alternative theory to explain the same class of facts. *Yet this theory is purely and simply, without any modification whatsoever, a re-statement of the first principles of physiological selection, as these were originally stated by myself.* So that while on the one hand he professes, as the Bishop of Carlisle observes, the most uncompromising hostility to my views upon this subject, on the other hand he adopts these views *in toto*, and presents them as his own. A performance so remarkable on its literary, as well as on its scientific side, can only be explained to my mind by having regard to the dual character of my critic's—for I do not in the least suppose that his criticism is other than perfectly honest, or his plagiarism other than wholly unconscious. This is not a suitable occasion upon which to display in detail Mr. Wallace's complete adoption of my theory; but when this shall have been done elsewhere—probably within the present year—I will supply a separate article, which may serve the double purpose of furnishing a very remarkable psychological study, and of showing the readers of this Review the final outcome in Mr. Wallace's mind of the criticism which was first presented to their notice more than two years ago.

GEORGE J. ROMANES.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

To begin with the expected quotation, 'Give me the making of the people's songs, and I care not who makes the laws.' This saying has been a thousand times quoted, but not always, perhaps, in a sense accordant with its author's meaning. He may have meant that the man who makes the people's songs can make or unmake the law-makers; and if that was the assertion, no doubt there was a great deal of truth in it. But the poet has always given himself a higher place than he assigns to the legislator; legislation is merely a function of what we call magistracy; and beyond that there are vast fields of influence more fertile and more lasting. Yet whatever 'Fletcher of Saltoun' may have intended by the saying he is best remembered by, it is true that for a long stretch of time ballad-makers and song-writers were the only inspirers and spokesmen of the people in affairs political. It was they who gave voice to popular criticism, popular discontent, popular rejoicing; every mood of passion being embodied with a condensation of force and feeling to which the raillery or the sadness of music added its own irresistible significance. The tract for the few who could read, the song for the many who could not. That was the order of things till about the time when it was no longer necessary to distinguish one shop from another by hanging a sign from the door. Then began the reign of the public journal; and soon afterwards Fletcher's saying was superseded by another less romantic and more unequivocal. Now it was said that the one almighty engine of power was the Press.

This we still hear; but it is pretty well understood on all hands that there is not so much truth in the pretension nowadays as there used to be. But if the influence of the press is less vigorous, less sweeping and immediate than at some periods of the present century, it is not because it works in a shrunken sphere, or has lost its freedom, or speaks with fewer voices. In our own time the number of newspapers and newspaper readers has increased at a prodigious rate. When a certain journal was founded on plans of mine and under my guidance, and even when that journal had achieved a considerable notoriety, the whole issue of the London newspaper press of an evening did not amount to twenty thousand copies: I doubt

whether it amounted to fifteen. Just before then the evening press —which was prosperous enough in the earlier years of the century— had suffered so grave a decline that it had almost gone out of existence; though meanwhile the morning press had increased largely, both in volume and in power. One or two evening newspapers had died out altogether, these including the cheapest and by no means the least attractive from any point of view. Whether more than one evening journal survived at that period I forget; but, according to report, the one that had gone on from the year 1803, and still goes on with a great accumulation of patronage, did not sell a thousand copies when my little paper was started in 1866; but then the price of the octogenarian was three times what it is now. At the present day, seven evening papers are published in London, and the aggregate sale of them every afternoon cannot fall short of three hundred thousand copies in the dullest times, and is probably much larger even when no great excitement occurs to double the number. The difference is enormous, and it is not accounted for by any diminution in the sale of morning papers. On the contrary, the aggregate circulation of these journals has expanded vastly, while some additions have been made to their number. There are local journals in existence—parish journals, so to speak—with a larger circulation than some of the greater London newspapers enjoyed thirty years ago; and though these are published weekly for the most part, they must still be reckoned in. So likewise must the cheap weekly journals devoted to general news and the discussion of public affairs, which distribute hundreds of thousands of sheets all over the country from London, where before they printed tens.

When we turn from this spectacle of journalistic advancement to the provincial press, the multiplication of newspapers and newspaper reading appears yet more of a prodigy. Not many years since, nearly the whole of the country was supplied with morning newspapers from London. Here and there, indeed, some very respectable prints were published daily in the great provincial towns; but they were comparatively few, and none were regarded by their readers as of much authority. Some weight the best of them may have had, but, taken generally, it may be said of them without injustice that, in relation to the great London journals, they stood in much the same position as the local metropolitan papers stand to the same prints to-day. All that has changed. The greater London journals are still the best, not only in these islands but in the world. Not that they are the best in every particular. They are not better written, not so well written on the whole, as some French and some German journals. Judged by literary standards alone, the finer qualities o political disquisition are more constantly found in half a dozen foreign newspapers than in any that are published at home, where we lack the terseness, the clearness, the brilliancy of expression,

the weight of intention, which frequently adorn and invigorate the work of continental journalists. The difference is yet more clearly seen, perhaps, in some other departments of criticism—dramatic criticism for example. But when other qualities are taken into account—knowledge, independence, scope and variety of information—the London newspapers are unequalled.

Nevertheless, the difference between them and the bettermost provincial papers is diminishing at a rapid rate, and is likely to become inconsiderable before many years are past. As it is, the citizens of Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other great towns have no such need of a *Times* or a *Standard* as they had in the last generation; especially as their own papers supply them not only with abundant general news and the comment of good writers, but with a daily budget of information useful for local business which cannot be found elsewhere. It might be supposed, therefore, that the circulation of newspapers published for the country at large (as the greater London prints are) would become narrowed; that, at any rate, its expansion would be sensibly checked, and of course it is impossible to say how much it has been limited to the home counties by provincial rivalry. But the point for observation is that the London press speaks by hundreds of thousands of mouths more than it did five-and-twenty years ago, though meanwhile a dozen daily prints have risen to distinction in as many great cities, and perfectly satisfy nine-tenths of their inhabitants.

I say a dozen, speaking of the more important of them only. But if we look for a moment to the statistics of newspaper progress, we shall see that, whereas no more than twelve daily journals were printed in the United Kingdom fifty years ago, the total number is now a hundred and eighty; and the whole circulation of the twelve, *Times* included, did not nearly equal the sale of two popular journals of to-day. In all, 2,200 newspapers are now published, and 470 of them are issued from London alone—a greater number than sufficed for the whole population of the three kingdoms at the time of the Corn-law agitation.

II.

After glancing at these figures, we may proceed to ask whether it is true that while the scope of newspaper influence has widened so prodigiously it has become less powerful? There are reasons why we should hesitate to say that it has, and many considerations must be taken into account before answering the question. One thing, however, seems clear without much argument. The influence of newspaper writing in political affairs has not increased proportionately with its scope, or anything like it. The public journals have a

million readers where they had only a few thousands at the beginning of the century; but it is doubtful whether they have as much power over the public mind or the conduct and decision of affairs. To speak my own mind frankly, I question whether a single journal—the *Times*—had not more authority of that kind in the days of Palmerston than the whole body of the press exerts at this moment. At any rate, the condition of things has changed so much that there are strong reasons for thinking so, even apart from this important fact: down to Palmerston's time the machinery of Government was more limited, more compact, more capable of being influenced immediately by any single powerful agency than in these days of diffused and confused authority. It is something to the purpose, too, that the discussion of public affairs proceeded upon simpler lines then than it does now: simpler, fewer, and more direct. Social problems were as numerous in the egg, no doubt; but they were in the egg. Of course I mean that for the most part they were in this condition. That extremely baleful creature, the faddist, had not arisen to start cross-currents of perversity in every stream of political action. The 'questions of the day' were much less confused, presenting themselves to all concerned—public, press, and ministers alike—with fewer complexities of consideration than have since been introduced into the whole range of public affairs. Obviously this was a great advantage to the journalist, whose business it is to go straight to the main points of the question in hand, and who is lost if he has to run into a dozen 'side issues' after as many several packs of readers.

That, however, is but one thing. A more obvious reason for suspecting that the influence of the press has declined is that the multiplication of clamorously competitive newspapers has ended in a babel more tiresome than impressive, so far as the general reader is concerned. It is needless to dwell upon that point. Evidently, where one voice speaks with a more sonorous eloquence and a more commanding authority than all the rest, there will be eager listeners, and by such a voice the majority may be persuaded. But when twenty preachers at Paul's Cross are working away at once, expounding four different doctrines with a nearly equal noise and with no vast preponderance of ability in any pulpit, the case is altered. One Mr. Gladstone, one Lord Randolph Churchill, one Mr. Chamberlain always on the platform might be not only interesting but weighty. But what if there were ten of each, all a-shout every day? It may be a mistake, but I do not think the influence of the ten would be as great as the influence of the one.

When the *Times* was most mighty as a political force, there were fewer journalistic pulpits in London, and fewer still (by comparison) in the rest of the country. But that is not all. At that date the journalistic pulpits were filled by men of singular ability. The

papers were not written as well as they are now; the rugged force of them was vastly too rugged; but they were commanded by men with remarkable gifts for the business. There has been no great Government without a great man in it, and there never will be. Making all due allowance, it is the same thing in the newspaper office as in the cabinet. Ten men of high and equal ability in either place are not equal to nine mediocrities and one man of transcendent genius. It would be so, probably, if the mediocrities remained on their original level; but it is the privilege of genius—as in the case of the inspired artisan—to draw from inferior tools a capability which their very makers might marvel at. Though he works in a lower sphere, much the same qualities are needed in a newspaper editor as in a minister of state; and the same law of nature provides that they shall be as rarely found in the one as in the other. Ability? there is no lack of it in any walk of life. Genius? Quite another thing.

Now it happens that the *Times* was very lucky in this particular; though in saying that we are attributing to luck, perhaps, an advantage that was largely due to proprietorial discrimination. But however that may be, the *Times* in its younger days had the good fortune to be served in succession by two or three men with as complete a genius for their calling as any British statesmen that can be named. Two, at any rate, came very near together: Mr. Barnes and the late Mr. Delane. According to all that can be gathered in this humble field of inquiry, the equal of either was Mr. Perry of the *Morning Chronicle*, which in his time was the most powerful journal of the day. But Mr. Perry seems to have had no successor of equal parts; and by-and-by the influence of the *Morning Chronicle* waned to a shadow, though it could never have boasted a more brilliant or more capable staff of writers than towards the end of its days. It was from the genius, the personality of Mr. Barnes that the extraordinary power of the *Times* first sprang—or so I make out; and it was confirmed and extended to its utmost point by Mr. Delane. This gentleman had not his equal in Europe during the whole of a long career; nor has any one neared him since. He was not a very capable writer in the literary sense, I believe; but I have seen letters of his, fifteen or twenty lines long, with the whole pith of a policy in each, together with full suggestions for its complete development. I speak without exaggeration, but not without a return of the wonder (being in the same line of business myself) with which I viewed those amazing little papers of instruction. Now the clearness of view; the firm, pouncing grasp; above all, the prompt discernment of essentials which these briefs betrayed, are amongst the most useful of all editorial qualities. But there are others much more rare and not so easily accounted for. Just as there are men who are able to tell before they lift their heads from

their pillows of a morning which way the wind is blowing, so there are a few, apparently, who without moving a mile from home, or talking with a dozen men, or any ravening study of private letters and public journals, feel in themselves every change and portent of change in the current of common thought. 'Feel it in themselves': that is probably the account of it which they would render, with the addition that, though for a while they hesitated to rely upon their own barometrical indications, experience soon gave them a confidence that was rarely disturbed by mistake. To the Statesman this is an invaluable quality. Without it his wisdom is sorely crippled; indeed, it is doubtful whether any minister can become truly great and successful in a country like ours if this one little gift of genius has been denied him. It is of precisely the same importance to the newspaper editor; and no newspaper editor ever had it in greater fulness or more perfect readiness than Mr. Delane, though one or two of his predecessors seem to have shared it largely.

It appears, then, that the power of the press depends in some degree on the presence in journalism of one or two really great journalists; and it does so for this reason, amongst others too obvious to need mentioning. None are more strongly impressed by a man of that sort than the sensitive brethren of his craft. His influence is felt not only by the little group of scribes his colleagues, but in every newspaper office in the kingdom; and, by the strength and warmth of it, raises the power of the whole machine. No half-dozen merely able, though very able, editors, such as the newspaper press may boast of now, can do as much; and there has been no genius of an editor in England since the decline of Mr. Delane. In the North there was one at about the same time, Mr. Alexander Russel of the *Scotsman*: he, too, dead these many years.

Here, then, are some good reasons to account for a diminished 'power of the Press' in public affairs, and at least one other may be added. In the fresh heyday of newspaper influence, it used to be said with half-humorous exaggeration that the press had superseded Parliament. It might be averred with equal truth nowadays that the platform is superseding both. These changes naturally accompany the shiftings of political power from plane to plane. What we see, at any rate, is daily resort to 'the stump' by men who knew little more of it a few years ago than its contemptuous designation. Public meetings and public speeches are now believed to have more influence over the common mass of opinion and sentiment than any similar machinery; and much may be said in favour of the belief. For one thing, the multiplication of news-sheets means a multiplication of speech-reporters; and the reporters no longer scribble for a few thousand readers, but for hundreds of thousands. The political great man who, at small expenditure of

time, speeds to some provincial capital and there lifts an audience five thousand strong into a state of high sympathetic enthusiasm, does a good night's work. But the full extent of it appears next morning, when his words are printed in scores of newspapers and scanned by millions of readers in every part of the country. With so many fine orations to read, all hot from the lips of the most knowing and distinguished politicians, what more natural than that editorial remark should fall flatter than it used to fall on the public mind? This much is certain, at any rate: the babel is increased; it is increased enormously; and those who listen to its noise must naturally incline to exhaust their attention on its more authoritative voices, which have the further advantage of a distinct and engaging personality behind them.

This brings us in view of another change of habit which tells in the same direction: the contribution of signed articles to Reviews like that in which these pages appear. Just as men of the highest authority and the highest station speak to the public from the platform as they rarely condescended to do in times past, so they take pen in hand and write straight for the press under their own names. Others, below the rank of statesmanship, but known men of weight, do the same thing. The advantages and disadvantages of 'signed articles' we may discuss later on. Here we may simply note that attention is more immediately and closely drawn to these papers (by personal interest and curiosity) than to writing of equal or superior merit published anonymously. That kind of writing, indeed, they help to put into the shade; except where its authorship is pretty well known, and known to be worthy of regard.

There are other things to account for a decline which I for one do not doubt, though it will probably be denied by men quite as capable of judging of the matter. But if we look to the press itself, I think we shall detect in it a consciousness of lost influence in political affairs, or, at any rate, of a less eager attention to its political discussions and debatings. With here and there an exception—almost always in the case of journals in the hands of ardent, independent politicians who address themselves to a limited though influential set of readers—there is an obviously diminishing dependence on political commentary for a hearing: or perhaps I should say, for customers. On the other hand, there is a fast-widening, a contented, and even a glorified dependence on the common taste for gossip, and especially for gossip of the 'personal' kind. It is conceded by many practitioners in the press that the discussion of public business has become very much of a bore, and must give way to a lively demand for matters of 'human interest'; an interest which culminates in curiosity about the private affairs of other people. But of course that is not all. The change is accounted for in other ways. A greater variety of interests, a greater extension and division of

curiosity—so natural to the growth of a community like our own—explains it in considerable measure. But while the able editor perceives that he is expected to deal nowadays with a multiplicity of unimposing but not always unimportant interests and excitements, it is obvious that he sees something else. He understands that there is a more languid demand for political dissertation. He is aware of a dwindling attention when he enters upon these matters, and acknowledges it by the perfunctory discharge of an habitual business. It does not 'tell' as it used to do, and therefore the heart is taken out of it very considerably, even where there is as much desire as ever there was to convince or persuade. This appears, I think, in the whole body of modern journalism; though of course I speak generally, and with little expectation of assent from a newer generation unconscious of a difference which is likely to be blurred in the fading memory of an older one. But we have all heard of the 'thunders' which not very long ago reverberated from the less crowded spaces of the journalistic sky, and how tremendous were their effects. It is all true; and true that—very much because of the crowded spaces—no such effects are now produced by any such artillery. This may be said, I hope, without suggesting a wish to disparage the many vigorous, alert, and capable men employed in journalism, and doing their work with both hands. There is no lack of such men, thanks to a variety of circumstances about which we may have a word to say later on: but nobody can be more conscious than themselves that the spirit of the most learned and eager professor flags in a very much 'mixed' and inattentive class-room.

And yet there is an influential newspaper-press, though not much of it at present. Lately come into existence, it flourishes because a great number of men have been suddenly dragged out of complete ignorance by compulsory schooling, and so have been brought to a keener sense of the poverty and squalor they were born to, while at the same time they have been admitted to a large and all but commanding share of political power.[1] Here we have what is called 'a new public'—an entirely new and uncultivated field for newspaper teaching and newspaper influence. Eager, deeply interested, easily impressed and quite uncritical, these thousands of half-awakened minds are readily worked upon by the Friend of Humanity who, in all the august authority of print, exhorts them to right their wrongs and teaches them how to revenge their distresses. The right

[1] To avoid the risk of misconception, it may be as well to remark that there is no expression of regret here for the education of the poor, nor at their increasing fretfulness under privations that are more bitterly felt as education sharpens a desire for the humbler comforts and adornments of life. On another occasion, however, I had something to say about the pregnant fact that at one and the same time the Legislature has conferred on the very poor a keener sense of their privations, and organised for them a powerful constitutional means of insisting on the trial of any scheme of relief that they may be persuaded to believe in. See *Nineteenth Century* for May 1889, p 747.

or the wrong of that endeavour is not our present business. Enough to mark that here we find a far greater 'power of the press' at this moment than anywhere else in England. For it need not be said that the influence of which we speak depends more upon the receptivity of the minds it is applied to than upon the activity of those who exert it. But here there is more of activity, far more eagerness, daring, and ingenuity, than can be found in any other field of journalistic effort; and it works on a multitude of fresh minds eagerly receptive of their doctrine. So here in London we may have a great old-established newspaper, with hundreds of thousands of readers; hard by, a second; not far off, a third; and the actual moving influence of all three shall not exceed that of a fourth with a much smaller circulation than either. I believe that to be the case at the present moment, and that in due time the consequences will become plain enough; not in surface matters of art, taste, Shakespeare and the musical glasses, but in much that underlies the whole superstructure of government and society.

The decline of the influence of the press in political affairs (and we are dealing with nothing else just now, be it remembered) may be seen, I think, in the growing disregard of Governments to its many voices. Abroad it is a very different thing. There they are at another stage of 'modern progress' in these matters. But here in England comparative indifference to the confused thunders of the press naturally follows upon observation of its waning power over the public mind as a whole. It would be absurd, of course, to say that newspaper comment has not a considerable influence upon Governments still; but if we were to inquire we should probably learn that it does not move them as much as it did, or in quite the same way. How to explain it except by pointing to the greater mass of society I hardly know; but it certainly seems that though, for the most part, ministers 'go about' more than their predecessors of the last generation, they are far less sensible of what we have called the currents of common thought and feeling. They are too much men of the closet, perhaps. But whatever the explanation, it may be said with truth that there is a remarkable deficiency in ministerial circles of what we have noted as specially characteristic of Mr. Delane. Lord Palmerston seems to have shared the gift largely. It came out rather strikingly at one point of Sir Robert Peel's career; and it was not wanting in the Duke of Wellington, who, though he may be described as hidebound, had no ink in his blood. As for the later generation of statesmen, they may be quite as wise, far more rich in general information, far more laborious and thoughtful; but they seem in most cases to be quite out of the common current of thought and sentiment, and to be less capable than inferior men of feeling in themselves its changes and portents of change. Nor in the case of statesmen in office is this insensibility corrected by their immediate

associations, or by those to whom they commonly resort for advice. No set of men engaged in public affairs is worse qualified to render it than the order of persons exemplified in Permanent Officials. Facts they know, or as many as should properly be found in pigeon-holes; as to hearts and minds and 'that sort of thing' they are equally ignorant and contemptuous. In this state of affairs, newspapers are very useful to cabinets, and bring an appreciable influence to bear on them. If ministers are less often disturbed by a press-created public opinion they are frequently moved by a press-revealed public opinion. They gather from the newspapers what the intelligent foreigner goes gleaning for in the same field, and what as Englishmen, with the common blood of the country running in their veins, they ought to have found as a natural deposit in their own minds. The relations of Press and Government, how far they go, how far they should go, and so forth, is, however, a subject which must be reserved for another article.

FREDERICK GREENWOOD.

GOVERNMENT: ANARCHY OR REGIMENTATION.

As a problem of political philosophy, Government presents three principal aspects. We may ask in whom is the sovereign authority vested? Or by what machinery should that authority be exercised? Or in respect of what matters is its exercise legitimate?

The first two of these questions have been discussed by philosophers and fought over by factions from the earliest times. Innumerable battles have been waged about the rival claims of kings, nobles and popular leaders to the 'right divine to govern wrong;' and for, or against, the excellence of this or that legislative and administrative apparatus. The third question, on the other hand, has come to the front only in comparatively recent times. But its importance has increased and is increasing rapidly; indeed, at present, it completely overshadows the others. The great problem of modern political philosophy is to determine the province of government. Is there, or is there not, any region of human action over which the individual himself alone has jurisdiction, and into which other men have no business to intrude?

In the ancient polities of Greece and Rome hardly any part of human life, except a man's family religious practices, was thus sacred from the intrusion of the State. Beyond the limits of this primary social group even religious liberty ceased. The ancient States permitted no acts which manifested want of respect, still less such as savoured of active opposition, to the cults authorised by the community. Any 'infidels' who ventured to give open expression to their lack of faith in the gods of the city were quickly taught that they had better keep their opinions to themselves; and no mercy was shown to those foreign religions the practices of which were judged to be inconsistent with the public welfare. But the old pagan religions had no propaganda; and as persecution is a correlate of proselytism, they were fairly tolerant in practice, until the progress of Christianity opened the eyes of the Roman authorities to the fact that civil existence, as they understood it, was incompatible with religious existence, as the Christians understood it. Pagan Rome, therefore, systematically persecuted Christianity with the intention

of averting a political catastrophe of the gravest character. The Christian Church was the 'International' of the emperors of the second and third centuries.

It is commonly supposed that the result of the intermittent, if internecine, warfare thus waged was the victory of the Church, and that, in the words of Julian, the Galilean conquered. But those who compare the Christianity of Paul with that of Constantine's prelates may be permitted to doubt whether, as in so many other cases, the vanquished did not in effect subdue the victor; whether there is not much more of Greek philosophy and of Roman organisation and ritual, than of primitive Christianity, in the triumphant Catholicism of the fourth and later centuries. One heritage of old Roman statecraft, at any rate, passed bodily over to Catholic churchcraft. As soon as the Church was strong enough, it began to persecute with a vigour and consistency which the Empire never attained. In the ages of faith, Christian ecclesiasticism raged against freedom of thought, as such, and compelled the State to punish religious dissidence as a criminal offence of the worst description. The ingenuity of pagan persecutors failed to reach the shameful level of that of the Christian inventors of the Holy Office; nor did the civil governors of pagan antiquity ever degrade themselves so far as to play the executioner for a camarilla of priests. The doctrine that the authority of the State extends to men's beliefs as well as to their actions, and, consequently, is conterminous with the whole of human life; and that the power of the State ought to be used for the promotion of orthodoxy and the extermination of heterodoxy is, in fact, a necessary corollary of Romanism, which, however disguised by prudence when the Papacy is weak, is sure to reappear when it is strong enough to dispense with hypocrisy. In the sixteenth century, the theory and practice of a thousand years had so thoroughly incorporated intolerance with Christianity, that even the great reformers held firmly by this precious heirloom of the ages of faith, whatever other shards of ecclesiastical corruption they might cast aside. Happily, the pretensions to infallibility of sects, who differed only in the higher or lower positions of the points at which they held on to the slope between Romanism and Rationalism, were so absurd, that political Gallios have been able to establish a *modus vivendi* among them. In this country, at any rate, the State is approaching, if it has not quite reached, a position of non-intervention (inclining perhaps to malevolent neutrality) in theological quarrels.

The prolonged intellectual and physical struggles which have thus tended to the more and more complete exclusion of a great group of human interests and activities from the legitimate sphere of governmental interference, have exerted a powerful influence on the general theory of Government. Two centuries have elapsed

since this influence, having for some time made itself felt among political philosophers, prompted that systematic inquiry into the proper limits of governmental action in general, which is contained in John Locke's two 'Treatises on Government,' published in 1689.

The Revolution of 1688 marks one of the acute stages of that contest between Liberalism and Absolutism in these islands which began to manifest itself in a remote period of our history. Liberalism, represented by Parliamentary politicians and Protestant theologians, had prevailed over Absolutism, represented by the Stuarts in the political sphere, and by Papistry, open or disguised, in that of religion. The two 'Treatises' form an apology for the victors. A theoretical justification for the accomplished fact was much needed; and Locke would have been unworthy of his reputation as a speculative philosopher, if he had failed to discover, or to invent, a theory sufficiently plausible to satisfy those who desired nothing better than to be persuaded of the justice of acts, by which, in any case, they meant to stand. The first essay is ostensibly directed at poor dead and gone Sir Robert Filmer, with his Adamic mythology (which, by the way, Locke treats as if it were serious history); but the controversial shots are intended to pass through their ostensible object and to slay the defenders of divine right, who lay behind the Filmerian outpost. In the second essay, 'On Civil Government,' which alone has any interest to us at the present day, the theory of State omnipotence propounded by Hobbes (and supposed, though wrongfully, to have been invented in the interests of monarchy) is vigorously assaulted.

Hobbes was a thinker and writer of marvellous power, and, take him altogether, is probably the greatest of English philosophers: but it was given to him, as little as to Locke, to escape from entanglement in the *a priori* speculations which had come down mainly from the Roman jurists.[1] Setting out from the assumption

[1] Hobbes's conception of the State may be sufficiently gathered from the following passages extracted from the *Philosophical Rudiment, concerning Government and Society* (1651). 'All men, therefore, among themselves are by nature equal; the inequality we now discern hath its spring from the civil law' (chap. i. 3). 'Nature hath given to every one a right to all' (ibid. 10). 'The natural state of men before they entered into society was . . . a war of all men against all men' (ibid. 12). In whatever man or body of men dominion or governmental authority is vested, 'each citizen has conveyed all his strength and power to that man or council' (chap v. 11). The supreme power is *absolute* (chap vi. 13), and comparable to the soul of the city as its will (ibid. 19). 'The will of every citizen is in all things comprehended in the will of the city, and the city is not tied to the civil laws' and the will of the depository of dominion is the will of the city (chap. vi. 14). Judging of good and evil does not belong to private citizens (chap. xii. 1), nor do they possess any rights or liberties except such as the sovereign grants. All power, temporal and spiritual, is united (under Christ) in the sovereign authority of a Christian city, and absolute obedience is due to it. When the sovereign is not Christian, and his commands are contrary to those of the Church, the subject must, disobeying but not resisting, 'go to Christ by martyrdom' (chap. xviii. 13).

of the natural equality of men, and of a primary 'state of nature' in which every man strove for the full exercise of his 'natural rights,' and which was, therefore, a state of war of each against all; Hobbes further assumed that, in order to obtain the blessings of peace, men entered into a contract with one another, by which each surrendered the whole of his natural rights to the person or persons appointed, by common consent, to exercise supreme dominion, or sovereignty, over each and all of the members of the commonwealth constituted by the contract. The authority of the sovereign (whether one man or many, monarch or people [2]) to whom this complete surrender of natural rights was made, was thus absolute and unquestionable. From the time of the surrender, the individual member of the Commonwealth—the citizen—possessed no natural rights at all: but, in exchange for them, he acquired such civil rights as the sovereign despot thought fit to grant and to guarantee by the exercise of the whole power of the State, if necessary. Civil law, sanctioned by the force of the community, took the place of 'natural right,' backed only by the force of the individual. It follows that no limit is, or can be, theoretically set to State interference. The citizen of the *Leviathan* is simply a member of a composite organism controlled by the State will; he has no more freedom in religious matters than in any others; but is to perform the practices of the State religion, and to profess the creed of its theology, whether he likes the one and believes the other, or not. The ideal of the State is a sternly disciplined regiment, in which the citizens are privates, the State functionaries officers, and every action in life is regulated and settled by the sovereign's 'Regulations and Instructions.' Disobedience is worse than mutiny. For those who disobey need not even be tried by court-martial. By the very act of insubordination they revoke the social contract, and, falling back into the state of nature—that is to say, of the war of each against all—they become aliens, who may be dealt with, summarily, as enemies.

Thus, there are three fundamental points in Hobbes's theory of a polity: First, the primitive state of nature, conceived as a state of war, or unrestricted struggle for existence, among men. Second, the contract, by the execution of which men entered into commonwealths or polities. Third, the complete surrender of all natural rights to the sovereign, and the conferring of absolute and despotic authority upon him, or them, by that contract.

Now, Locke also assumes a primitive state of nature, though its characters are different; he also assumes the contractual origin of the polity; and thus, on these two points, is in general agreement with Hobbes. But, with respect to the third article, he diametrically opposes Hobbes, and declares that the surrender of natural rights which took place when the social compact was made was not complete, but, on the contrary, most strictly and carefully limited.

[2] See *Philosophical Rudiments*, chapters vi. and vii.

The difference is of great importance. It marks the point of separation of two schools of *a priori* political philosophy, which have continued to be represented, with constantly increasing divergence, down to the present time, when the ultimate stages of their respective series confront one another as *Anarchy* on the one hand, and *Regimentation* on the other.

But it is necessary to define these epithets with care, before going further. Anarchy, as a term of political philosophy, must be taken only in its proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or with crime; but denotes a state of society, in which the rule of each individual by himself is the only government the legitimacy of which is recognised. In this sense, strict anarchy may be the highest conceivable grade of perfection of social existence; for, if all men spontaneously did justice and loved mercy, it is plain that all swords might be advantageously turned into ploughshares, and that the occupation of judges and police would be gone.[3] Anarchy, as thus defined, is the logical outcome of that form of political theory, which for the last half-century and more has been known under the name of *Individualism*.[4]

I have, unfortunately, no such long established prescription to offer for the term *Regimentation*; but I hope it will be accepted until some one discovers a better denomination for the opposite view, the essence of which is the doctrine of State omnipotence. 'Socialism,' which at first suggests itself, is unfortunately susceptible of being used in widely different senses. As a general rule, no doubt, socialistic political philosophy is eminently regimental. But there is no necessary connection between socialism and regimentation. Persons who, of their own free will, should think fit to imitate the primitive Christians depicted by the Acts, and to have all things in common, would be Socialists; and yet they might be none the less Individualists, so long as they refused to compel any one to join them. The only true contradictory of Individualism is that more common kind of Socialism, which proposes to use the power of the State in order, as the phrase goes, to 'organise' society, or some part of it. That is to say, this 'regimental' Socialism proposes to interfere with the freedom of the individual to whatever extent the sovereign may dictate, for the purpose of more or less completely

[3] 'For if men could rule themselves, every man by his own command, that is to say, could they live according to the laws of nature, there would be no need at all of a city, nor of a common coercive power.'—Hobbes, *Philosophical Elements*, chap. vi. 13 note.

[4] It is employed as an already familiar appellative by Louis Blanc in the first volume of his *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, published in 1847, which contains a very interesting attempt to trace the influence of the principles of authority, of individualism and of fraternity through French history. The first volume of the elaborate work of Marlo (Winkelblech), *Organization der Arbeit*, published in 1850, gives a very complete exposition of the theory of Individualism under the name of *Liberalismus*.

neutralising the effects of the innate inequalities of men. It is militarism in a new shape, requiring the implicit obedience of the individual to a governmental commander-in-chief, whose business is to wage war against natural inequality, and to set artificial equality in its place.

I propose now to give an outline of the progress, first of Regimentation and then of Individualism since the seventeenth century.

In France Regimentation was strongly advocated by Morelly and by Mably before Rousseau's essay on the Social Contract made its appearance; and, to my mind, except in point of literary form, the works of the former two writers are much better worth reading. But, while the immense popularity of Rousseau made him the apparent leader of the movement in favour of social regimentation, the comparative vagueness of his demands for equality commended him to practical politicians. His works became the gospel of the political—one might almost say the religious—sect of which Robespierre and St. Just were the chiefs;[3] and the famous conspiracy of their would-be continuator, Babœuf, was an attempt to bring about the millennium of eighteenth century socialism by sanguinary violence.

According to Rousseau, the social contract is 'the foundation of all rights' (chap. ix.); though the sovereign is not bound by it (chap. vii.), inasmuch as he can enter into no contract with himself. This sovereign is the totality of the citizens. Each, in assenting to the social contract, gives himself and all he possesses to the sovereign (vi.), 'lui et toutes ses forces dont les biens qu'il possède font partie' (chap. ix.). He loses his natural liberty, and the State becomes master of him and of his goods (chap. ix.). As nature gives a man absolute power over all his members, the social compact gives the polity an absolute power over its citizens. The State, however, does not really despoil him. He gets back civil liberty (that is, such amount of liberty as the State decrees) and a right of property in that which he possesses (chap. viii.). His previous possession, which was bare usurpation, is thus changed into right. In this way members of the community become mere depositaries of the public property, the private right of ownership being subordinate to the supreme right of the community (chap. ix.). The general will is the source of authority; whoever refuses to obey its behests is to

[3] As Mr. Lecky justly says: 'That which distinguishes the French Revolution from other political movements is, that it was directed by men who had adopted certain speculative *a priori* conceptions of political right, with the fanaticism and proselytising fervour of a religious belief, and the Bible of their creed was the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau' (*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 345). I have not undertaken a criticism of Rousseau's various and not unfrequently inconsistent political opinions, as a whole. It was not needful for my purpose to do so; and, if it had been, I could not have improved upon the comprehensive and impartial judgment of our historian of the eighteenth century.

be coerced into obedience by the whole body — 'which means nothing more than that he shall be forced to be free' (chap. vii.). As will be seen on turning to the extracts from the *Philosophical Rudiments* given above (p. 845, *note*), most of this is Hobbism pure and simple. The fundamental principle of the Rousseauite, as of the Hobbist, polity is the omnipotence of the State; its boasted liberty is a grant from the sovereign despot, whose absolutism is sugared over by the suggestion that each man has an infinitesimal share in it. And, if any one of the sovereign people should be as blind to the benefits of this sort of free bondsmanship and coerced brotherly love as the 'Needy knifegrinder' was, his 'incivism' is to be cured by physical treatment: 'On le forcera d'être libre.'

The despotism of the 'general will' (*volonté générale*) being thus established, how is the sovereign to make his commands known? This is a point about which it is surely necessary to be very clear. Unfortunately, Rousseau leaves it not a little obscure. He commences the second chapter of his second book by declaring that the general will is that of the body of the people; that, as such, the declaration of it is an act of sovereignty, while the declaration of the will of a part of the people is merely an act of administration. Yet, in a note, we are told that for the 'will' to be 'general' it need not be unanimous, only all the votes must be taken. How the expression of will which is not unanimous can be other than that of a part of the people, does not appear. But full light is thrown upon Rousseau's real meaning in the second chapter of the fourth book. Following Locke's dictum that nothing can make a man a member of a commonwealth 'but his actually entering into it by positive engagement and express promise and compact' (*Civil Government*, § 122) he tells us that

> the only law which, by its nature, requires unanimous assent, is the social compact: for civil association is the most voluntary of all acts: every man being born free and master of himself, no one, under any pretext whatever, can subject himself without avowal of the act.

Those who do not assent when the social contract is made remain strangers among the citizens; but after the State is constituted, residence within its bounds is to be taken as assent to the contract.

> Outside this primitive contract, the vote of the majority obliges the rest; that is a consequence of the contract itself.

In the Rousseauite State, then, sovereignty means neither more nor less than the omnipotence of a bare majority of voices of all the members of the State collected together in general meetings (chaps. xii.–xiv.).

During the sittings of this sovereign multitude, which are to take place at fixed intervals,

The jurisdiction of the government ceases, the executive power is suspended, and the person of the lowliest citizen is as sacred and inviolable as that of the highest magistrate; for where the represented is present the representative ceases to exist.

In fact, in each of these periodical meetings, the polity potentially returns to the state of nature, and its members, if they please, may dissolve the social contract altogether: if they do not so please, they reappoint office-bearers to do the work assigned to them, whatever that may be (iii. chap. xvii.), until the next assembly. Society is thus a sort of joint-stock company, whose officers vacate their posts at every general meeting, and whose shareholders can wind up the concern, or go on, as the assembly may resolve, with such articles of association as a bare majority of the shareholders may determine shall be binding until the next meeting. An industrial company organised in this way would probably soon resign sovereignty to a liquidator. But then the members of industrial associations certainly do not undergo that transfiguration which, according to Rousseau, is worked by entrance into the social contract. 'The general will,' says he, 'is always upright and always tends towards the general good' (liv. ii. chap. iii.); 'the people are never corrupted' (*ibid.*); 'all constantly desire the happiness of each' (liv. ii. chap. iv.).

Unfortunately, the intellect and the information of the sovereign are not always quite up to the standard of his morality:—

The general will is always just; but the judgment which guides it is not always enlightened (liv. ii. chap. vi.).

It would seem that flattery of the sovereign is not peculiar to monarchies. Notoriously, kings can do no wrong, and always spend their lives in sighing for the welfare of their subjects. If they seem to err, it is only because they are misled and misinformed. That has been the great make-believe of apologists for despotism from all time.

A properly enlightened sovereign people, with its incorruptible altruism, can never lose sight of the true end of legislation, the greatest good of all; and if we seek to know what that is, Rousseau tells us that it embraces two things, Liberty and Equality (liv. ii. chap. xi.). Liberty, he says, is 'obedience to the law which one has laid down for oneself' (liv. i. chap. viii.); a well-sounding definition. But to my mind it is somewhat hard to reconcile with the obligation to submit to laws laid down by other people who happen to be in a majority. Unless, indeed, this 'law which one has laid down for oneself' simply inculcates obedience to the majority. But, if that be liberty, then liberty is no less possessed by the man who makes it a law to himself to obey any master; and liberty is as fully possessed by the slave who makes up his mind to be a slave, as by the freest of free men.

With respect to the other aim of government, the maintenance of equality, Rousseau makes an instructive statement in answering the objection that the attempt is chimerical.

It is precisely because the nature of things (*force des choses*) continually tends to the destruction of equality, that the power of legislation ought always to tend to maintain it.[a]

Absolute equality of power and wealth is not required, but neither opulence nor beggary is to be permitted; and it is to depend upon the legislators' view of the circumstances whether the community shall devote itself to agriculture or to manufactures and commerce (liv. ii. chap. xi.). Thus the State is to control distribution no less than production. Moreover, the sovereign people is to settle the articles of a State religion, not exactly as religious dogmas, but as 'sentiments of sociability without which a man can neither be a good citizen nor a faithful subject':—

Without being able to oblige any one to believe them, he may banish from the State whoever does not believe them: he may banish them, not for impiety, but for unsociability—as persons incapable of sincerely loving the laws or justice, and of sacrificing themselves to duty if needful. . . . If any one, after having acknowledged these same dogmas, conducts himself as if he did not believe them, let him be punished with death: he has committed the greatest of crimes, he has lied before the law (liv. iv. chap. viii.).

The articles of the State creed are: the existence of a powerful, intelligent, beneficent, foreseeing and provident Deity; the life to come, the happiness of the just, the punishment of the wicked, the sanctity of the social contract and of the laws. These are the positive doctrines of the Rousseauite creed. Of negative dogmas there is only one, and the reader may be surprised to learn that it enjoins the repression of intolerance. Having banished unbelievers in the State creed and put to death lapsed believers, Rousseau thanks God that he is not as those publicans, the devotees of 'les

[a] In spite of all his sentimentalism, Rousseau occasionally sees straight into the realities of things. *A prendre le terme dans la rigueur de l'acception, il n'a jamais existé de véritable démocratie, et il n'en existera jamais. Il est contre l'ordre naturel que le grand nombre gouverne, et que le petit soit gouverné. . . . S'il y avait un peuple de dieux, il se gouvernerait démocratiquement. Un gouvernement si parfait ne convient pas à des hommes* (liv. iii. chap. iv.). 'A second Daniel come to judgment!' For it would not be far from the truth to say that the only form of government which has ever permanently existed is *oligarchy*. A very strong despot, or a furious multitude, may, for a brief space, work their single or collective will; but the power of an absolute monarch is, as a rule, as much in the hands of a ring of ministers, mistresses and priests, as that of Demos is, in reality, wielded by a ring of orators and wire-pullers. As Hobbes haspithily put the case, 'a democracy, in effect, is no more than an aristocracy of orators, interrupted sometimes with the temporary monarchy of one orator' (*De Corpore Politico*, chap. ii. 5). The alternative of dominion does not lie between a sovereign individual and a sovereign multitude, but between an aristarchy and a demarchy, that is to say between an aristocratic and a democratic oligarchy. The chief business of the aristarchy is to persuade the king, emperor, or czar, that he wants to go the way they wish him to go; that of the demarchy is to do the like with the mob.

cultes que nous avons exclus'—intolerant. Does he not proclaim that all religions which tolerate others should themselves be tolerated? Yet the qualificatory provision, 'so far as their dogmas are in no way contrary to the duties of the citizen,' would seem to effect a considerable reduction in the State toleration of the tolerators; since, as we have just seen, it is obligatory on the citizen to profess the State creed.

Whether Rousseau used the works of Morelly and of Mably, as he did those of Hobbes and Locke, and whether his reputation for political originality is not of that cheap and easy sort which is won by sedulously ignoring those who have been unmannerly enough to anticipate us, need not be discussed. At any rate, important works of both these authors, in which the principles to be found in the essay on the 'Social Contract' are made the foundation of complete schemes of regimental socialism, with community of goods, were published earlier than that essay. Robespierre and St. Just went as far as Rousseau in the direction of enforcing equality, but they left it to Babœuf to try to go as far as Mably. In their methods of endeavouring (by the help of the guillotine) to 'force men to be free,' they supplied the work naturally brought forth by the Rousseauite faith. And still more were they obedient to the master in insisting on a State religion, and in certifying the existence of God by a governmental decree.

The regimental Socialists of our own time appear to believe that, in their hands, political regimentation has taken a new departure, and substantially differs from that of the older apostles of their creed. Certainly they diverge from the views of Owen or of Fourier; but I can find nothing of importance in the serious writings of the modern school, nor even in their romances, which may not be discovered in the works of Morelly and of Mably, whose advocacy of the doctrines that several ownership is the root of all the evils of society; that the golden age would return if only the State directed production and regulated consumption; and that the love of approbation affords a stimulus to industry, sufficient to replace all those furnished by the love of power, of wealth and of sensual gratification, in our present imperfect state, is as powerful as that of any later writers.

We may now turn to the other line of development of political philosophy based upon *a priori* arguments, which is represented by individualism in various shades of intensity. I have already said that the founder and father of political individualism, as it is held by its more moderate adherents at the present day, is John Locke; and that his primary assumptions—the state of nature and the contractual basis of society—are the same as those of his predecessor Hobbes, and of his successors Rousseau and Mably. But I have also remarked that the condition of men in the state of nature, imagined by Locke, is different from that assumed by either Hobbes or Rousseau. For these last philo-

sophers, primitive man was a savage; lawless and ferocious according to the older, good and stupid, according to the younger, theorist. Locke's fancy picture of primitive men, on the other hand, represents them under the guise of highly intelligent and respectable persons, 'living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth, with authority to judge between them' (*Civil Government*, § 19).

The Law of Nature [7] is, in fact, the law dictated by reason, which 'teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, liberty, or possessions.' Elsewhere (§ 4), the state of nature is defined as a state of 'perfect freedom,' in which men 'dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit'; and further as a state of equality,

wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature [8] and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection.

Again (§ 7), since the law of nature 'willeth the peace and preservation of all mankind,' every man has a 'right to punish the transgressors of that law'; that is to say, those who invade the rights of others. Moreover, truth and the keeping of faith are commands of the Law of Nature, and belong 'to men as men,' and not as members of society (§ 14). Locke uses the term Law of Nature, therefore, in the sense in which it was often (perhaps generally) employed by the jurists, to denote a system of equity based on purely rational considerations.

[7] This view of the law of nature comes from the jurists. Hobbes defines it in the same way, but he says that, in the state of nature, the Law of Nature is silent. In speaking of Locke as the founder and father of Individualism, I do not forget that Hooker (to whom Locke often refers) and still earlier writers have expressed individualistic opinions. Nevertheless, I believe that modern individualism is essentially Locke's work.

[8] Yet Locke, of course, knows well enough that children are not born equal and that adults are extremely unequal. All that he really means is that men have an 'equal right to natural freedom,' and that is a mere *a priori* dictum (§ 54–87). The sceptics as to the reality of the state of nature are treated with some contempt (§ 14). 'It is often asked as a weighty objection, Where are or ever were there any such men in a state of nature? To which it may suffice as an answer at present, that since all princes and rulers of independent governments, all through the world, are in a state of nature, it is plain that the world never was, nor ever will be, without numbers of men in that state. I have named all governors of independent communities, whether they are or are not in league with others, for it is not every compact that puts an end to the state of nature between men, but only this one of agreeing together mutually to enter into one community and make one body politic; other promises and compacts men may make with one another, and yet still be in the state of nature. The promises and bargains for truck &c. between the two men in the desert island mentioned by Garcilasso de la Vega, in his History of Peru, or between a Swiss and an Indian, in the woods of America, are binding to them though they are perfectly in a state of nature, in reference to one another: for truth and keeping of faith belongs to men as men, and not as members of society.'

There is no connection between this law of nature and 'natural rights' properly so called. The state of nature imagined by Locke is, in fact, the individualistic golden age of philosophical anarchy, in which all men voluntarily rendering *suum cuique*, there is no need of any agency for the enforcement of justice. While Hobbes supposes that, in the state of nature, the Law of Nature was silent, Locke seems to imagine that it spoke loudly enough, but that men grew deaf to it. It was only in consequence of the failure of some of them to maintain the original standard of ethical elevation that those inconveniences arose which drove the rest to combine into commonwealths; to choose rulers; and to endow them, as delegates of all, with the sum of the right to punish transgressors inherent in each.

In taking this important step, however, our forefathers exhibited that caution and prudence which might be expected from persons who dwelt upon the ethical heights which they had reached in the state of nature. Instead of making a complete surrender of all the rights and powers, which they possessed in that state, to the Sovereign, and thus creating State omnipotence by the social contract, as Hobbes wrongfully declared them to have done, they gave up only just so much of them as was absolutely necessary for the purposes of an executive with strictly limited powers. With the Stuarts recognised by France, and hosts of Jacobite pamphleteers on the look-out for every coign of vantage, it would never do to admit the Hobbesian doctrine of complete surrender. So Locke is careful to assert that when men entered into commonwealths they must have stipulated (and, therefore, on approved *a priori* principles, did stipulate) that the power of the Sovereign was strictly limited to the performance of acts needful 'to secure every one's property.'

§ 131. But though men, when they enter into society, give up the equality, liberty, and executive power they had in the state of nature, into the hands of the society to be so far disposed of by the legislative, as the good of society shall require; yet it being only with an intention in everyone the better to preserve himself, his liberty and property; (for no rational creature can be supposed to change his condition with an intention to be worse), the power of the society, or legislative constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend further, than the common good; but is obliged to secure everyone's property by providing against those three defects above mentioned, that made the state of nature so unsafe and uneasy.*

To listen to Locke, one would imagine that a general meeting of men living in the state of nature having been called to consider the 'defects' of their condition, and somebody being voted to the tree

* The following passages complete the expression of Locke's meaning: 'Political power, then, I take to be a right of making laws with penalties of death, and consequently of all less penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community in the execution of such laws and in the defence of the commonwealth from foreign injury; and all this only for the public good' (§ 3). 'Government has no other end than the preservation of property' (§ 94). 'The great and chief end, therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths and putting themselves under government is the preservation of their property.' (§ 124).

(in the presumable absence of chairs), this earliest example of a constituent assembly resolved to form a governmental company, with strictly limited liability, for the purpose of defending liberty and property; and that they elected a director or body of directors, to be known as the Sovereign, for the purpose of carrying on that business and no other whatsoever. Thus we are a long way from the absolute Sovereign of Hobbes. Here is the point, in fact, at which Locke diverged from the older philosopher; and at which Rousseau and Mably, after profiting as much as they could by Locke's *Essay*, left him and laid the theoretical foundations of regimental socialism.

The physiocrats of the eighteenth century, struggling against the effects of that 'fureur de gouverner,' which one of their leaders, the elder Mirabeau, called the worst malady of modern states, and which had nearly succeeded in strangling every branch of French industry and starving the French people, necessarily welcomed and adopted Locke's individualistic formula. Their favourite maxim of 'Laissez faire' was a corollary of the application of that formula in the sphere of economy; and it was a great thing for them to be able to add to the arguments based on practical expediency, which could be properly appreciated only by those who took pains to learn something about the facts of the case, the authority of a deduction from one of those *a priori* truths, the just appreciation of which is supposed to come by nature to all men. The axiom of absolute ethics in question has been stated in many ways. It is laid down that every man has a right to do as he pleases, so long as he does no harm to others; or that he is free to do anything he pleases, so long as he does not interfere with the same freedom in others. Daire, in the introduction to his *Physiocrates* (p. 16), goes so far as to call the rule thus enunciated a 'law of nature.'

La loi naturelle qui permet à chacun de faire tout ce qui lui est avantageux sous la seule condition de ne pas nuire à autrui.[10]

The physiocrats accepted the dogma of human equality, and they further agreed with Locke in considering that the restriction of the functions of the Government to the protection of liberty and property was in nowise inconsistent with furtherance of education by the State. On the contrary, they considered education to be an essential condition of the only equality which is consistent with liberty. More-

[10] The oldest recorded form of the rule, and that which has the most positive character, is contained in the command of the Jewish law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Leviticus xix. 18), (neighbour including 'stranger that dwelleth with you,' v. 34), which stands in the same relation to the individualistic maxim as Fraternity to Equity. The strength of Judaism as a social organisation has resided in its unflinching advocacy of freedom, within the law; equality, before the law; and fraternity, outside the law. I am not sure that, from the purely philosophical point of view, the form in which that great Jew, Spinoza, has stated the rule is not the best: 'Desire nothing for yourself which you do not desire for others' (*nihil sibi appetere quod reliquis hominibus non cupiant*). (*Ethices* IV. xviii.)

over, they laid great stress on the proposition that justice is inseparably connected with property and liberty. Nothing can be stronger than the words of Quesnay on this point:—

Là où les lois et la puissance tutelaire n'assurent point la propriété et la liberté, il n'y a ni gouvernement ni société profitables; il n'y a que domination et anarchie sous les apparences d'un gouvernement; les lois positives et la domination y protègent et assurent les usurpations des forts, et anéantissent la propriété et la liberté des faibles.[11]

That is to say, the absolute political ethics of the individualist leave as little doubt in his mind that private property and the right to deal freely with it are essential to the protection of the weak against the strong, as the absolute political ethics of the regimental socialist assure him that private property and freedom of contract involve the tyranny of the strong over the weak.

Through the widespread influence of the *Wealth of Nations*, individualism became a potent factor in practical politics. Wherever the principles of free-trade prevailed and were followed by industrial prosperity, individualism acquired a solid fulcrum from which to move the political world. Liberalism tended to the adoption of Locke's definition of the limits of State action, and to consider persistence in letting alone as a definition of the whole duty of the statesman. But in the hands of even the most liberal governments, these limits proved pretty elastic; and, however objectionable State interference might be, it was found hard to set bounds to it, if indirect as well as direct interference were permissible. So long ago as the end of the eighteenth century, the distinguished scholar and statesman Wilhelm von Humboldt [12] attempted to meet this difficulty. He wrote a special treatise, which remained unpublished till sixty years later, for the purpose of showing that the legitimate functions of the State are negative; and that governments have no right to take any positive steps for the promotion of the welfare of the governed. Von Humboldt does not encumber himself with Locke's 'limited contract,' but starts an *a priori* axiom of his own, namely:—

That reason cannot desire for any man any other condition than that in which each individual not only enjoys the most absolute freedom of developing himself by his own energies in his perfect individuality, but in which external nature even is left unfashioned by any human agency, but only receives the impress given to it by

[11] *Droit naturel*, chap. v.

[12] Von Humboldt's essay was written in 1791; but views so little likely to be relished by the German governments of that day needed cautious enunciation, and only fragments appeared (under the auspices of Schiller) until 1852, when the treatise formed part of the posthumous edition of Von Humboldt's works. A translation, under the title of *The Sphere and Duties of Government*, was published in 1854, by Dr. Chapman (then, as now, the editor of the *Westminster Review*), and became very well known in this country.

each individual by himself and his own free will, according to the measure of his wants and instincts, and restricted only by the limits of his powers and rights (p. 18).

From this very considerable assumption (which I must say does not appear to me to possess the quality of intuitive certainty) the conclusion is deduced that

the State is to abstain from all solicitude for the positive welfare of the citizens and not to proceed a step farther than is necessary for their mutual security and protection against foreign enemies; for with no other object should it impose restrictions on freedom.

This conclusion differs but little from that of Locke, verbally. Nevertheless, in its practical application, Von Humboldt excludes not only all and every matter of religion, of morals, and of education, but the relations of the sexes, and all private actions not injurious to other citizens, from the interference of the State. However, he permits governmental regulation of the power of testamentary devolution; and (though somewhat unwillingly) interference with acts which are not immediately hurtful to one's neighbours, yet the obvious tendencies of which are to damage them or to restrict their liberties.

By far the best and fullest exposition known to me of the individualism which, in principle, goes no further than Locke's formula, is Dunoyer's *Liberté du Travail*, of which the first volume was published in 1825, and the whole work in 1845. One great merit of the author is the resolute casting aside all the *a priori* figments of his predecessors; and another lies in his careful and elaborate discussion of the historical growth of Individualism, which goes a long way towards the establishment of the conclusion, that advance in civilisation and restriction of the sphere of Government interference have gone hand in hand. J. S. Mill has referred to Dunoyer's work; but later expositors of Individualism ignore him completely, although they have produced nothing comparable to the weighty case for the restriction of the sphere of government, presented with a force which is not weakened by fanaticism, in the seventh chapter of the ninth book of Dunoyer's work.

The year 1845 is further marked in the annals of Individualism by the appearance of Stirner's *The Individual and his Property*,[13] in which the author, going back to first principles, after a ruthless criticism of both limited Individualism and regimental Socialism, declares himself for unlimited Individualism; that is to say, Anarchy. Stirner justly points out that 'natural right' is nothing but natural might. Man, in the state of nature, could know of no reason why he should not freely use his powers to satisfy his desires.

[13] *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*, by Max Stirner. I follow the account of the contents of the book given by Meyer, *Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Standes* (ed. 2, 1882, pp. 36–44).

When men entered into society they were impelled by self-interest. Each thought he could procure some good for himself by that proceeding; and his natural right to make the most out of the situation remained intact. The theory of an express contract, with either complete or incomplete surrender of natural rights, is an empty figment, nor was there any understanding, except perhaps that each would grasp as much as he could reasonably expect to keep. According to this development of Individualism, therefore, the state of nature is not really put an end to by the formation of a polity; the struggle for existence is as severe as ever, though its conditions are somewhat different. It is a state of war; but instead of the methods of the savage who sticks at no treachery, and revels in wanton destruction, we have those of modern warfare, with its Red Cross ambulances, flags of truce strictly respected, and extermination conducted with all the delicate courtesies of chivalry. The rules of this refined militancy are called laws, and prudence dictates respect for them because, as it is to the advantage of the majority that they should be observed, the many have agreed to fall upon any one who breaks them; and the many are stronger than the one. Thus the sole sanction of law being the will of the majority, which is a mere name for a draft upon physical force, certain to be honoured in case of necessity; and 'absolute political ethics' teaching us that force can confer no rights; it is plain that state-compulsion involves the citizen in slavery, as completely as if any other master were the compeller. Wherever and whenever the individual man is forced to submit to any rules, except those which he himself spontaneously recognises to be worthy of observance, there liberty is absent. And thus we arrive at the position of the great apostle of anarchy, Bakounine, according to whom the liberty of man consists solely in this: that 'he pays obedience to natural laws, because *he himself* admits them to be such, and not because they have been imposed upon him from without by any other will, whether divine or human, collective or individual.'[14] Hence it follows that the 'sovereign people' worshipped by the great champions of liberty and equality, when it dares to impose the 'general will' upon the individual, even if that person be in a minority of one, is as brutal a usurper as ever exercised monarchical tyranny; and, whether a man shall so much as recognise the right of another to the freedom which he himself exercises, is to be left to his private judgment. As all property is robbery, so is all government from without, tyranny.

In this country, where the influence of the pedantry of the Absolute is so much trammelled by common sense and more or less experience of the difference between the nature of things and *a priori* assumptions, Individualism has, usually, stopped short of the conclusions of

[14] *Dieu et l'Etat*, 1881.

Stirner and of Bakounine, beyond which, so far as I can see, the *a priori* method can hardly carry its most hardened practitioner. Nevertheless, the 'party of Individual Liberty,' of which Mr. Auberon Herbert is the spokesman, must, I think, be classified as Anarchist;[15] though the definition of their conception of the relations of the individual to government looks, at first sight, as if it meant no more than limited Individualism.

> Each man and woman are to be free to direct their faculties and their energies according to their own sense of what is right and wise, in every direction except one. They are not to use their faculties for the purpose of forcibly restraining their neighbour from the same free use of his faculties.[16]

And as to Governments—

> They must simply defend the person and property of all persons by whomsoever they are assailed.[17]

This, it will be observed, is the dictum of Locke and nothing more.

But, in the application of the theory to practice, Mr. Herbert goes a good deal further than even Humboldt or Dunoyer. He would do away with all enforced taxation and levying of duties, and trust to voluntary payments for the revenue of the State. The relations of the sexes and the disposition of property by will are to be quite free; traffic of all kinds is to be released from restrictions; state inspection is to be abolished, no less than all hygienic regulations; state education goes, as a matter of course, and with it all state-aided museums, libraries, galleries of art, parks, and pleasure grounds. In fact, the functions of government within the State are rigidly restricted to the administration of civil and criminal justice.

But this is not all. Mr. Herbert oversteps the bounds of limited Individualism and enters the region of Anarchy, when he says he is not quite sure that even this pittance of administrative power is strictly justifiable.

> I do not think that it is possible to find a perfect moral foundation for the authority of any Government, be it the Government of an emperor or a Republic. They are all of the nature of a usurpation, though I think, when *confined within certain exact limits*, of a justifiable usurpation.[18]

A 'justifiable usurpation' is something which I can no more conceive than I can imagine a round square; it being the nature of usur-

[15] Let me remind the reader that I use 'anarchy' in its philosophical sense. Heaven forbid that I should be supposed to suggest that Mr. Herbert and his friends have the remotest connexion with those too 'absolute' political philosophers who desire to add the force of dynamite to that of persuasion. It would be as reasonable to connect Monarchists with murder, on the strength of the proceedings of a Philip the Second or a Lewis the Fourteenth.

[16] *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State*, 1885.

[17] *Ibid.* p. 33. [18] *Ibid.* p. 22.

pation, as I imagine, to be unjustifiable. But I presume that what is meant is, that, though government has no moral authority, it is practically expedient that it should be permitted to exist, if confined within very narrow limits. Absolute ethics, in Mr. Herbert's opinion, refuses to acknowledge the right of any government except the government of the individual by himself. Therefore I am unable to discern any logical boundary between Mr. Herbert's position and that of Bakounine.

The fact that Individualism, pushed to its logical extreme, must end in philosophical anarchy, has not escaped that acute thinker and vigorous writer, Mr. Donisthorpe, whose work on *Individualism*[19] is at once piquant, learned, and thoroughgoing—qualities in which the writings of speculative philosophers do not always abound. I commend Mr. Donisthorpe's eighth chapter, entitled 'A Word for Anarchy,' to those who desire to understand whither the Individualist principle, stripped bare of *a priori* fogs and formulas, and followed out to its consequences, lands its supporters.

Starting from assumptions about the equality of men, their natural rights and the social contract, common to so many political philosophers of the *a priori* school, we have been offered the choice of two alternative routes. Taking that indicated by Hobbes, Rousseau, Mably, and their successors, we have found ourselves committed to the further *a priori* assumption that, when men entered into society, they surrendered all their natural rights; and, acknowledging the omnipotence of the general will, received back such legal and moral obligations and permissions as the Sovereign might be pleased to sanction. Absolute political ethics thus arrived, by a plausible logical process, at *Regimentation*; that is, a quasi-military organisation of society, for the purpose of conquering the general welfare by means of that enforced apparent equality which brings about the hugest of real inequalities.

On the other hand, when we took the path pointed out by Locke and followed by Liberalism, we made an *a priori* assumption of a diametrically opposite character. We said that men entering into the social contract reserved all their natural rights, except such as it was absolutely necessary to yield to government, in order that it should exercise its only legitimate function, the defence of the liberty and property of the individual. According to this limited individualist view, the business of government (except in relation to external enemies) is negative; it is to interfere only for the purpose of preventing any one citizen from using his liberty in such a way as to interfere with the equal liberty of another citizen. According to the regimentalist view, on the contrary, the business

[19] *Individualism: a system of Politics*, 1889.

of government is not only negative, but also and eminently positive. It is the duty of the State to interfere for the purpose of promoting the welfare of society (of which equality is supposed to be a necessary condition), however much such interference may restrict individual liberty. The final outcome of Regimentation is seen in those extreme forms of regimental Socialism which undertake to regulate not only production and consumption, but every detail of human life; that of Individualism is Anarchy, which abolishes collective government and trusts to the struggle for existence, modified by such ethical and intellectual considerations as may be freely recognised by the individual, for the establishment of a social *modus vivendi*, in which freedom remains intact, except so far as it may be voluntarily limited.

Granting the premisses, I am unable to see that one of these lines of argument is any better than the other; and they are mutually destructive. But suppose that, not being blinded by any *a priori* cataracts, we use our eyes upon these premisses—what utter shams and delusions they show themselves to be! I hope that no more need be said about natural rights and the equality of men. But there is just as little foundation in fact for the social contract and either the limited, or the unlimited, devolution of rights and powers which is supposed to have been effected by it. We have sadly little definite knowledge of the manner in which polities arose, but, if anything is certain, it is that the notion of a contract, whether expressed or implied, is by no means an adequate expression of the process.

The most archaic polities of which we have any definite record are either families, or federations of families; and the most doctrinaire of political philosophers will hardly be prepared to maintain that the family polity was based upon contract between the *paterfamilias* and his wife and children, and arose out of the expressed desire of the latter to have their liberty and property protected by their governor; or that even any tacit understanding on that subject influenced the formation of the family group. In truth, the more primitive the condition of a polity, the less is there any trace of contract, either expressed or implied, between its members—the more common is it to find that neither wife nor child possessed either liberty, or property, worth speaking of. The *paterfamilias* of the Aryan stock, at any rate, could say 'L'état c'est moi' with more truth than any later monarch. So far from the preservation of liberty and property and the securing of equal rights being the chief and most conspicuous objects aimed at by the archaic polities of which we know anything, it would be a good deal nearer the truth to say that they were federated absolute monarchies, the chief purpose of which was the maintenance of an established Church for the worship of the family ancestors.

Philosophers, proud of living according to reason, are too apt to forget that people who do not profess themselves to be more than ordinary men mostly live according to unreason; or what seems such to the philosophers. Moderns, who make to themselves metaphysical teraphim out of the Absolute, the Unknowable, the Unconscious, and the other verbal abstractions whose apotheosis is indicated by initial capitals, may find it difficult to imagine that it seemed good to ancient men to perform the same theurgic operation upon their very concrete but deceased forefathers; and to believe that, unless the Manes were regularly propitiated with a supply of such commodities as ghosts can enjoy, they would not only withdraw their benevolent protection, but would make things very unpleasant for their descendants and their fellow countrymen. Yet there can be little question that this theory lies at the foundation of the ancient polity; and that the dominant purpose of its organisation was not the preservation of liberty or property, by taking order that no man used his freedom in a way to interfere with others' freedom, but the performance of those religious obligations by which the good will of the ancestral gods might be secured. Archaic society aims, not at the freest possible exercise of rights, but at the exactest possible discharge of duties. The most marked inequalities and seeming iniquities of ancient law, such as succession in the male line, the acknowledgment of agnate blood relationship only, adoption, divorce for barrenness, are direct consequences of the religious foundation of ancient society. Thus the whole fabric of *a priori* political speculation which we have had under consideration is built upon the quicksand of fictitious history. So far as this method of establishing their claims is concerned, *Regimentation* and *Individualism*—enforced Socialism and Anarchy—are alike out of court.

The comments upon the first three of the series of articles now concluded, which have come under my notice, lead me to suspect that my purpose in writing them has been somewhat misunderstood.

They appear to have been regarded by the regimental socialists as an onslaught specially directed against their position; and as an attempt to justify those who, content with the present, are opposed to all endeavours to bring about any fundamental change in our social arrangements.

Those who have had the patience to follow me to the end will, I trust, have become aware that my aim has been altogether different. Even the best of modern civilisations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion, that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the con-

dition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over Nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of Want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, among the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation. What profits it to the human Prometheus that he has stolen the fire of heaven to be his servant, and that the spirits of the earth and of the air obey him, if the vulture of pauperism is eternally to tear his very vitals and keep him on the brink of destruction?

Assuredly, if I believed that any of the schemes hitherto proposed for bringing about social amelioration were likely to attain their end, I should think what remains to me of life well spent in furthering it. But my interest in these questions did not begin the day before yesterday; and, whether right or wrong, it is no hasty conclusion of mine that we have small chance of doing wisely in this matter (or indeed in any other), unless we think rightly. Further, that we shall never think rightly in politics until we have cleared our minds of delusions; and, more especially, of the philosophical delusions which, as I have endeavoured to show, have infested political thought for centuries. My main purpose has been to contribute my mite towards this essential preliminary operation. Ground must be cleared and levelled before a building can be properly commenced; the labour of the navvy is as necessary as that of the architect, however much less honoured; and it has been my humble endeavour to grub up those old stumps of the *a priori*, which stand in the way of the very foundations of a sane political philosophy. To those who think that questions of the kind I have been discussing have merely an academic interest, let me suggest, once more, that a century ago Robespierre and St. Just proved that the way of answering them may have extremely practical consequences.

The task which I set before myself, then, was simply a destructive criticism of *a priori* political philosophy, whether regimental or individualistic. But I am aware that the modesty of the purely critical attitude is not appreciated as it ought to be. There is a prevalent idea that the constructive genius is in itself something grander than the critical; even though the former turns out to have merely made a symmetrical rubbish heap in the middle of the road of science, which the latter has to clear away before anybody can get forward. The critic is told: It is all very well to show that this, that, or the other is wrong; what we want to know is, what is right?

Now, I submit that it is unjust to require a crossing sweeper in Piccadilly to tell you the road to Highgate; he has earned his copper

if he has done all he professes to do and cleaned up your immediate path. So I do not think anyone has a claim upon me to make any positive suggestions, still less to commit myself to any ambitious schemes of social regeneration such as are now as common as blackberries. Reading and experience have led me to believe that the results of political changes are hardly ever those which their friends hope or their foes fear; and, if I were offered a free hand by Almighty power, I should, like Hamlet, shudderingly object to the responsibility of attempting to set right a world out of joint. But I may perhaps, without presumption, set forth some reflections, germane to the subject, which have now and again crossed my mind.

About this question of government, for example; perhaps it is the prejudice of scientific habit, which leads me to think that it might be as well to proceed from the known to the unknown. Most of us, I hope, have tried their hands at self-government; and those who have met with any measure of success in that difficult art will, I believe, agree with me that safety lies neither in the regimentation of asceticism nor in the anarchy of reckless self-seeking, but in a middle course. Surely there is a time to submit to guidance and a time to take one's own way at all hazards.

A good many of us, again, have had practical experience of the government of that elementary polity, a family. In this business, the people who fail utterly are, on the one hand, the martinet regimentalists and, on the other, the parents whose theory of education appears to be that expounded by the elder Mr. Weller, when, if I remember rightly, he enlarged upon the advantages which Sam had enjoyed by being allowed to roam at will about Covent Garden Market, from babyhood upwards. Individualism, pushed to anarchy, in the family is as ill-founded theoretically and as mischievous practically as it is in the State; while extreme regimentation is a certain means of either destroying self-reliance or of maddening to rebellion.

When we turn from the family to the aggregation of families which constitutes the State, I do not see that the case is substantially altered. The problem of government may be stated to be, What ought to be done and what to be left undone by society, as a whole, in order to bring about as much welfare of its members as is compatible with the natural order of things? And I do not think men will ever solve this problem unless they clear their minds, not merely of the notion that it can be solved *a priori*; but unless they face the fact that the natural order of things—the order, that is to say, as unmodified by human effort—does not tend to bring about what we understand as welfare. On the contrary, the natural order tends to the maintenance, in one shape or another, of the war of each against all, the result of which is not the survival of the morally or even the physically highest,

but of that form of humanity, the mortality of which is least under the conditions. The pressure of a constant increase of population upon the means of support must keep up the struggle for existence, whatever form of social organisation may be adopted. In fact, it is hard to say whether the state of anarchy or that of extreme regimentation would be the more rapidly effective in bringing any society which multiplies without limit to a crisis.

The cardinal defect of all socialistic schemes appears to me to be, that they either ignore this difficulty or try to evade it by nonsensical suppositions about increasing the production of vital capital *ad libitum*. Individualism, on the other hand, admitting the inevitability of the struggle, is too apt to try to persuade us that it is all for our good, as an essential condition of progress to higher things. But that is not necessarily true; the creature that survives a free-fight only demonstrates his superior fitness for coping with free-fighters—not any other kind of superiority.

The political problem of problems is how to deal with over-population, and it faces us on all sides. I have heard a great deal about the tyranny of capital. No doubt it is true that labour is dependent on capital. No doubt if, out of a thousand men, one holds and can keep all the capital,[20] the rest are bound to serve him or die. But if, on this ground, labour may be said to be the slave of capital, it would be equally just to say that capital is the slave of labour. A naked millionaire, with a chest full of specie, might be set down in the middle of the best agricultural estate in England; but unless somebody would work for him, he would probably soon perish from cold and hunger, having previously lost everything for lack of protection. The state of things attributed to the tyranny of the capitalist might be far more properly ascribed to the self-enslavement of the wage earners. It is their competition with one another which makes his strength.

Over-population has two sources: one internal by generation, one external by immigration. Theoretically, the elimination of Want is possible by the arrest of both, in such a manner as to restrict the population of any area to the number capable of being fed by the agricultural produce of that area; the manufacturing and professional population being kept down to a number equal to the difference between the necessary agricultural and the total permissible population. A polity of this kind might be self-supporting, and there need be no poverty in it, except such as arose from moral delinquencies or unavoidable calamities.

This is, substantially, the plan of the 'Closed Industrial State'[21] set forth by Fichte; and, so far as I can see, there is no other social

[20] Using the term in its more restricted sense.

[21] *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*. 1800.

arrangement by which Want can be permanently eliminated. For if either unrestricted generation or unrestricted immigration is permitted; or if any considerable proportion of the industrial population is allowed to depend for its food upon foreign sources, pauperism becomes imminent—in the first case, by the competition of the native and the imported workers with one another; in the second case, by the competition in the market of foreign industries of the same nature.

I offer no opinion whether Fichte's Utopia is practically realisable or not. That about which I have a very strong opinion is, that political speculators who, while ignoring these conditions, promise a millennium of equality and fraternity, are reckoning sadly without their host, or rather hostess, Dame Nature.

T. H. HUXLEY.

CHARLES THE TWELFTH: A MEMOIR.

'THAT which never dies, I know, is the judgment of a dead man.' In these simple words our *Hávamál* expresses the value of the judgment of history. The past appeals to the justice of the future. History is the answer, but generations pass away before the final verdict can be given. Not until the clamour of contemporary admiration or censure is silenced, not until the heart has ceased to beat, not until adulation can no longer attract and calumny is of no avail, not until then is the hour of historical judgment at hand; and out of the clouds of prejudice and misconstruction rises at last the brilliant sun of truth. But although under its effect perception becomes clearer and views are enlarged, the difficulty of coming to a just verdict is great, as it must not be based on assumptions, but demands a proper understanding of the conditions and bent of a particular age. The judgment of which the *Hávamál* speaks is one demanding an unprejudiced and also merciful view, founded upon a clear and unbiassed conception of a past age, and the forces and individuals that predominated during that age.

Every age has its heroes, who seem, so to speak, to constitute the embodiment of its drift and aspirations. Such men cannot be measured by the ordinary standard. When history adjudges upon their achievements it must do so as a whole, and not piecemeal. That would leave but little to cherish and venerate in our heroes, of whom Charles the Twelfth is one.

The memory of Charles the Twelfth is dear to every Swede, his name famous throughout the world, his history rich in eventful vicissitudes, and his personality and qualities have been variously judged; therefore it is with feelings of veneration not unmingled with trepidation that I venture to attempt to delineate the true character of the Lion King of the North.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century dawned a new era. New powerful forces awoke to life within political as well as religious spheres and stamped the future destiny of the world. The feudalism

of the middle ages had long since seen its palmy days. Its historical *rôle* was played out, like an old knight who, with stumbling gait, is approaching nearer and nearer to the grave, rich in honour and memories, but tired of life, helpless, and heavy with sin. The Reformation, which acknowledged the free right of thought, was as hostile to secular feudalism as to spiritual. On the main continent of Europe, where feudalism predominated to such an extent that an independent agrarian class did not exist, the new order of things resulted generally in the creation of princely states or the formation of certain mighty free commercial towns. The former was followed by the establishment of a numerous influential and strictly disciplined bureaucracy, whilst the latter, as a rule, were accompanied by communal oppression under the cloak of republican forms of government.

In those countries where Protestantism was victorious the spiritual aristocracy was crushed, and before long also the secular. In Germany alone some of the most powerful feudal lords succeeded in gaining an independence which has been first shaken in our days, but more often the less important were soon suppressed. In England the aristocracy became an important factor in the new *régime*, which, fortunately for that kingdom, was founded in the seventeenth century, and which, favoured both by the situation of the country and the temper of the people, developed itself in a most remarkable manner. In France, on the other hand, where amongst the movements of the new age the religious must be reckoned the principal, the centralising autocracy assumed its most pronounced form. An outward hollow reconciliation between the different sects of religion having been established, the work of centralisation increased. The work of Henry the Fourth and Sully, already prepared by Louis the Eleventh, was continued with persevering directness by the important men who afterwards piloted the ship of state, so that at last Louis the Fourteenth could raise his mighty throne on the ruins of feudal France and thence send forth the world-famed dictum: 'L'état c'est moi,' in which is in reality expressed his own statecraft as well as the political creed of the age which bears his name.

As to Sweden, we find that, although certain conditions, especially during the last years of the seventeenth and the first years of the eighteenth century, decidedly resembled those existing in France, our country had experienced a social development very unlike that of other countries in Europe, and that with us a social life had grown up which faithfully reflected the peculiar traits of Swedish national temper. Thus the individual sense of independence found a reflection in a class of freehold farmers which has never been so suppressed as to cease making itself felt in opposition to the other powers in

the community. The temper of the people counteracted, just as much as the climate and position, the foundation of such great and powerful centres of commerce which in Germany and Italy created communities with independent constitutions, extensive connections, and great wealth. A poor soil was not favourable to the feudal system, which requires large and rich domains in order to prosper, but the system itself was resisted by the free-born peasantry, who therein saw a danger to their future, and who therefore became one of the most faithful if not always disinterested allies of the monarchy. The power of the Catholic Church in Sweden, although great, was never equal to that exercised in countries nearer Rome. All conditions were simpler, the social chains fewer, although not weaker.

Thus Sweden was saved from any sudden revolution. In the union of Calmar[1] lay a deep and grand idea, but, alas, badly expressed, and yet worse applied; therefore it failed in its object. The specific Swedish consciousness of a distinct nationality may with reason be said to have taken deep root during this period, and caused the most striking events in Swedish history. The first Wasa king founded his throne upon this national consciousness awakened to life; he found protection and help in the province of Dalcarlia, where the independence of the freehold farmers, particularly favoured by local conditions and the temper of the people, had maintained itself best, and he built his throne from the fragments of that of the union-king, Christian the Second, with the swords and by the voices of the Swedish people. Both Gustavus Wasa and his successors certainly obtained, like the monarchs of France, an increase of power, and this was necessary; but the national strength which asserted itself in Sweden became the safeguard of liberty, and to the honour of our greatest rulers be it said that they were themselves the foremost representatives of our national life and character. 'Swedish history is its kings,' says our great poet Geijer truly; and these words have another and, to my mind, a far better meaning than those of Louis the Fourteenth quoted above. The greatness of Sweden externally was gained by grand feats of arms, as its regeneration internally was the outcome of religious as well as political reformation.

It deserves to be remembered that the nobility, through courageous conduct and official skill, understood how to create for itself a political position due to personal merits, and which has been preserved to the present day. Maybe the leaders within the party hoped, through distinguished services under the standards, to regain some day the power which even the nobility of the North in the mediæval age strove to attain. Two lengthy regencies, with distin-

[1] The union of the three Scandinavian countries under one crown.

guished statesmen belonging to the most eminent families in the land at the head of affairs, the reign of a splendour-loving queen, and the incessant wars which called the male regents to service outside the country, favoured such a plan, and at the period of Charles the Eleventh attaining his majority the goal seemed indeed near at hand. In power and wealth, in statesmanship and territorial position, our most eminent noble families fully equalled those of Germany. The Swedish Councillors of State demanded and were admitted to rank with the princely Elector of Germany, and were, moreover, related to Swedish as well as to foreign princely houses. The nobility held a large portion of Swedish soil, and through the exemption from taxation of their privileged land the burden upon the rest of the soil became the more heavy, and the entire fiscal system of the country was threatened with collapse. The agrarian class was running a greater danger still, the feudal lords, like implacable creditors, threatening by law and by sword to subdue all other classes of the community. Fortunately the national monarchy was sufficiently strong and wise to raise a barrier against this attempt to guide our social development into such a dangerous channel. Sweden obtained in Charles the Eleventh her Louis the Fourteenth before it was too late, just as she had in Charles the Ninth her Louis the Eleventh only at a period when the progress of the country had proceeded far enough to permit the people to assert itself by the side of the Crown. In truth, Providence has clearly watched over the Swedish people.

The curtailing of the power of the feudal lords by Charles the Eleventh was necessary, but the execution was cruel and far too severe. He founded upon the ruins of the federally disposed landed aristocracy a faithful and loyal bureaucratic hierarchy, and was, for the settlement of the shaken and disturbed conditions of state and for the introduction of the new political *régime*, invested by the people's representatives with a power and authority which were in reality despotic. Every one considered that a despotic monarchy was now necessary to consolidate the new political order of things; it may be said truly that the king of the realms was chosen dictator by his subjects, in order that, even with a temporary sacrifice of popular liberty, he might guard and advance the conditions upon which their future existence and progress depended.

To the honour of Charles the Eleventh be it said that he wielded his great powers solely for the good of the State, and never to his personal benefit, and the best proof of his wisdom is that, in spite of his unlimited powers, he often consulted the Estates. Charles was not remarkably gifted by nature; his education, too, had been neglected; but the evidence of his statesmanlike and beneficent reign remains, and provinces gloriously defended by him in the hour of danger still

belong to the Swedish Crown, whilst others far more dearly acquired have been lost for ever. At his death he left the country in a state such as it had not enjoyed since the days of Gustavus Wasa, and which it did not again attain till under the rule of my grandfather and father, Charles John (Bernadotte) and Oscar the First. A well-filled treasury, an incorruptible judiciary, extensive trade with the most distant parts of the globe, a reorganised and well-equipped army, and a strong able navy, which nearly ruled the Baltic—such are the fruits of the reign of this ruler.[2]

He had, moreover, consolidated the position of Sweden as a great Power. Every foreign State bid for our friendship, and Sweden was able to act with weight as arbiter at the general peace congress of Ryswick, summoned thereto by the unanimous voice of conflicting parties.[3]

Our frontiers were never more extended than at this period. Maybe they could not be called natural frontiers in the modern sense of the word, but they were certainly proof of power and means of influence. Through the treaties of Stolbowa and Brömsebro, the treaty of Westphalia, and the treaties of Roskilde and Oliwa, Sweden had obtained acknowledgment of her rights to the possessions on the Continent won by the sword, as well as to the provinces of Scania, Blekinge, Halland, and Bohus in the Scandinavian peninsula. She had obtained duty free right of way through the Sound, right to have a voice in the internal affairs of Germany, and was looked upon as the protectress of the threatened Protestants. In strong opposition to Denmark, the only other Power having possessions of consequence on the Baltic and a fleet upon that sea comparable with our own, Sweden held the foremost position as guarantor of Holstein, with the ducal

[2] It is well known and fully admitted that this was the army with which Charles the Twelfth effected his remarkable exploits of war. It should be, but is not, known, too, that the great creation of Charles the Eleventh—the navy—had a large share in the astounding progress of the former in his earlier campaigns. And I cannot here refrain from drawing attention to the great advantages reaped by Sweden when possessing a Government which has justly valued and developed our navy. There are three monarchs who have particularly watched over the navy, viz.: Gustavus Wasa, Charles the Eleventh, and Gustavus the Third, and through their care the results were: Under Gustavus Wasa that Swedish commerce flourished for the first time, and that the old, long-forgotten Viking land again became known and honoured; under Charles the Eleventh that the predominating power of Sweden in the north, and acknowledged right of voice in the political affairs of Europe, through her mastery of the Baltic, became consolidated and rose to its highest points; finally, under Gustavus the Third, that Sweden, in spite of many unfortunate circumstances, could single-handed hold her own in the war against powerful Russia, the only war since the beginning of the eighteenth century from which the country emerged without loss of territory. Such teachings of history should not be buried in oblivion.

[3] Among the latter France declared, through her envoy in Stockholm, that she desired no other changes in the treaties of Westphalia and Viumweg than those which the King of Sweden himself should deem advantageous.

house of which the Swedish royal family was closely allied by marriage, and finally, through the alliance of Charles the Eleventh with the Danish Princess Ulrica Eleonora, a question was left open to the future which might be answered by a second union of Calmar under conditions far more advantageous to Sweden than those of the first.

Such, then, we find the inheritance to which Prince Charles was born in Stockholm Palace at dawn of the 17th of June, 1682.

His birth was greeted with joy by the whole country, and various remarkable signs were said to have been manifest around his cradle—the cradle which to the present day constitutes one of the costliest historical treasures of the royal house of Sweden. The portents were believed by the populace, who therefore thought that a shining future was in store for the little princelet, who inspired general hopes. His first years passed in the care of a pattern mother, Ulrica Eleonora, who instilled in his young mind that fear of God, justice, and purity of living, which afterwards distinguished the youth and the man. When four years of age the prince obtained as his governor Count Eric Lindskold, and soon afterwards, as his tutor, the distinguished professor of oratory at Upsala, Norcopeusis, afterwards raised to the nobility in the name of Nordenthelm, an honour which, it is said, Charles himself solicited of his parents.

Charles the Eleventh, who had himself experienced the evils of a neglected education, watched incessantly over the tuition of his son. His progress was rapid in most things, particularly in history, mathematics, and the classics. His gifted nature was early developed, and he was with justice considered a child endowed with a quick perception and a bright intelligence. Unfortunately, the plan of education was not permitted to be carried out undisturbed, for in 1693 death claimed his tender-hearted and pious mother, after a life in which a deep sense of duty, nobility of character and affection were the distinguishing traits, but who had experienced but little of pleasure and gratitude from others. With Ulrica Eleonora a good angel disappeared from the side of Charles. The venerable Nordenhjelm soon also followed the queen into the grave, whither Lindskold had already journeyed, and in whose place as governor Count Nils Gyldenstolpe was chosen whilst councillor of the chancellery. Thomas Polus succeeded Nordenhjelm, without, however, fully filling his place. Charles's sorrow over the loss of his mother was so deep and violent that it seriously affected his health, and soon after her funeral he was attacked by a violent fever which threatened his life. Youth and his robust constitution were, however, victorious, his development soon proceeding as before, and already at the age of fourteen or fifteen he is described as boasting that manly and tall appearance which is so pleasing to the Swedish eye. Warlike games now became

his favourite occupation, that excellent officer Stuart undertaking his instruction in military science. The prince was often permitted to follow his father on his journeys and reviews around the country, and attended also for a time the lectures at the University of Upsala. Everywhere he gained the affections of the people. At the beginning of 1697 he was prepared by Bishop Berzelius for confirmation, but did not receive the Holy Communion until the day after his father's death.

On the 14th of April, 1697, Charles the Twelfth ascended, in virtue of his inheritance, the kingly throne of Sweden, being then fourteen years and ten months of age. In accordance with the testament of his father, made immediately after the death of Queen Eleonora, the regency was, until the son attained a 'maturer' age, to be composed of five regents, with the dowager-queen of Charles the Tenth as president. The regency was to be consulted in all affairs of state, detailed injunctions being given as to its mode of procedure. Only one stipulation was wanting, though a very important one, namely, the 'age of maturity' of the king. The whole regency was therefore a misfortune, and its political functions evaporated entirely in intrigues, the sole aims of which were to gain the favour of the king and security from future reproaches. However, Charles soon began to make his personal will felt, in spite of a weak grandmother and vacillating regents. Among the latter, the president, Count Bengt Oxenstierna, must be said to have possessed the greatest weight and authority; but his position was not undisputed. The parties were sharply divided, particularly upon foreign policy. Between France and the naval Powers a combat was waged in the Swedish council, in which flattery, money, and intrigue played alternate parts in rapid succession; in fact, the scant information vouchsafed us of those times seems indisputably to indicate that certain Swedish statesmen were not proof against the temptation of gold, against which at the present day we boast of steel armour. But, however we may regret all abuses, it would not be just to throw the whole blame upon the form of government. We must above all things remember the different views then prevailing, views which a subsequent century, with all its so-called freedom and enlightenment, has been unable to shake—ay, which it has rather seemed to favour.

A third party, the Danish, had been formed of the men most dissatisfied with the curtailing of the power of the nobility, which at first laboured secretly for a Danish succession, but which, upon discovering its impotence, joined the 'French' party, and thereby gave it a decided ascendency, in spite of the opposition of the dowager-queen and Oxenstierna. At the head of this party were the regents Christoffer Gyllenstjerna, Fabian Wrede, and Wallen-

stedt, supported by the king's governor, Gyldenstolpe, and other leading public men.

Distaste of government by aristocracy in general, but more particularly the apparent weakness of the regency, made the latter very unpopular in the country, and heightened the yearnings of the nation for a young, resolute, and quick ruler, and the leaders of the various political parties became anxious to turn this feeling to account for the advancement of their plans. The consequences were not long in coming. They were accelerated by several accidental events —a general famine, the like of which the country had not witnessed for very many years, threatening aspects respecting the peace of Europe—although the torch of war had but just been extinguished—and, finally, a horrible palace fire, the mystery of which produced an almost superstitious depression among the people. On the last-named occasion the youthful Charles had for the first time an opportunity of exhibiting proof of that resoluteness and presence of mind which never afterwards deserted him. His popularity gained still more therefrom, and when reluctantly quitting the ruins of his father's burning castle, the threshold of which he should never cross again, he might, in the din of the popular acclamations, have heard the prophecy of those great events which were shortly to influence his destiny so deeply.

The Estates had been summoned to attend the funeral of the late king. This, at all events, was the ostensible reason, though every one predicted that something important, though undefined, would be the outcome of its meeting. The peers and the nobility also assembled in unprecedented numbers, and upon the election of presidents, the French party, which appeared most to favour an immediate declaration of age of the king, was victorious. Intrigues began at once, but they afford nothing of interest. Of any actual plan or leaders to carry into effect the declaration of sovereignty there were none, although the subsequently so influential Count Piper was designated as an ardent party chief. And why any plans, leaders, or secret understandings? Most were agreed upon the main question, or appeared to be. Events evolved themselves, and with remarkable rapidity. It was in the forenoon of the 18th of November that the word was for the first time uttered in the assembly of nobles. The few cautious ones were outvoted, silenced, and even jeered at. A deputation was at once despatched to the Government, which happened to be assembled. Fabian Wrede was the only one who manifested any hesitation, all the remaining regents, as well as the dowager-queen, acquiescing gladly. A meeting was fixed at the assembly of nobles for the same afternoon, and the commoners, of whom nobody appears to have thought before, were then summoned thither. Deputations of the latter met, the subject was discussed

openly, but only the clergy warned against haste, and displayed a reluctance which the impartial historian must call 'respect for the law.'

As already said, the age of maturity was not fixed in the testament of Charles the Eleventh; maybe this was done purposely, to leave room for such interpretation as the development of events might demand; but, according to immemorial custom, and by a resolution of the Estates of 1604, a Swedish king should attain his majority at the age of eighteen, and Charles the Twelfth was but fifteen. However, it happened now, as is generally the case in the moment of party excitement, the storm of acclamation silenced every voice of hesitation. No time for consideration was allowed. The same afternoon all Estates met at the House of Nobles. The nobility were very numerous, and, rising to a man, threw their hats into the air, shouting with enthusiasm, 'Vivat rex Carolus!' This was their whole deliberation. Burghers and peasants joined willingly in the cry. The clergy were shattered, only a few of their representatives being present. On the following day this Estate met, when some prudent words were uttered, but what was done could not be undone. The marshal of the realm, at the head of the Estates in assembly, obtained the desired audience between six and seven o'clock in the evening, and exhorted the king on their behalf to at once assume the reins of government, promising, in the name of the entire people, adherence and obedience, with offer of goods, life, and blood if necessary, an offer which it must be admitted they redeemed to the last. The king answered 'Yes,' and promised, with the help of God and in the name of Jesus, to assume the government.

Thus, in the short space of hardly ten hours, this remarkable revolution was effected. It may be considered the 'political Narva' of Charles the Twelfth. To us, who look on these events through the vista of the past and without painful feelings, it must seem that it would have been more fortunate, both for Sweden and himself, if he had risen to full sovereignty in a less hasty and revolutionary manner. The Lion King might will have been afforded time to gather his strength, and the young mind to mature for the great calls that were soon to be made upon both. But the populace had, as usual, no thought beyond the hour of joy and advantage, and under jubilation from high and low Charles the Twelfth, on the 29th of November, in *plenum plenorum*, assumed the government.

Upon this the meeting of the Estates was in reality closed, although sittings took place for some weeks afterwards, so that the representatives of the nation were able before they separated to grace the royal obsequies of Charles the Eleventh as well as the crowning of his youthful son Charles the Twelfth.

That a lad like Charles the Twelfth could have no great inclination at first for the more serious sides of administration was only natural. And how he, with the ardour of his age, indulged in warlike games, daring bear-hunts, forced riding-matches in the company of youths of his own age, is too well known for recapitulation here. It has been asserted that his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein, from ignoble motives, encouraged these reckless exploits, in order that one of them might end in a vacancy of the throne, and for this reason the duke was looked upon with disfavour by the people.

It is, however, less known, strange to say, that the king soon changed his conduct. Without renouncing his manly pursuits, he by degrees separated himself from the more intimate companions of his brother-in-law, and began to devote longer time to the duties of a regent, and this some while before the breaking of the storm which was soon to ravage the North.

The policy of neutrality and the prudent administration of the father had already long before increased the influence and respect of Sweden in Europe, but had also increased the jealousy of the neighbouring Powers. Russia had for some years been governed by the famous ruler who was destined to found the greatness of that country in large measure at our expense. In the electoral kingdom of Poland, the Saxon Elector Augustus, in spite of the labours of France in favour of the Prince de Conti, had succeeded in gaining the crown, which, however, afforded him more lustre than power. The land of the great Brandenburger was silently preparing for its coming task in the history of the world, and Denmark, at that time our implacable foe, was brooding upon revenge for the loss of her provinces.

When the rulers of these countries beheld Sweden governed by a monarch hardly out of his teens and of age before his time, whose thoughts and life, moreover, were only occupied in wild, reckless, and dangerous pursuits, and within whose domains many causes for fermentation existed, they deluded themselves by the hope that our country would fall an easy prey to their combined forces. There were not wanting traitors who fanned these hopes. The Liefland nobility, harshly and unwisely treated by the Swedish Government, obtained at the Russian as well as at the Polish Court treasonable connections who naturally exaggerated the dissatisfaction of the country.

The reprehensible manner in which Tsar Peter and King Augustus—Charles's own nephew—treated him, although not wanting a counterpart in history, was at variance with all Charles's ideas of honour and morality, and fostered a deep aversion in his heart which strongly influenced his subsequent actions; for be it remembered that only three days before concluding an offensive alliance with King Augustus,

Tsar Peter signed a treaty of amity with Charles, demanding and obtaining at the same time a supply of ordnance from our honourable and trusting hero, whilst barely a fortnight previously King Augustus had despatched an embassy to Stockholm offering Charles his congratulations on his accession to the throne. Although just as hastily disposed, the careful Brandenburger Court remained neutral, whereas the Danish king secretly entered the alliance, at the same time protesting most loudly his friendship for Charles, his blood relation. Under this mask of hypocrisy three mighty States were preparing themselves for an attack upon our country and its beardless king. Without a moment's warning or declaration of war they threw off the mask and unsheathed their swords, certain of victory. But they had reckoned without their host in Charles the Twelfth and his Swedes.

Upon the receipt of the unexpected news simultaneously from all the frontiers of the land, a thrill of alarm shot through the whole nation. All parties were instantly united in the love for their country, and with a few quick and mighty strokes of his paws the irritated Swedish lion felled his antagonists to the earth.

That Charles first turned his forces against Denmark was undoubtedly wise, for this foe was nearest and could with difficulty be assisted. Rapidly Charles prepared his fleet under the command of Rear-admiral Hans Wachtmeister, ordered the nearest regiments down into Scania, and departed himself on the 12th of April, 1700, from his capital, which, alas! *he was never to behold again.*

The Danish king had withdrawn the principal portion of his army to Schleswig, whither he himself had also gone. Most probably he flattered himself with the hope of crushing the Duke of Holstein and his few Swedish auxiliary troops before Seeland was threatened. But he had to pay dearly for this carelessness. When the Swedish fleet entered the Sound from the south simultaneously with the appearance of an English and a Dutch squadron at the northern end to assist Sweden, the Danish fleet did not venture out. In the district around Malmo there were, upon the king's arrival, only some 6,000 men, but the saving of time was far more important than a few thousand men. An inspiration which bore the stamp of greatness dictated the decision of the youthful general. His fleet having mastery of the Sound, he, quick as lightning, throws his few regiments across, landing at Humlebäck, a little fishing village just south of Elsinore. He himself wades ashore from the boats, unable to reach land at the head of his guards, and hearing, for the first time, the bullets of the enemy whiz past him, fired by youthful heroism, he exclaims, with prophetic enthusiasm, 'This shall henceforth be my music!'

He is victorious almost without shedding blood. He strikes with terror the Danish Government, and gains at the same time, through his noble conduct and the severe discipline of his troops, the sympathies of the population of Seeland. Not only with admiration but with affection they greet the son of their good and beloved Ulrica. To the many deputations waiting upon him in his camp he answers with modest assurance, 'What I have done I have been driven to, but you may now rest assured that from this day I shall be the staunchest friend of your kind.' And he does not only *say* so, but acts equally chivalrously. He grants an armistice before the very walls of Copenhagen. He demands not an inch of land from the king who has just raised his sword against him, and who, before a month is over, has thus to sue to him; we are told to consider the subsequent peace as the 'adjustment of a misunderstanding' between Denmark and Holstein. The direct interest of Sweden are not affected by it. We may well ask with one of our most gifted historians, 'Was there but a blind thirst for warlike distinction, and no feeling of peaceful greatness at the bottom of this nature who thus seals his first victory?' We can well understand the enthusiasm evoked among the just Swedish people over such an action, in which the most high-minded nobleness of character and the most heroic force were blended; and this in a youth of eighteen!

From the joys over his success both king and nation were, however, called to serious cares. It was whispered, not without apprehension, 'Against whom are our arms to be directed next?' King Augustus was undoubtedly the one who had first broken the peace, but his attack upon Liefland had failed, thanks to the watchful and experienced warrior field-marshal, Eric Dahlberg. On the other hand, Tsar Peter was a far more dangerous enemy, both through his personal qualities and the magnitude of his forces; whilst behind him stood the most numerous nation in Europe, which had substantial advantages to gain at the expense of Sweden. Charles did not even confide his plans to his nearest friend. Prominent men of action do not generally *talk* much of their plans, whilst the treacherous conduct of which the three monarchs had been guilty towards Sweden had fostered in the young king a keen desire to keep secret the aim of every pending action. And here we have one of the most distinguishing traits in the character of our hero. He evaded all questions and representations for peace from the foreign envoys, accelerating the embarkation of his army at Carlshamn. Without giving the enemy time for action, ay, before he even knew the result of the Danish campaign, his troops landed at Pernau, and stood in the heart of Esthland, hastening to the aid of Narva, hotly pressed by the Russians.

I need not enlarge here upon that remarkable battle, where a

handful of our ancestors against many times their number gained one of the most complete victories of which history tells. The actual fight consisted in the storming of the earthworks, hastily thrown up by the enemy, with which he attempted to protect his siege works threatened in the rear. Although at first glance this might seem to hinder progress, it was not so. The Russian forces, very raw and badly organised, were far too much extended, and as one division had to be turned towards the town to prevent a sortie, it could be but of little assistance to the other. An opportune snowstorm hid the two small Swedish columns of attack, and the surprise was complete, the number of prisoners taken being so great that our troops were insufficient and too exhausted to guard them. The king gave them their liberty the next day. The trophies were as numerous as glorious, among them being a large number of the very Swedish guns recently presented to the Tsar. The news of the victory spread far and wide, and the memory of it will live among us for ever. Yet still that Narva day, in spite of the lustre it shed upon Sweden and Charles the Twelfth, was not a lucky day for either. The victory, although dearly purchased, was too miraculous and too easily won, and fostered a contempt for the antagonist which bore evil fruit. The great Tsar saw through his opponent, whilst at the same time admiring him. From his own reverses and the character of his enemy he learnt a valuable lesson, by which he understood how to benefit, and although the benefit was at our expense, justice cannot deny him this honour.

Several voices at the Swedish headquarters were raised in favour of continuing the campaign against Russia, and nothing seemed, indeed, more natural. King Augustus, frightened by the rapid successive news of misfortune from the theatres of war, desired and sued for peace, and it is most probable that the Tsar, vanquished and deserted by both his allies, would also have been compelled to sheathe the sword. It would, indeed, seem as if the guardian angel of Sweden at that moment raised its warning hand before the youthful hero king so favoured by fortune. With one foot already in the grave, the chancellor of the realm, Bengt Oxenstierna, entreated the king to listen to the proposals for peace following such a splendid victory. The king's favourite and influential companion, Count Piper, also supported this advice; but neither of them was listened to. The *third* enemy was as yet not vanquished *by the sword*. Two reasons may have determined Charles's decisions—first, his anger at King Augustus's treachery, particularly as he considered him the real instigator of the whole plot; and, secondly, apprehension that if he at once accepted their promises of peace, his enemies, now for the time conquered, would again attack him at the first opportune moment. The latter reason is particularly emphasised by some

of his eulogists. Without denying the weight of this argument, and bearing in mind that a vanquished foe never accepts a forced peace with good grace, and generally nourishes the hope of some day having his revenge, we must remember that, nevertheless, prudence may counsel the victor to accept terms. We must further remember that, two of the allies having been completely beaten, and the third begging for peace, the union between them was broken, and the formerly united conspirators were accusing each other of want of sincerity. A fresh alliance was therefore hardly possible. The first reason was a purely *personal* one, weighing much, maybe most, with Charles, inasmuch as his character, his education, as well as the mode of government of his kingdom, led him undoubtedly to consider his own personal feelings in the first instance, never mind what caution prompted. Whatever the reasons may have been, the consequences were calamitous. The dice of war once cast, many and many a year of sorrow and suffering had to pass by, and much blood to be shed, before peace once more reigned in the North.

In the course of the year 1700 Sweden had succeeded in gathering and organising all her forces. In Liefland there stood before the next campaign 16,000 cavalry and 28,500 infantry troops.[4] At the beginning of December 1700, the king with a portion of his forces marched southwards. The general opinion was that the object was Courland, where some Saxon troops were stationed; but shortly afterwards, to the surprise of every one, the king went into winter quarters in the south of Liefland. The enemy thus obtained a respite whilst the Swedish arms rested. Russia and Poland again concluded a compact, but Denmark, *with which country peace had been fully concluded*, did not join it. This is characteristic of the situation. King Augustus was able by intrigue and promises for the moment to strengthen his party in Poland; but Charles was not idle, devoting his time during the winter diligently to affairs of state and the exercise and hardening of his soldiers.

When Midsummer 1701 was past, he first struck his camp, and entered Courland with an army of about 20,000 men. The passage of the river Dürna, hotly contested by the Saxon field-marshal Steinau, was effected with skill and courage, and the beaten enemy retreated into Poland. But Charles did not follow them up. He marched slowly along the borders of Lithallen, as if hesitating about taking the decisive step, although fully and irrevocably decided upon in his heart—a decision from which neither the humble representatives of Augustus, nor the prayers of the lovely Aurora Königsmark, nor proposals of

[4] At home were left about 20,000 men of all arms, whilst in Pomerania, Wismar, and Bremen were also located as many. The total force of all arms was about 90,000 men, half being under the command of Charles, although spread along the whole eastern frontier.

mediation from foreign envoys, nor the warnings of his chief generals or councillors, could sway him. The crown of Poland—behold the prize of victory!

Internal dissension in that unhappy country seemed to encourage Charles's plans, which were further strengthened by the memory of the irresistible arms of his grandfather and the dissatisfaction of the nation towards the Saxon Elector foisted upon them. The rich and influential family at Sapieharnes, whose arrogance and thirst for power Augustus attempted to curtail, openly declared in favour of Charles, whilst other influential and prominent men in Poland also contributed by their complaints to the cause of Charles, and finally many a band of soldiers deserted to him from the Polish army. All these causes egged Charles on to an undertaking upon which opinions are divided, but upon the final results of which, as regards our country, there can be only one.

In March 1702 the Swedish army entered Poland, rapidly nearing the heart of the country. Warsaw was captured without resistance, the Assembly shattered and pursued by the Swedes. King Augustus fled southwards. At Klissow, where he at last nerved himself for defence, he was completely beaten, and was compelled to fly to Sandomir, then to the fortress Thorn, where some of his faithful Saxon troops had collected anew. The gates of Cracow flew open before the Swedish king, who now found himself in possession of both capitals, whilst his arms held possession of the rest of the country.

However, we should be carried too far were we to follow step by step the Swedish arms. Everywhere they were victorious, and names such as Frauenstadt, Punitz, and Pultusk will never be forgotten. The campaign consisted in reality partly of rapid and fatiguing pursuits of retreating troops or party leaders, and partly of tedious besieging of strongholds still in the hands of Augustus. The mode of warfare, therefore, does not seem to display any grand plans; but it should be remembered that movements were often strategical, determined by purely political considerations, and that all the time diplomatic negotiations were being carried on at the Swedish headquarters.

Finally, after much hesitation and many preparations, King Augustus was, in February 1704, declared to have forfeited the crown of Poland at a congress summoned by the cardinal primate of Warsaw. Charles's principal aim was thus gained, and the question now was to find a suitable successor. He decided to select as such a native of Poland—a very wise decision—for if ever a strong friendly power could be made of Poland, which its own as well as our best interests prompted, its sceptre should not be entrusted to some foreign reigning prince who coveted the distinction from personal

aggrandisement, but to one who thought and acted as a *Pole*. Charles's first choice, too, was the best.

There was a name which evoked the same enthusiasm in the breast of every Pole as that of the great Napoleon in modern France. That name was Sobieski. King John Sobieski, the saviour of Vienna from the swords of the infidels, and at the same time the most pre-eminent regent of Poland, had three sons, and the eldest of them, Jacob, soon attracted the notice of Charles, and might truly have been capable of uniting the divided parties. He was summoned to the Swedish head-quarters from the exile into which he and his brothers had been driven by Augustus, but during his journey through Silesia, although that territory was a neutral one, the latter had him and his brother Constantine imprisoned. This idea, therefore, came to nothing, and Charles, after mature reflection, declared in favour of the reign of the noble house of Leczinski—Stanislaus Leczinski. This noble was a just, unselfish, and mild-tempered man, who afterwards, during a more peaceful portion of his reign, proved to be a good ruler; but he lacked, unfortunately, that tempered hardness of character and resolute self-reliance which was necessary to gain the moral influence of ascendency required for his task. He was elected king at the diet in Warsaw, on the 2nd of July, 1704, but not till after a stormy sitting, and the election was far from being unanimous. Thus violent protests on the part of an opposition congress, dissatisfaction over the war-taxes levied by the Swedish troops, together with Augustus's delusive promises and the dissensions of the native nobility, delayed for a long while the ardent desire of Charles. But events soon exercised an irresistible pressure. King Augustus had been finally beaten at Pultusk, and was wandering like a hunted man from spot to spot, while the grandson of Charles the Tenth stood in the heart of the vanquished land, with his army in all the lustre of victory, maintaining the simple nobility of his character. A large portion of the imaginative Polish nation was fired by this picture into mighty enthusiasm, and the memory of the Swedish hero-king survives to the present day among them. This feeling for our hero caused the Polish crown to be given to his *protégé*, but it could not preserve it to him for long. It may indeed be said that Stanislaus was never king *de facto*, for when some years later it became necessary to withdraw the Swedish troops from Poland he dared not remain, but left his kingdom with them to find a shelter in their midst.

Whilst Charles was occupying Poland with the main army, great events were occurring upon our eastern frontier, the Tsar having commenced impetuous and cruel attacks upon the Swedish possessions around the Finnish Gulf. They were defended but by a few companies and garrisons, spread all over the country, and the Russian giant, long-

ing to extend both his feet into the waves of the Baltic, crushed by sheer weight every opposition. Charles himself alone could have arrested the progress of the hordes, but he was far away upon the shores of the Vistula. One after another the fortified towns in Ingermannland, Esthland, and Liefland capitulated, and St. Petersburg, now the capital of the present Russian empire, rose upon the ruin of a Swedish stronghold. Both in speaking and writing it has often been asserted, 'An irresistible imperative necessity, an absolute want of breathing have forced Russia to the shores of Finland. That Sweden, sooner or later, in any case, would be compelled to bend before this force was natural—ay, unavoidable.' There is a grain of truth in this view. The flow of nations has from time immemorial proceeded from East to West, and it is even doubtful whether the flow has wholly ceased in the present day. The discovery of the New World and the beginning of colonisation in the vast continent of North America, occurred at a period when the historical immigration of races from Asia to Europe seemed to have come to an end. This favoured its continuance.

Much that has happened and is happening may perhaps be explained thus, but although man is incapable of arresting the march of history and the general progress of his race, every one claiming the name of statesman will not only discountenance, but oppose tooth and nail whatever is injurious to his country. This is a duty upon the altar of which he himself may be sacrificed, but the knowledge and fulfilment of which separates him from the great herd who obey the enticing voice of the hour and follow the spangled banner of chance whithersoever it may lead. The application of this principle to Charles the Twelfth and his action indicates itself. The grave error which he committed when treating the northern theatre of war as of secondary importance, is the more to be regretted, as there was no doubt then still time to arrest for a long time to come the expansion of Russia at our expense.

Only in the heart of his Crown lands could King Augustus be forced to renounce the throne and conclude peace. France, anxious to divert an attack from its threatened frontiers, had already for a long while urged an invasion of Saxony. But Charles had put this off month after month, occupying himself the while with adventurous exploits, varied by lengthy and often lamely conducted sieges. Maybe his anxiety was to consolidate Stanislaus better in Poland before he departed, or maybe he desired to demonstrate clearly in the eyes of the world that his attack was solely directed towards the treacherous breaker of the peace, and in no wise against his German possessions. Charles's own remarkable conduct at the Saxon Court supports this assumption. True, when at last invading Saxony, he issued stringent orders respecting the contributions which Saxony was called

upon to make as a treacherous participator in the long war; but he soon revoked these, and issued a new one, in which severity of law is only directed against his own soldiers for violence and plundering. No real opposition was encountered during the march, and the vanguard of the army was close upon Leipzig when Charles, at the castle of Alt-Raustadt, received offers of peace from the Elector. Here, too, arrived many foreign plenipotentiaries, some of the greatest statesmen and soldiers in Europe, most of the German Electors, all coming to do homage to the Lion of the North. It is no adulation to say that upon every one the youthful hero of five-and-twenty summers made an everlasting impression by his modest bearing and firmness of character.

OSCAR FREDRIK.

(To be concluded.)

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THE LORDS AND THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

THE Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed two years since to inquire into the Sweating System, has at last brought its labours to a close. The inquiry has been exhaustive. Under the chairmanship of Lord Dunraven, it has been extended from the East End of London, to which it was originally restricted, to the principal provincial towns; it has embraced, besides the great clothing industries, the nail and chain, cutlery, gunlocks, saddlery and furniture trades—in fact, the manufacture of almost every article of personal use turned out in wholesale quantities.

At the end of last Session the evidence was complete, and the Court adjourned. For the last nine months the public have anxiously awaited the verdict. Vague rumours of dissension, followed by inspired paragraphs in the London and provincial papers, telling of the wrongs of Lord Dunraven, and lastly the dramatic scene in the House of Lords, have roused personal curiosity as well as public interest as to the outcome of the inquiry. We were led to believe, on the highest authority, that the Report of the Select Committee (bereft of the chairman), always supposing that such a living thing as a Report should break the shell of chalky indifference and all-round obstruction of a compact body of Whig Peers, would be a lame and colourless creature. It is with a sense of deep relief that those who ardently desire reform see before them a concise document containing sound statement and helpful suggestion.

If the 'conclusions' drawn up by Lord Derby and his colleagues are worded in self-possessed and somewhat thin language, if their proposals show signs of extreme deliberation, and of caution disguised as vague and indeterminate expression, surely it lies with us to fill in their meaning, and carry forward their recommendations; resting thankful that each assertion made, and each step taken, proves firm and in the right direction. It is with this object and in this spirit that I venture to analyse the Report, together with the evidence upon which it is based, and to define and elaborate the plan of campaign.

At the outset the Committee are met with the difficulties of definition.

> We have endeavoured, without much success, to extract from the principal witnesses a clear idea of what they understand by the term *sweating*. The replies received were neither clear nor consistent. It was urged by some that sweating is an abuse of the sub-contract system; . . . others, on the contrary, have maintained that sub-contracting is by no means a necessary element of sweating.

This latter opinion is apparently shared by the authors of the Report, as they remark later on, in discussing the causes of the evil known by the name of sweating, that the 'middleman is found to be absent where they abound.' It is noteworthy, moreover, that the popular and picturesque name—the *sweating system* (a term which has served well or ill to describe the scope of the inquiry)—is conspicuous by its absence from the terse propositions drawn up as the conclusions of the Select Committee. They speak of *sweating*, but they drop the additional word *system*, and by this significant omission they tacitly deny that these evils are co-extensive with, or peculiar to, any one form of industrial organisation. But although they are unable to agree on a scientific definition of the whole subject matter before them, they are absolutely clear as to the nature of the evils they have been called upon to examine and to remedy. These are stated to be: (1) an unduly low rate of wages; (2) excessive hours of labour; (3) the insanitary state of the houses in which the work is carried on. By the use of the word 'unduly' their Lordships would seem to imply that these evils are relative to a bad state of things; a fringe of destitution surrounding a mass of struggling poverty; a zone of disease encircling an already unhealthy area. To this practical definition of sweating they add the significant remark: 'These evils can hardly be exaggerated.' The case for a vigorous effort at reform is therefore complete.

If we pass from the definition of the so-called *sweating system* to the causes of the evils of *sweating*, we note that the Committee again reject the common view. The great majority of workers examined before the Committee attributed their sufferings to four distinct causes: to the presence of middlemen, machinery, and subdivision of labour on the one hand, and to foreign immigration on the other. The Select Committee have taken the courageous but

unpopular course of denying the truth of the first opinion, while giving a strictly qualified assent to the latter. But as they have dismissed the four questions somewhat curtly, it will be needful, in face of this deep-rooted popular conviction, to give each point an independent examination. For if we cannot agree as to the seat of the disease, we are unlikely to advise and carry out the same treatment.

Now it is obvious that, if we wish to determine, once for all, whether the presence of middlemen, machinery, and subdivision of labour are at once the cause and the essence of the evils of sweating, we must take a wider survey of industrial facts than that afforded us by the four volumes of evidence published by the Committee. We must use the comparative method; we must lay side by side with the organisation of production in the sweated trades the organisation of production in those industries admittedly free from the evils of sweating. In short, to discover what constitutes disease, we must compare the diseased body with the relatively healthy organism.

First as to the presence of middlemen or sub-contractors. In the staple manufactures of the kingdom—in the cotton, woollen, and manufactured metal trades—we find, as a general fact, three profit-making capitalist middlemen between the manual worker and the consumer: (1) the master of the factory or workshop; (2) the wholesale trader, supplying foreign agents and English shopkeepers; (3) the large or small retailer in direct contact with the consumer. At the present time this may be considered the typical organisation of English industry. It admits, of course, of varieties; in some branches of these industries, various grades of brokers and warehousemen intercept intermediate profits; in other cases, the manufacturer sells direct to the shopkeeper; while we find instances in which the wholesale trader is himself a retailer. But, taken as a whole, we see throughout manufacturing industry, outside the so-called sweating system, two general facts: the functions and responsibilities of the manufacturer on the one hand, and the trader on the other, are kept clear and distinct; and, secondly, the profits of distribution are usually divided between two classes of dealers—the wholesale trader and the retail tradesman. The first of these facts is the more universal and significant.

Let us next examine the organisation of the sweated industries. In the coat trade at the East End, the so-called sweating system consists of a host of small masters and female home-workers competing for work at the counters of wholesale firms; at the West End, this wholesale trader disappears, and is replaced by the retail tradesman in direct contact with the customer. It is true that, in the earlier stages of the inquiry, vague statements were made as to the existence of a series of middlemen between wholesale and retail traders and the small masters and home-workers. No attempt, however, was made to prove the truth of this statement; and in all the

instances of sweating actually brought before the Committee, the work was taken out direct by small masters or out-workers from the wholesale or retail traders. In the manufacture of trousers and vests, the small master, at work in his own shop, is exchanged for the distributing sweater, employing women in their own homes. This individual, however, seems to be disappearing before the steady pressure of the wholesale and retail firms eager to absorb the whole profit of labour. In the Glasgow clothing trade the representative of the workers states that the 'real sweater is the man who takes work from the retail shop and does it at his own home;' from Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool we have much the same tale. If we sum up, therefore, the general facts of the clothing trade, we find the three profit-making middlemen, typical of English industry —the manufacturer, the wholesale trader, and retail tradesman—are not multiplied in the manufacture of slop clothing, but, on the contrary, are, in many instances, reduced to one or two hybrid figures—the small master who works as hard as, if not harder than, those he employs (and may be therefore considered, in many instances, as a manual worker), and the wholesale or retail tradesman, manufacturing to some extent on his own premises, and giving work out, not only to large and small masters, but direct into the homes of the people.

In the furniture and cabinet trades this concentration of the various profit-makers of English industry in one person is still more apparent. The whole indictment brought against a well-known West End upholsterer (who is accused of bringing down the wages of indoor hands by the competition of out-workers) on the counts of low wages, discounts on cheques, high-handed and insolent foremen, is a striking illustration of this fact. And if we descend to the lower sections of the furniture trade, in which the evils of sweating were proved to exist, we may watch the poverty-stricken maker of tables and chairs hawking his wares along Curtain Road, selling direct to the export merchant or to the retail tradesman—or, perchance, to the private customer. In the manufacture of cheap boots in the Metropolis, of cheap cutlery at Sheffield, of indifferent nails at Halesowen, we meet with this same sorrowful figure—the small master or out-worker buying his material on credit, and selling his product to meet the necessities of the hour; in all instances underselling his competitors great and small.[1] Respectable employers, interested in a high standard of production, trade unionists, keen for a high standard of wage, agree in attributing to this pitiful personage the worst evils of the sweating system. Here, not only do we fail to discover the existence of sub-contract, but the element of contract disappears,

[1] See evidence of Parnell and Jeliffe, cabinet trade, 2864–66, 2918, 3225; of Salloman, 11,337, 11,345, 11,366, 11,381; of Lovejo, 12,299, in boot trade; of Hingley 22,514, 22,515, chain trade; and of Uttley, 24,717–36, in tool and cutlery trade.

and the elaborate organisation of modern industry is replaced by a near approach to that primitive higgling of the market between producer and consumer to that primæval trial of struggle and endurance, in which the weakest and most necessitous invariably suffers.

I do not wish the reader to imagine that I deny the existence of the *sweater* in the sweated industries. But I deny that the sweater is necessarily or usually a sub-contractor or employing middleman. The sweater is, in fact, the whole nation. The mass of struggling men and women whose sufferings have been laid bare by the inquiry are oppressed and defrauded in every relation of life: by the man who sells or gives out the material on which they labour; by the shopkeeper who sells them provisions on credit, or forces them under the truck system; by the landlord who exacts, in return for the four walls of a bedroom, or for the unpaved and undrained back yard, the double rent of workshop and dwelling; and, lastly, by every man, woman, and child who consumes the product of their labour. In the front rank of this, the most numerous class of sweaters, we find the oppressed workers of other trades. Hence, it is not the presence nor the absence of the sub-contractor which causes the evils of sweating. Traders of all grades, who call themselves manufacturers—warehousemen, shippers, factors, sub-purchasers, retailers who trade as wholesale firms, sub-contractors, distributing contractors, small masters, out-workers and home-workers claiming to be journeymen—this whole army of nondescript and masked characters spring up and disappear in the sweated industries, as they serve or are worthless to the spirit of unrestrained competition. In short, to use the words of the Report, 'the middleman, where he exists, is not the hand of the oppressor, but the instrument of oppression:' this amphibious being, styled 'the middleman,' is the effect,and not the cause, of industrial disorder. Like the noxious fungus that breeds in dark places, he lives or dies on already decaying and disorganised matter.

But, in the midst of this medley of methods and confusion of persons, one feature stands out clear and distinct, as persistently characteristic of all sweated industries—*the absence of the responsible employer*. The mill-owner, coal-owner, or large iron-master, is forced to assume, to some slight extent, the guardianship of the workers. He is compelled by the State to provide healthy accommodation, to regulate the hours of labour of women and young persons, to see to the education of children, to guard against and insure all workers against accident. Trades unions, arising from the massing of men under the factory system, insist on a recognised rate of wages. Public opinion, whether social or political, observes the actions of a responsible employer in the open light of day. Willingly or unwillingly, he must interpose his brains and his capital between groups of workers on the one hand, and the great mass of conscienceless consumers on the other. These are the services

exacted from him by the community in return for the profits he makes. He is, in fact, the first link between the private individual intent on his own gain, and the ideal official of the Socialist State administering property in trust for the people. It is the absence of this typical figure of nineteenth century industry which is at once a distinguishing feature and a main cause of those grosser forms of fraud and oppression known as the sweating system.

Machinery and subdivision of labour are accused of being, together with the sub-contractor, joint forerunners of evil. On this point the Report somewhat laconically remarks: 'The answer to this charge seems to be that, in some of the largest clothing and other factories in which labour is admitted to be carried on under the most favourable conditions for the workers, machinery and subdivision of labour to the greatest possible extent are found in every department of the factory, from the highest to the lowest.' And whatever may be the historical justification for the popular faith, no intelligent person, who will take the trouble to compare the methods of production and the conditions of employment in the sweater's den or worker's home at the East End with those obtaining in the largest, best appointed, and most successful clothing factories at Leeds, boot factories at Leicester, furniture factories near Glasgow, can seriously maintain that the use of machinery and subdivision of labour are in any sense characteristic of the cheap production and unhealthy conditions of the so-called sweating system. The coat that fits to perfection, the boot that keeps its shape in spite of the roughest wear, the cabinet perfect alike in design and finish, are still made by the individual worker—by the handicraftsman using tools and not machinery. The use of these articles is the luxury of the rich, as their construction is the monopoly of the artistic journeyman. But leaving on one side the artist mechanic, with his aristocratic customers, we may assert as an economic truism that machinery and subdivision of labour are characteristic of the factory system with its responsible employer, fixed wages, regulated hours, and serviceable product; that they are seen in a less perfect form in the medium class of sweated industries such as the East End coat trade, and that they are conspicuously absent in those trades, or in those sections of trades, in which the evils of sweating assume the most virulent type—in the manufacture of chains and nails, and in the 'finishing' of the cheapest class of men's clothing and of boots and slippers.

But, from the point of view of remedial proposals, the origin of this deep-rooted popular fallacy—that sweating is caused by the introduction of profit-making middlemen, machinery, and subdivision of labour—is both interesting and instructive. It arises, I venture to think, from a one-sided observation of the growth of certain manufactures, from retail trades carried on by individual workers for the benefit of individual customers, into wholesale in-

dustries, undertaken by whole classes of producers and supplying home and foreign markets. This 'industrial revolution' swept over the staple trades of the kingdom at the end of last and the beginning of this century. Machinery and subdivision of labour acted as cause and effect; profit-making middlemen, between the manual worker and the consumer, devoting brains and capital to the organisation of labour and the perfection of technical processes, others to the distribution of products in the markets of the world, were an inevitable accompaniment to the early development of private enterprise. In the textile and other industries, the transformation was rapid and universal. And, after fifty years of untold misery to the workers, of enormous gains to the profit-making capitalists, of vigorous effort on the part of large-hearted and far-sighted reformers, it ended in the present factory system—*or the creation by the State of the legal responsibility of the employer for the conditions of employment.* But in the minor manufactures of men and women's clothing, of household furniture, and of other articles of personal use, the change has been more tardy and less complete. The hand-loom weaver, selling his piece of cloth to a neighbour's wife or to the travelling factor, has become long since an historic figure; but the tailor, boot-maker, cabinet-maker, executing the order of the private customer or shopkeeper, are still at work in village and town. Moreover, the machinery introduced into these latter trades (of which the sewing machine may be taken as a type) can be owned by the worker, and is independent of motive power; while subdivision of labour may begin with the matrimonial tie and end with the children. Hence these mixed and degraded forms of employment known as the sweating system. Production, retail or wholesale, is undertaken in the homes of the people, by small masters in hidden worshops, or by workers in their own dwellings. The profit-making middleman appears, but in the character of a wholesale trader, distributing the work, or buying the product; in either case relieved, by the home-work system, from his duties as a responsible employer—at once landlord and wage-payer. The workers, on the other hand, incapacitated for combination by the isolation of their lives, and carefully excluded by special clauses from the protection of the Factory and Workshop Act, are delivered over body and soul to the spirit of unrestrained competition, arising from the ever-increasing demand for cheap articles in the great markets of the world. The peculiar evils of sweating cannot, therefore, be attributed to the introduction of profit-making middlemen, machinery, subdivision of labour, since we owe to these same causes, and to a far higher degree, the advantages of the factory system. It would be more plausible to affirm that these evils originated in the absence of a (*responsible*) middleman, and in the imperfect introduction of machinery and subdivision of labour—that it was, in fact, a good instance of 'arrested develop-

ment.' In simple words, it is the oft-told story of new wine in old bottles: an attempt to conduct wholesale manufacture in the effete and decaying channels of the home-work and small workshop system.

Let us for one brief moment translate these dry terms, *home-work* and *small workshops*, into the living words of human life and suffering. I take samples, not from the evidence of paid agitators or sensational philanthropists, but from the plain statements of unbiased officials.

A workshop is erected on the area which was formerly the yard of the house. The walls are reeking with wet, and to hide that wet a little bit of thin match-lining is put up against it. The roof is constructed in such a manner that it leaks badly, and always will leak. The flooring, in many instances, is on the earth, which is not properly drained as it should be. In many cases the window-sashes are rotten, or the sashes of the skylight are rotten. In some cases, for the only outlet there is merely a little iron stove, very low, on the surface, with a four-inch pipe to carry off the smoke, no properly constructed chimney; that is in some cases.[2]

There was a room about 12 or 14 ft. by 10 ft. and 8 ft. high, as near as I could judge it by the eye: in this room there was a large bed, the only bed in the room, on which the mother of the family was dying of consumption; although it was summer, there was a large fire in the room, before which the husband was at his work as a tailor, pressing cloth, and so, of course, filling the air with steam; besides him, there was his son also at work, and playing on the floor were two or three small children; all crowded into a room which would properly contain two or three people at the most, with due consideration to health.[3]

I could multiply, from the abundant materials of the evidence, or from my own personal experience, these graphic accounts of home-work, and give examples from each of the sweated industries; but I will content myself with quoting Mr. Burnett's apt statement of the effect of home-work or small workshops in the chain and nail trade —equally applicable to all industries in which 'sweating' has been proved to exist.

To people working each in their own little shop from early morning until late at night combination is above all things difficult. Each man struggles for himself and his family, and thinks nothing of the common good. . . . One man or one woman can be played off against another, and the prices of labour are thus subject to the daily haggle of workers competing for bread. This is clearly and unmistakably the result of the small workshop system, which is undoubtedly the root of many if not all the evils from which the nailmakers suffer.

With these facts before them we cannot wonder at the decided opinion of the Select Committee 'that the sanitary conditions under which work is conducted are not only injurious in the highest degree to the health of the person employed, but are dangerous to the public;' nor can we be surprised that they confirm the opinion of the Labour correspondent of the Board of Trade that home-workers form the great obstacle in the way of combination. As their Lordships hold that trade combination is the only effectual remedy for the evils of long hours and low wages, it is clear that they have arrived at a sound

[2] Goodwin, 31,801. [3] Squire, 17,898.

conclusion: viz., that the evils of bad sanitation, low wages, and long hours are rooted in the home-work or domestic workshop system.

We now touch on the question of foreign immigration, or, to put it more plainly, the competition of Jewish labour. For it is urged that the home-work or small workshop system, with its oppressed workers and cheap and nasty product, might be left to speedy extinction by the competition of large and well-appointed factories if it were not for an apparently inexhaustible supply of two distinct classes of workers: Jews and semi-dependent women. These workers are said to share in common characteristics which disincline and unfit them for factory labour, while they admirably adapt them to work under the sweating system. And it is further maintained that, through the competition of this cheap labour, English journeymen are dragged into the ranks of sweated workers or forced into the army of the unemployed. Of these two sources of industrial degradation, Jewish workers, with their uncouth manners and foreign origin, have been most in evidence throughout the inquiry.

The Select Committee do not deny the truth of the popular view. They devote a comparatively long paragraph to describing the low standard of life, the absence of skill, and the apparent incapacity for trade combination, characteristic of the Jewish immigrants, and the effect of these qualities or deficiencies on the English labour market. But they point out that the competition of Jewish labour is practically limited to the tailoring and boot and shoe trades, and is conspicuously absent in many of those industries which are honeycombed with the evils of sweating. On the other hand, they draw attention to the 'large supply of cheap female labour, occasioned by the fact that married women working at unskilled labour in their own homes . . . and not wholly supporting themselves, can afford to work at what would be starvation wages to an unmarried woman.' In their opinion the ill-effect of Jewish immigration is not a question of fact but a question of proportion. The Jews are counted by their thousands; the women, dragging in their rear semi-dependent husbands and a huge force of unprotected children, may be numbered by hundred thousands.

Through this double analysis of the Lords' Report and popular opinion as to the causes of the so-called sweating system, I venture to think we have discovered and laid bare the roots of the evils known as sweating. An unduly low rate of wages, excessive hours of labour, and the bad sanitation of work-places have been shown to exist in industries distinguished by the following circumstances: (1) *By the presence of workers with an indefinitely low standard of life, with a lack of class loyalty, and usually, but not always, with a want of skill*; (2) *by the absence of an employer responsible to the State and to public opinion for the condition of his workers*; and, lastly, as the form in which these facts manifest themselves, as the oppor-

tunity for this class of character; (3) *by the prevalence of home-work or small workshops, hidden or exempted from the inspection of the Factory Acts, and free from the regulations of trade unions.*

These three circumstances form a vicious circle, each point of which rises out of and runs into the other, while the omission of any one point would destroy the whole circle. For it is obvious, if we could remove these workers as competitors for employment, the evils of sweating would not exist; or, if we could transform every wholesale trader into an employer legally responsible for the conditions of employment, we might smile on home-work or family workshops as an ideal arrangement, and encourage Jews and women to join the throng of well-cared-for workers; and, lastly, if we could restrict or regulate home-work, we should raise the standard of comfort to the level of the Factory Acts; or, supposing trade competition did not allow of this, we should drive the workers under the factory system where Jews and women would be forced to work in a regular fashion, and to compete on equal terms with English journeymen. The question of reform, therefore, resolves itself into a question of strategy: Which point in this fortress of iniquity is the easiest to assail and overcome?

Let us begin at the first point. Is it possible to check at its source the supply of low-class labour? Clearly we cannot check the numbers of native workers; the practical question is, therefore, narrowed down to a restraint or prohibition of foreign immigration.

Now, the settlement of this question was expressly excluded from the inquiry of the Lords' Committee. A Select Committee of the Commons was appointed at the same time 'to inquire into the laws existing in the United States and elsewhere on the subject of the immigration of destitute aliens, and to report whether it is desirable to impose any, and if so what, restrictions on such foreign immigration.' And after taking full evidence, both as to the importance of foreign immigration as a factor in labour troubles, and with regard to political and administrative difficulties in checking it, the Committee summed up in the following words: 'that while your Committee see great difficulties in the way of enforcing laws similar to those of the United States against the importation of pauper and destitute aliens, and while they are not prepared to recommend such legislation at present, they contemplate the possibility of such legislation becoming necessary in the future.'

We can hardly dispute this judgment, unless we are prepared to consider the Commons' Report and the evidence upon which it is based, a task beyond the scope of this paper. Moreover, as before said, even if we were able and willing to check foreign immigration, we should still have to deal with the larger half of the question—with the apparently inexhaustible supply of women, young persons, and children, working for pocket-money, or supplementing the wages of

semi-dependent husbands and fathers—with, in fact, the family as a unit of labour.

The second question, the absence of the responsible employer, is open to a direct solution. We might create a responsible employer, in the form of a State or municipal official, and reorganise the sweated industries on a Socialist basis, offering the oppressed workers employment in State or municipal workshops.

This 'simple remedy' for sweating was advocated by one or more witnesses, notably by a gentleman from the Black Country, who laid before the Committee an elaborate plan for the complete reorganisation of the chain and nail trades in State-subsidised workshops. But, whatever may lie hidden in the future, public opinion is not ripe for the Socialist answer to the labour problem. And in face of the revelation made before the Committee, with regard to the execution of Government and municipal contracts, Socialists may well confine their present efforts to forcing central and local authorities to fulfil the duties of responsible employers in those trades in which they are actually engaged. To reform the constitution and conduct of these bodies, to inspire them with the Socialist spirit—with a due consciousness of responsibility for the physical and mental welfare of those by whose labour they profit—will be a sufficiently hard task for one generation of energetic reformers.

It is, however, gratifying that in this practical attempt at reform Radicals and labour representatives receive the emphatic encouragement of the Select Committee of the House of Lords. The Committee urge on the attention of Parliament 'the grave scandal of sweating' in government and municipal contracts; they recommend the adoption of the factory clause, and the payment of minimum rates of wages (to be specified by the Department) by all contractors. This is nothing less than an official condemnation of the business maxim of buying in the cheapest market when applied to the State or municipal employment of labour. To carry out this reform is a needful preparation, if not a first step, towards the direct creation by the State of employers responsible to the people for the welfare of the workers.

We cannot, therefore, stop at its source the supply of workers with a low standard of life. Neither can we, at the present time, extend to the whole domain of the sweating system the representative government of industry. But by attacking the last point in the vicious circle—the prevalence of home-work or domestic workshops—by insisting on the responsibility of the landlords and employers, who profit by this system of sweating, we can go far towards securing to the workers the same level of comfort and well-being as under the Factory Acts; or, if (owing to the essential badness of home-work) trade competition does not allow of this, we can force the majority of workers into factories at the expense of these same land-

lords and employers, who have hitherto reaped the gain from this depressed and demoralised labour market.

Now it is satisfactory to note that the Select Committee are perfectly aware that the regulation or restriction of home-work is the crucial point—that here at last they are face to face with the practical question of remedies. 'We have been urged to recommend the prohibition by legislation of working at home, but we think such a measure would be arbitrary and oppressive.' Verily this is damning reform by proposing strong measures! To prohibit a system of employment would be without precedent, even if it were practicable; to regulate and restrict, to give fair field and no favour, would be in full accordance with the Factory, Employers' Liability, and Public Health Acts of this century—with the gradual extensions under these Acts of legislative regulations to the employment of all classes of labour, and to the use of all kinds of property—to the gradual creation of responsibility among all classes of employers, and all classes of property owners.

This is, in fact, notwithstanding their protest, the line taken by the noble Lords. They simply differ from popular opinion in restricting the proposed reform to the one evil of bad sanitation. Long hours, with its twin brother, low wages, they refer for treatment to trades unions and to co-operative societies. But they seem to forget that in an immediately preceding sentence they have declared trades unions *hors de combat*; home-work forming, according to the evidence of all the experts, (whether factory inspectors, trades unionists, or respectable employers) an insuperable barrier to effective combination. Platonic praise might well be exchanged for practical helpfulness. We must give, by legislative reform, these same unions a firmer foothold. As for co-operative societies, if by 'co-operative societies' the Select Committee mean productive co-operation, any student of the co-operative movement of the last seventy years cannot read the suggestion otherwise than as a very grim joke. Productive co-operation demands for its fulfilment exactly those qualities which are conspicuously absent among sweated workers—loyalty, integrity, commercial experience—besides the possession of that little trifle, Capital. Presumably, from the lack of those qualities and from the difficulty of raising sufficient capital, productive co-operation has failed to extend among our most skilled, responsible, and well-to-do artisans; while the simpler forms of combination—trades unions and joint-stock shopkeeping—have grown apace. Self-governing associations of producers may be the goal, they are certainly not the starting-point of industrial reform. To recommend co-operative societies, therefore, to the victims of 'sweating' is somewhat similar to advising a people ignorant of the three R's to start, at their own initiative and from their own resources, technical schools and universities of learning.

I fear it will be impossible to discuss the reforms advocated by

the Lords, and realise the possibility of extending their recommendations to the other evils of sweating, without some reference to the Workshop and Factory Act of 1878, and the Public Health Act of 1875.

Broadly speaking, the provisions of the Factory Law may be classed under two headings: (1) regulations with regard to the hours of labour, education, &c. of the protected classes—women, young persons, and children; (2) and regulations affecting the safety and health of all workers, whether male or female, adults or children. In these latter regulations—in the sanitary requirements of all work-places—the clauses of the Factory Acts are interdependent with the clauses of the Public Health Acts, the whole presenting an inextricable tangle. Now (in spite of cross-reference to other Acts and of a perfect medley of special exemptions affecting certain trades) it is easy to perceive that, in both classes of regulations, the provisions of the Factory Act form a sliding scale of stringency and efficiency; ranging from the enforced registration, drastic rules, and centralised inspection of textile and other factories,[4] to the elastic requirements as to notices of occupation, hours of labour, overcrowding and general cleanliness in the domestic workshop; until all attempt at regulation is lost in the work-place of husband and wife, or in any workshops, however large, 'to or over which the employer of the persons working thereon has [not] the right of access or control.'

To illustrate this sliding scale of requirements, take, for example, the hours of labour for women and young persons. In textile factories the working hours are limited to ten a day, fifty-six and a half a week; in non-textile factories and the workshops of certain specified trades to ten and a half hours a day, or sixty hours a week; while in workshops, in which adult women only are employed, or in domestic workshops (a place used also for a dwelling, in which the members of the same family are at work) the hours may be extended from six to nine, or to fifteen hours a day, or eighty-five a week. And owing to an unnecessary addition to the definition of a workshop quoted above, women and young persons hiring stalls, machines, or standing-places in any place (other than a factory), are exempt from any regulations under the Factory Act. This latter exception tells most seriously in the chain and nail and furniture trades.[5]

The sliding scale, with regard to sanitation, is more a matter of efficiency of inspection and prompt punishment than of decreased stringency of the rules. Textile and other factories are under the jurisdiction of the factory department. Within one month of starting, the occupier is required to register 'the name of the factory, the place where it is situate, . . . the nature of the work, the nature and amount of the moving power therein, the name of the firm under

[4] A Factory is a place in which power is used.

[5] See evidence of Hoare, 22, 921; Parnell, 2864.

which the business of the factory is to be carried on.' The premises are open to inspection at all times of day and night. And, finally, should any factory or workshop be kept in an overcrowded, insanitary, unventilated state, or should the occupier fail to register or comply with the other regulations of the Factory Act, the factory inspector may bring the case before a court of summary jurisdiction, and the magistrate may award penalties for keeping a factory or workshop not in conformity with the provisions of the Factory Act.

Now, if we turn from factories to workshops and domestic workshops, the prompt action of the factory inspector is exchanged for the cumbersome procedure and frequently corrupt administration of vestries and district boards. Workshops in which adults only are employed and domestic workshops are wholly exempt from the sanitary provisions of the Factory Law. If a workshop of this class be kept in an uncleanly or overcrowded state, it becomes a 'nuisance' under Section 91 of the Public Health Act. An amusing description was given to the Committee of the running to and fro of a zealous sanitary official between an unhealthy workshop, the medical officer of health, the sanitary committee of the local authority, and the unregistered and frequently unknown landlord of the unhealthy premises. In all, it takes something like two months to bring an insanitary and overcrowded workshop under the notice of a magistrate. In the meantime the small master or out-worker has probably flitted to a more hidden abode. But, even if the sanitary inspector is fortunate enough to bring the case well into court, penalties can only be exacted from the owner for non-fulfilment of the magistrate's order, and not for keeping or letting a workshop of defective structure, or allowing it to be in an insanitary and overcrowded state.

This is not all. The sanitary inspector who realises that overcrowding and insanitation are more disastrous where men, women, and children work as well as live, the conscientious factory inspector who would ascertain whether children and young persons are at work in the sweater's den—these much-exercised and hard-driven officials are expected to discover the workplaces they are ordered to inspect. 'There is great difficulty in finding these sweaters' shops; they spring up in back streets where they work in their own houses,' remarks a factory inspector to the Select Committee. 'I never know where they are. Under the present system it is perfectly impossible to follow them,' reiterates another factory inspector. And as a practical outcome of official experience we have the one persistent cry: 'Register,' 'Register,' 'Register.'

There still remains, however, the last straw which breaks the back of all inspection of domestic industries. Let us suppose that the factory inspector has discovered, through an anonymous letter or otherwise, the existence of a family workshop. If it be also a

dwelling, he is expressly forbidden by special clause of the Factory Act to enter it without a magistrate's warrant. The obvious absurdity of this clause has induced the Select Committee to recommend its repeal.

For the lovers of human wisdom, it is satisfactory to observe that this sliding scale of requirements—this bit of perfect mechanism for insuring the growth of the so-called sweating system while discouraging the extension of the factory system—was not invented by the pure 'cussedness' of man. It has arisen from the historical order in which the sufferings of oppressed workers have been brought before the conscience of the people. Regulations of the conditions of labour in textile factories began in the early part of this century; non-textile factories and workshops of specified trades followed in the forties and fifties; while legislative restriction was extended to all manufacture, in a somewhat loose and unsatisfactory fashion, by the Workshop Act of 1867. The last pitched battle between the forces of Reform and Laissez Faire was fought over the consolidation of seventeen previous Workshop and Factory Acts in 1878. As the upshot of this struggle the fundamental principles of the responsibility of all classes of employers, and of State interference with the conditions of employment wherever it was deemed expedient, were conceded. But the Individualists, reinforced by a batch of excellent ladies[6] (eager for the Rights of Woman to work at all hours of day and night with the minimum space and sanitation), and led by an eminent statesman and political economist,[7] beat off the 'New Spirit' from a little bit of outlying territory—the workshops of certain trades in which adults only are employed—and from the whole realm of domestic industry.

How do the Select Committee propose to remove these legislative inequalities in the struggle for existence between the so-called sweating system and the factory system? They suggest an admirable method of registration of workshops by owners; they solve the intricate question of the divided jurisdiction of central and local authorities. With these proposals I shall deal later on. But they leave untouched the first obstacle in the way of reform—this sliding scale of requirements—except on the side of sanitation. They propose that 'for sanitary purposes all workshops (domestic and otherwise) should be treated as factories;' in other words, they suggest a partial repeal of those mischievous sections of the Factory Act exempting certain classes of workshops from the general provisions of the factory law.

But why should we stop here? There is a striking consensus of evidence from factory inspectors, trades unionists, and respectable employers in favour of a total repeal of these sections: *i.e.* experts

[6] See evidence of Miss Sturge and others before the Royal Commission, together with the Report on the working of the Factory and Workshop Acts, 1876.

[7] See speeches of Professor Fawcett during passage of Factory Acts, 1878.

advocate that the factory standard, with regard to the hours of labour, meal-times, holidays of women, young persons, and children should be enforced in all workshops; while the 'overtime clause' in certain trades should be so amended that 48 days in the year be no longer construed 320 days, according to the sweet will of the employer. I propose, therefore, the total repeal of all sections of the Factory Act which exempt domestic workshops, and workshops in which adults only are employed, from the general provisions of the factory law.

The only valid objection to this course is the one I urged before the Committee—the danger of driving the trade out of the workshop into the home. I am glad to see that the Select Committee have partly provided against this danger by recommending to the notice of Parliament an important clause in an Australian Act—a clause which embodies in a practical form suggestions made to the Committee by various witnesses. To complete this reform, and with the double object of including within the jurisdiction of the factory law all labour engaged in manufacture, and of forcing the wholesale trader, factor, or sub-contractor to assume the duties of a responsible employer, I suggest the following complementary amendments to the Factory and Workshop Act.

Briefly put, the definition of a workshop in the present Factory Act runs thus:—

> Any premises, room, or place not being a factory, . . . in which premises, room, or place . . . any manual labour is exercised by way of trade or the purposes of gain in or incidental to the following purposes or any of them:[8] i.e. (*a*) in or incidental to the making of any article or part of any article; (*b*) . . . to the altering, repairing, or finishing any article; (*c*) . . . to the adapting for sale of any article, *and to which or over which premises, room, or place the employer of persons working therein has the right of access or control.*

No one who reads this definition can fail to admire the skill of the draftsman. With the omission of the words I have placed in italics, the definition at once rises to perfection, and covers the whole field of manufacturing industry. The practical result of this omission would be that a female shirt-hand, or a 'staller' in a nailer's or chainmaker's smithy, would become an 'occupier' within the meaning of the Act, and be liable both to inspection and to penalties. The hardness or injustice of this result I would obviate by inserting in their respective places the following clauses[9] (the former of these being the one referred to by the Select Committee):

[8] Section 98 provides that the exercise of manual labour for purposes of gain shall not in itself constitute the dwelling a workshop, provided the labour does not furnish the whole or principal means of subsistence.

[9] These suggestions do not exhaust the needful reform of the Factory and Workshop Act. Such questions as the specification of cubic space and minimum fines apply to the whole Act, and not to that part of it which deals with the small workshop system, to which I have restricted myself. This limitation to the scope of my paper applies in a greater degree to the suggested amendments of the Public Health Act.

Every occupier of a factory or workroom who has work done for the purpose of his factory or workroom elsewhere than in such factory or workroom shall keep a record, and the same shall be kept so as to be a substantially correct record of the description and quantity of the work done outside of such factory or workroom, and of the name and address of the person by whom the same is done, and in default thereof shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ten pounds. Such record shall be kept for the information of the inspectors, who alone shall be entitled to inspect the same, and who may at all reasonable hours examine the same.

Where an occupier is at work on the material of an employer, all fines to which he is liable under this Act shall be recoverable from the employer whose material is found within the premises at the time of the inspection.

I do not pretend that this latter clause would be frequently enforced. But, taken together, these two clauses would be a direct blow to the employment by large manufacturers of small and irresponsible labour contractors. 'We give out our work to whoever will take it, to the man who will do it best and the cheapest, and we get off with the least trouble.' This is the cynical description of the methods of employment in the East End clothing trade given to the Lords by the representative of the largest manufacturing firm.[10] What with the publicity of the law courts, occasional convictions, and the difficulty of inspecting the worker's home, the 'least trouble' might become troublesome; and the irksomeness and expense of this deliberate system of preying on the necessities of the workers might convert even this frank and outspoken witness into a responsible employer eager for the welfare of those from whose labour he has extracted a magnificent fortune.

We must now deal with the intricate question of administration. For we have seen that the regulation of small workshops under the Factory Act (such as it now stands) is brought to nought by the divided jurisdiction of the factory inspectors and the local authorities in certain workshops, and in all domestic workshops. In these workplaces the factory inspector's authority is limited to the first class of provisions under the factory law: viz. to the regulation of the hours of labour of the protected classes, while all matters of sanitation are under the local authority. Now, there is ample proof of the gross incompetence and frequent inertness (some would say corrupt inertness) of the local authorities in certain districts, while the most energetic and well-intentioned sanitary authority is seriously hampered by the peculiarities of the Public Health Act, with its roundabout procedure and absence of retrospective penalties. The first inclination, therefore, of the earnest reformer is to centralise —to throw the whole responsibility of the sanitation of all workplaces upon the sanitary inspector. But here we are face to face with a serious difficulty. An experienced factory inspector insists that 'the strong statements made about the sanitary state of workshops is utterly misleading: the confusion arising from the state of the yards in which

[10] Hollington, 9428, 9432.

they are placed, and the houses near which they are.' Indeed, the whole evidence before the Committee points to the fact that it is the approaches to the workplaces—the passages, stairs, back-yards—that are most at fault in the matter of sanitary requirements. Hence, to centralise inspection, besides necessitating an immense increase in the Home Office staff, would simply mean transforming every factory inspector into the sanitary inspector of his district, and would practically strip or relieve the local authority of all jurisdiction and responsibility in a primary matter of public health. This would be obviously inconsistent with our wish to develop to the utmost the powers and duties of County Councils. A County Council, aspiring to the management of farms, docks, and electric lighting, and neglecting questions of local sanitation, would be a strange anomaly.

Now, so far as I understand the somewhat enigmatical wording of the Report, the Select Committee offer suggestions of great practical value. In paragraph 190 they recommend that 'all workplaces shall be treated as factories are treated under the factory law;' in paragraph 193 they advise the repeal of that mischievous clause exempting domestic workshops from regular inspection at all reasonable times of day and night. I take it for granted, therefore, that, in their Lordships' opinion, the factory inspectors should exercise exactly the same powers with regard to general cleanliness, space, ventilation, in all workplaces, whether these workplaces be textile factories or domestic workshops.

But this does not exhaust their recommendations. If they stopped here, their policy would be one of pure centralisation, and would be open to all the objections stated above. In paragraph 194 they 'consider the establishment of County Councils provides in every county a body capable of being trusted with the superintendence of the inspection by sanitary authorities and of making such inspection efficient.'

To understand the bearing of this suggestion we must remember that under the present Local Government Act, County Councils (where they are not at the same time municipalities) have no practical control over local sanitary authorities. Hence there is little hope of making these independent authorities—too small to attract or pay for the services of first-rate men—energetic and efficient. Lord Derby and his colleagues suggest that, in the creation of district councils or in any further development of local government, we should return to the original idea embodied in Mr. Ritchie's draft Local Government Bill: to the policy of making each County Council a small Local Government Board gifted with certain legislative functions (such as enacting or approving of by-laws for all subordinate districts) and endowed with extensive powers of superintendence and control. Now, this recommendation, taken in conjunction with those contained in paragraphs 190–194, points to a

concurrent jurisdiction of the Factory Department and the County Council in all questions of sanitation: in other words, instead of factories being outside the authority of the district board or council, while workshops are especially exempted from the control of the factory department, the County Council shall be made expressly responsible for factories, workshops, and their surroundings; the factory inspector retaining his enlarged powers and intervening in case of default on the part of a local authority. This would be following the precedent of the concurrent authority of the School Board and the factory inspector in the matter of compulsory education.

We shall perceive the wisdom of these far-seeing proposals in considering that second obstacle to the administration of the law —non-registration of workplaces. Who is to register these hidden workshops in the cellars, back-yards, bedrooms—behind, above, below the retail shops and dwellings of metropolitan and provincial slums? The Factory Law answers, the occupier. Now, the occupier, with regard to the hours of labour and conditions of employment, is always the same person, whether he be the master of a factory or the inhabitant of a slum, viz. the person who employs his own or others' labour. But with regard to defective structure or bad sanitation of the workplace, who and what is this occupier?

In the factories and large workshops of legitimate manufacture, he is a responsible capitalist, owning, leasing, or renting the workplace and its surroundings. He is, in fact, the 'owner' of the Sanitary Acts—the person whom a local authority would prosecute for a 'nuisance,' whether arising from the bad sanitation, overcrowding, or deficient accommodation of the interior, or from a foul drain in some outer part of his premises. But when we descend into the sweated industries, we lose sight of this responsible employer, at once landlord and wage-payer, and find ourselves in a shifting population of men and women, natives and foreigners, occupying garrets, back-yards, cellars by the week; living in fear of the landlord's broker, at the mercy of a neighbour's dirt, and ready to flit at a moment's notice. The double duties of the ordinary manufacturer are divorced—the wholesale trader becoming the wage-payer, the owner of the premises the landlord. In our amendment to the Factory Act we have insisted on the responsibility of the wholesale trader; in an amendment to the Public Health Act we can deal with the landlord.

In those districts affected by sweating (that is, where occupiers are weekly tenants), the provisions of the Public Health Acts are practically enforced through the agency of the owners.[11] But in this

[11] The 'owner,' under the Sanitary Acts, is the person who receives, or would receive, the rack rent of any premises. Hence, if Smith lets a house to Jones, and Jones sub-lets the house to weekly tenants, Jones, and not Smith, is the 'owner' of

laudable endeavour to affix the responsibility to the man who makes the profit, and who alone can inspect the condition of his premises, and remedy any defective structure, the sanitary officials are thwarted by ignorance of his name and address. It is exactly this weak spot in the Public Health Acts that the Select Committee desire to strengthen by advocating a registration of property by owners.

25. We are of opinion that greater facilities should be given to factory inspectors for inspecting the workplaces within their jurisdiction by registration of owners, or by requiring notice to be given the inspectors of the establishment of new work-places, and the discontinuance of old. Some means should also be devised for enabling sanitary inspectors to discover readily the names and addresses of the owners of insanitary workplaces and houses.

From the wording of this paragraph I imagine that the Select Committee recommend that County Councils should be empowered to make by-laws as to houses or parts of houses let for industrial purposes, and that these by-laws should enforce the free registration of such premises by the owners.[12] I suggest that this responsibility of the owner be extended to the use of such premises for such purposes; the system of weekly rent-collecting forming, to my mind, an admirable method of voluntary inspection on behalf of the immediate landlords. Moreover, the County Councils should be required to forward to the Factory Department a complete list of the factories and workshops within their district, and the Birmingham system of mutual reports should be adopted, the sanitary inspector notifying all breaches of the Factory Acts, while the factory inspector would report to the sanitary authority non-compliance with the provisions of the Public Health Act.[13]

In the current criticisms of the Lords' Report, I fail to find any adequate appreciation of the ability with which the Committee have dealt with the most difficult practical problem arising out of this inquiry—I mean with the present divided jurisdiction of the Factory Department and the local authorities in the workshops of the sweated industries. Lord Derby and his colleagues have suggested an administrative reform without which no conceivable amendment of the regulations of the Factory Act would be of the slightest avail. For to the unsatisfactory settlement of the relative functions of the factory inspector and the sanitary inspector in the Workshop Acts of 1867–71 and in the Factory and Workshop Act 1878, we may attribute the sanitary evils of the sweating system. Now the advice given to the Committee by experts was of the most contradictory and perplexing nature. Mr. Redgrave, the experienced chief of the

the premises. The occupier may become, under the terms of his lease, liable to the responsibilities of the owner. This provides for those instances in which the occupier of the Sanitary Acts is a man of substance.

[12] Under Section 76 of the Public Health Act the sanitary authorities are already permitted to make by-laws for houses let in lodgings, a permission which is freely used in well-managed parishes. [13] See evidence, Knyvett, 27641.

Factory Department, observed that logically the factory inspector should confine himself to the hours of labour and the safety of machinery, while the sanitary authorities should be held responsible for questions of pure sanitation; and he advocated, in any amendment of the Factory Act, the transference of all sanitary inspection to local authorities. On the other hand, the whole staff of working factory inspectors, and the whole body of trade unionists examined by the Committee recommended the extension of factory jurisdiction to the sanitation of all workshops. The Select Committee have struck an admirable compromise. They have given us (it is true, in faint outline) a policy which, while it increases the present powers of the central government, provides for the gradual absorption, by competent local authorities, of all those duties of the factory inspector which relate to purely local matters, such as the structure and sanitation of buildings and the registration of property—duties which can be far more efficiently performed by officials in constant and intimate communication with the inhabitants of the district. Hence the reform of the sweating system is no simple matter: it needs a delicate adjustment of the Factory Acts, the Public Health Acts, and the Local Government Act—the tuning of these three great legislative instruments to one common note of strength and harmony.

I do not know whether, in the foregoing pages, in this attempt to lend colour and form to the broad lines of the Lords' Report, I have been fortunate enough to give the reader a clear idea of the origin and nature of the evils of sweating, or to lay before him an intelligible body of reform. In this labyrinth of technical detail I have been led by the insinuating logic of facts again and again to the one central idea, round which gather scientific description and practical suggestion—an idea which has loomed larger and larger with a closer and more personal study of the suffering and degradation of the workers—an idea which I conceive to be embodied in all the labour legislation of this century: the direct responsibility, under a capitalist system of private property, of all employers for the welfare of their workers, of all property owners for the use of their property. From the denial of this personal service, in return for profits and rent, arise the dire evils of sweating—evils described in simple but touching words in the Lords' Report: 'earnings barely sufficient to sustain existence; hours of labour such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and unlovely to the last degree; sanitary conditions injurious to the health of the persons employed, and dangerous to the public.' It will be through awakening the sense of this responsibility, through insisting on the performance of this duty, by legislative enactment, by the pressure of public opinion, and by all forms of voluntary association, that we can alone root out and destroy those hideous social evils known as the Sweating System.

BEATRICE POTTER.

A PENNY POST FOR THE EMPIRE.

THE fascinating idea of extending the carrying power of a penny stamp to the colonies, wherein lie the homes of so many of our kith and kin, has received new stimulus from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's decision to reduce the colonial postage charges to a uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}d$. The conditions of the problem have, however, been sensibly, though not fundamentally, modified by Mr. Goschen's announcement. By that announcement the fulcrum of the agitation, in other words, the body of grievances connected with the postal service to the colonies, has been cut down to about half its former size, and a readjustment of the lever—public opinion—becomes necessary. It is no longer a question of carrying out the modest proposal of 'Ocean Penny Postage,' but of instituting an Imperial penny service by the quickest routes, on land and sea, including the Calais-Brindisi one. The policy of 'throwing a sop to Cerberus' is frequently successful. One of the most formidable obstacles encountered in the promotion of reforms in this country lies in the lethargic tendency which characterises common as distinguished from individual action. The multitude feels the justice of its demand for the desired boon, and clamours for it. The ruler first shuts his ears, then temporises, and finally grants part of what is asked. The Briton's instinct tells him that a just claim for reform is sure to be fully satisfied sooner or later, and presently the novelty of the matter has worn off, while the stinging of the injustice has abated. Even at first no man ventures on a display of much personal feeling regarding a hardship in which he has 40,000,000 fellow-sufferers. The citizens know their power, but, though they will not allow their will to be disputed, they will submit to have it baffled indirectly for an indefinite period. And thus the obstructor, the bigot, and the lover of grandfatherly ways generally, win temporary advantage, and the progress of reform is delayed.

Now I would earnestly exhort those who wish to secure for the Empire all the blessings of cheap postal communication, to disregard the allurement of the new rate, and to insist on the full measure of our rights in this matter. We must not suffer ourselves to be duped and defeated, like Atalanta, who stayed to pick up the golden apples flung at her feet by a less fleet but more wily competitor. We must all rejoice at the concession obtained from the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, a concession which will largely and at once increase our colonial trade, and add much happiness to the lives of our poor. But we should regard it as a stepping-stone, not as a boundary mark, as an encouraging earnest of what is yet to come, not as the final sum of what science, wealth, and British energy can accomplish in the transmission of mails. The movement for the Imperial penny rate was begun in the English parliamentary arena by me only four years ago, in March, 1886. It encountered bitter opposition from the official element, and yet, by 1888, the Postmaster-General was brought to concede a fourpenny rate by the ocean route to Australia. The promoters of the agitation did not denounce this idle, mocking response to the popular cry for cheap postage. On the contrary, we praised the Government for its first timid step in the path of reform, and invited it to proceed. It has now made a giant stride in the same direction; let us hope that it will soon accomplish the final stage of the journey.

We have now obtained the 2½*d.* rate, which the Frenchman, the German, and the Russian have enjoyed for several years past. Before long our Continental rivals, who are fully alive to the immense advantage secured by the nation which adopts the cheapest means of communication with British markets, will doubtless treat themselves to a penny rate, and our Government will again grudgingly and ungraciously follow their example. I am glad that the connection between trade and postal rates, which I have for years endeavoured, in speech and writing, in Parliament, on the platform, and through the Press, to hammer into the ministerial cranium, is at length officially perceived and formally recognised.

The Postmaster-General, in the course of a recent speech, betrayed a curious confusion of ideas in dealing with this subject, to which it will be useful to call attention, as it illustrates a point that must presently be dealt with. Mr. Raikes, as is well known, has during the three and a half years' term of office strenuously opposed my proposals for the reduction of foreign and colonial postal rates, and in fact, every one of the twelve reforms in postal matters carried by me. On eight different occasions he maintained, in reply to inquiries, that a reduction in the rate to India was out of the question. Having been taxed by the press with this futile opposition, he defends himself, in the Bradford speech, by declaring that he has, during the 3½ years, been in favour of a reduced rate, but that it was his duty to argue against it and oppose it, 'so long as the Government had not arrived at a positive conclusion on the matter.' And he reconciled his conscience to this curious sample of ministerial ethics, it seems, by the argument that 'it costs the country sixpence to send a letter to Australia, or fivepence to send one to India,' and that there was 'injustice' in making the 'ordinary taxpayer' defray half the cost of carrying a letter to the colonies for the benefit of the letter-writer. He points out, however, that 'the public' has a paramount right to

have its trade and connection with the colonies protected against our foreign rivals, and therefore, he says, the reduction has been granted. But the public *is* the 'ordinary taxpayer.' His contention is, therefore, that the public has both a right to be taxed, and a right to be exempted from taxation, which is absurd.

This remarkable reasoning of the chief of the postal department is based on the fallacy that the writers of letters to the colonies ought, as a matter of strict justice, to be charged with the payment of all the sums set down as expenditure on the colonial postal service. Now here is the key to this vexed question, how to reduce the colonial rate to one penny, without imposing unfair, or as Mr. Raikes calls it, unjust taxation on anybody.

Among the sums charged as expenditure against the foreign and colonial mail-service, are the subsidies paid to the owners of the steamships that carry the mails, as a consideration for the regular running of such steamships. These subsidies amount to some 640,000*l.* per annum, and it is chiefly to help to meet this huge sum that merchants, or emigrants' relatives in this country, have to pay postage amounting to six times the sum for which their letters might be carried. *My contention is, that by far the larger portion of the total of* 640,000*l. ought 'justly' to be charged against the 'ordinary taxpayer,' and not against the writers of letters to the colonies.* I cannot too strongly insist upon this principle, which I will now explain and justify.

This question of subsidies has long been the stumbling-block in the way of postal reformers, and it has long furnished a convenient bogey, or illuminated turnip, wherewith the official juggler may terrify the 'ordinary tax-payer.' Thus, so late as the 8th of May, 1890, the Postmaster-General said:

> The loss to the Imperial revenue by reducing the postage on letters to India and the Colonies to 1*d.*, instead of 2½*d.*, as proposed, is estimated at 180,000*l.* a year: and that loss, I may add, would be in addition to the loss which is at present sustained by the expenditure on ocean mail services being already very largely in excess of the postage rates charged to the public.

The simple hearer would, of course, gather from this statement that a large expenditure is incurred by the State *on behalf of the letter-writers*, which is only partially recouped by the postage which they pay; the real truth being, that the writers pay five or six times over the normal cost of conveying their letters, and that the greater part of the expenditure is incurred (as we shall presently see) for State purposes, utterly unconnected with letter-writing. I first met with these terrible subsidies when I proposed in the House of Commons, about four years ago, the following resolution:

> That in the opinion of this House the time has arrived for the Government of this country to open negotiations with other Governments with a view to the establishment of a universal international penny-postage system.

Many of us are unwilling to confine the benefits of cheap postage to a third, or less, of the human race, and at the close of the interesting debate that followed, no less than 142 members (including pairs) showed themselves to be of this opinion. Well, as might have been expected, the Government opposed the motion. The official mule viciously resents, with tooth and hoof, any attempt to readjust his harness, and we have to be firm with him, remembering that he is, after all, our mule, and not our master. The chief argument advanced by the Government was, that there was already a loss of 1,000*l.* a day on the foreign and colonial postal service, due to the fact that the returns from foreign and colonial postage were insufficient to cover the 640,000*l.* annually paid for subsidies to the mail lines.

Now it would be just as fair to raise the 640,000*l.* by imposing heavier rates on Irish correspondence, and more fair to raise it on the whole body of correspondence, inland and foreign. The subsidies in question (as already pointed out) serve a twofold purpose; they secure a fleet of the largest and most rapid steamers, available at a moment's notice as cruisers and transports, in the event of war, and they encourage the colonial and foreign trade by which we live, by ensuring frequent and regular sea communication with the outer world. Up to 1860 the subsidies contributed for the various packet services were properly charged to the Admiralty. The keeping up of a reserve fleet, and the encouragement of trade, were matters of State, and were provided for by the State, in other words, by the 'ordinary tax-payer.' Subsequently, however, on the pretence that the mails were carried by these steamers—an insignificant amount of space in each vessel being required for this purpose—the whole burden of the subsidies was laid on the Post Office, although the following protest was made in the official Post Office Report:

> The claim that the Post Office should be charged with the whole expense of this packet, or ocean service, must be considered as barred by the simple fact that few of the mail packets were established either by the Post Office, or for merely postal purposes, their expense being far beyond what such requirements would justify. To assume that these packets were really established for Post Office purposes, is to charge the Government with the most absurd extravagance.

A Select Committee of the House of Commons afterwards recommended that a fair proportion of the expense should be charged to the Admiralty, *and that the Post Office should only be charged for the actual transmission of the mails.* This recommendation (Mr. Raikes admits) has been ignored.

Again, while the steamship services to India and the far East, and to the West Indies, are expensive, and the returns are comparatively small, the services to the United States, Canada, and Australasia yield very large returns, even at the present high rates.

(Thus, the Australian returns increase at the rate of 5,000*l.*, and the American returns at the rate of 14,000*l.* a year.) The total receipts from Indian correspondence do not exceed 65,000*l.* per annum, and as this yield does not go very far towards covering the huge sums paid for subsidies, the simple expedient is adopted of over-charging the Australian and American correspondence, which has nothing to do with the deficiency in question. The Postmaster-General proceeds, in fact, exactly like a Persian provincial governor. If such a satrap, having to raise a certain amount of tribute, found that one half of his province was too poor to pay, he would forthwith raise the assessment of the wealthier half. These summary Oriental methods are apt to raise our Western gorge; yet by an argument founded on such methods, my motion was defeated.

It is easy to see that two objects are gained by the transmission of correspondence to the colonies. There is the personal advantage or gratification of the writers, and there is the advantage—in trade, influence, and friendly relations—secured by the community at large to which the writers belong. Of course no merchant, writing in the course of business, and no person writing to a relative in the colonies, can object to pay the actual cost of conveying his letter (which, as I shall show, ought not to amount to one penny per letter). But inasmuch as the State indirectly profits to a large extent by the correspondence in question, it is obviously to the interest of the State to undertake part of the cost of conveyance, and thus to encourage an operation which is exceedingly profitable to itself. How profitable it is, we may judge from the following figures:

The total foreign and colonial trade of the United Kingdom was

	£		£
In 1887	642,990,725	In 1889	709,017,746
In 1888	685,520,979	In 1890	739,987,996
	An increase in 1890 of . . .		£30,970,250

Our colonies buy more largely of us every year. Thus, of the above increase in 1888 of 42,530,254*l.*, no less than 6,334,000*l.* represents increased exports to Australia.

These considerations, I say, appear to lead us to the conclusion that the actual cost of conveying a letter to the colonies should in fairness be borne partly by the writer, and partly by the State.

But this actual cost of conveying the mails will account for only a portion of the subsidies paid to the mail-lines. For these subsidies cover, first the actual cost of conveying the letters to their destinations, secondly, the cost of providing the most rapid and regular means of transit for the 740,000,000*l.* of our foreign and colonial trade, and thirdly, the cost of maintaining a reserve fleet for the protection of that trade in time of war. As to the first item of cost (which we may roughly estimate at 240,000*l.*) we have seen that the State, as a matter of justice and policy, should contribute at least part of it, the

letter-writers paying the remainder. But from the second and third items of expenditure covered by the subsidies, amounting together to 400,000*l.* of the total vote of 640,000*l.*, the writers of letters to the colonies and foreign countries derive exactly the same advantage as (but no more than) the rest of the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom. Yet this heavy charge of 400,000*l.*, which is incurred for the attainment of objects beneficial to the entire community, and which should therefore be defrayed by taxation spread over the entire community, has been exclusively and iniquitously thrown on the shoulders of those who have to send letters to colonial and foreign correspondents. This is a scandalous injustice, which it behoves the British Parliament to remedy without an hour's delay. For the victimised class has absolutely no more to do with the causes, or objects, or results of the expenditure in question than the University of Oxford, or the Royal Society, or Convocation, or any other harmless body of 'ordinary taxpayers.' What would Mr. Raikes think of a proposal to deduct annually from the salaries of Government officials, the sum required for the maintenance of that splendid corps, the Royal Marines? And how would such an arrangement differ from the one complained of? These letter-writers, thus fleeced and defrauded, deserve indulgent treatment, instead of gross injustice, for they are either merchants, who, by writing the letters referred to, carry on and extend the trade by which we all live, or they are men and women plunged in poverty, and separated for life from members of their families who have emigrated to the colonies, in order to increase the power and wealth of the Empire, and to create new markets for our goods. These writers, I repeat, have morally nothing on earth to do with the subsidies, beyond the obligation to pay for the carriage of their letters. This is demonstrated by the fact that if the letter-writers could make arrangements to have their communications sent in future by cable, instead of in writing, the subsidies would still have to be paid, less the small amount of them now set off as consideration for the transportation of the mails.

Another heavy item of expenditure charged against the writers of letters despatched *viâ* Brindisi, is that for the conveyance of the mails over the French and Italian lines from Calais to Brindisi. For this service we pay annually to the French and Italian Governments a sum of about 100,000*l.* This monstrous toll is obtained by the two Governments by charging a fixed sum—one penny—for each letter, just as a mediæval Baron stretched a chain across the Rhine, and levied tolls on barges bound for the Netherlands. The distance is about 1,200 miles, and the rate enforced, of 1*d.* per ½ oz., or some 300*l.* per ton, is at least four times higher than it should be. Thus, for the transport of the Australian mails from New York to San Francisco, 3,000 miles, we pay only ½*d.* per letter, or half the rate exacted for the 1,200 miles from Calais to Brindisi. We ought to pay about one

farthing per letter, or 75*l.* per ton, for this service across French and Italian territory, and if the two Governments refused to accept that amount, there is an alternative, *and much shorter* route available, *viâ* Ostend, Vienna, and Salonica. The rate charged was actually 1½*d.* per letter, until I stirred up the authorities, and obtained the partial reduction to 1*d.*

We are now in a position to deal with the statements made by high officials concerning the 'loss,' as it is skilfully termed, on the colonial and foreign services. On the 8th of May, 1890, the Postmaster-General said, in the House of Commons, 'From a return which I have before me, I find that the estimated present Imperial loss on the colonial sea services amounts to about 254,000*l.* a year, and this loss is independent and apart from the loss on foreign mail services, on which I have no precise information.'

Those who have perused the previous portion of this article will not be taken in by the imposing phrase 'Imperial loss on the colonial sea services.' As they will readily perceive, it merely means that the postage collected from the writers of letters to the colonies and foreign countries, suffices not merely to defray the cost of conveying the letters from Calais to Brindisi, but to pay no less than 386.000*l.* of the subsidies, amounting to 640,000*l.*, for the whole of which they have unjustly been made responsible, instead of the 'ordinary taxpayer.' Thus, instead of there being a loss, there is a thumping surplus, which is applied to the relief of the consumers of rum, the inheritors of estates, legatees, and others, who have been drinking and growing rich so long at the expense of the letter-writers.

We next come to the interesting, though not vital question of the cost of introducing penny postage to the colonies. The Postmaster-General, in an answer already quoted, has stated that 'the loss to the Imperial revenue by reducing the postage on letters to India and the colonies to 1*d.* instead of 2½*d.* as proposed, is estimated at 180,000*l.* a year.'

The bias of the reply was unveiled when Mr. Raikes, in answer to Mr. Childers, confessed that his estimate did not allow for any increase of correspondence under the penny rate! But taking the estimate of this arch-enemy of the penny rate as it stands, it is the most telling fact in favour of Imperial penny postage with which I am acquainted. For Mr. Goschen had already estimated the loss under the 2½*d.* rate at 105,000*l.* per annum; so that the additional expenditure required for instituting penny postage, by the *quickest routes* (including the railway section from Calais to Brindisi), to every corner of the Queen's dominions, is just 75,000*l.* more than the Government has already undertaken. If this be the worst that can be urged against Imperial penny postage, our case is as good as won. For 75,000*l.*, or as nearly as possible the sum paid by the

nation for the Ansidei Madonna, we may confer on the entire Empire the benefits and blessings which have accrued to the mother country from the penny post, even if the subsidies are still unfairly charged against the letter-writers, and the excessive transcontinental rate is maintained.

After this conclusive admission of the Postmaster-General, it is almost superfluous to dwell further on the cost of the proposed reform. But it is as well to remember that Sir Rowland Hill expressly recommended Imperial penny postage, fifty years ago, and estimated the actual cost of conveying a letter to the Antipodes by sea, at one farthing only. Sea carriage is now much cheaper than it was in his day, and valuable goods can be sent to New Zealand for 40*s.* per ton. For letters it would be fair to pay the shipowner about 25*l.* per ton, and for trans-continental railway carriage (from Calais to Brindisi), 75*l.* per ton more, in all 100*l.* per ton. Letters charged 1*d.* each for postage would produce 300*l.* per ton, and thus there would be a profit to the Post Office of 200*l.* per ton on all letters sent *viâ* Brindisi and the Suez Canal. This is what the cost of the service should be; but of course, while the present extravagant charge of 1*d.* per letter is exacted for transit from Calais to Brindisi, that alone will absorb all the postage under the penny rate. If the French and Italian Governments would accept ½*d.* per letter for the transit over their 1,200 miles of rail (the same rate as we pay the Americans for transit over 3,000 miles), the profit to the Post Office would be 125*l.* per ton; and if they would accept ¾*d.* per letter, the profit would be 50*l.* per ton. It will be observed that according to these figures, ocean penny postage (i.e. the plan of sending the mails all the way by water, instead of crossing the Continent), would yield a large profit. But it is, I repeat, no longer a question of ocean penny postage (which ought to have been instituted years ago); it is a question of providing at once, for the traders and citizens of this country, the most perfect, rapid, and cheap means of communication with their fellow-subjects, customers, sons and brothers, in every part of the Empire, at about the cost of the amount spent annually in keeping up Hampton Court, or in maintaining the Viceregal establishment in Dublin Castle.

Mr. Goschen, one of the two first living authorities on finance, is entitled to much credit for the courage which he has shown in reducing the colonial rates to 2½*d.* all round. He has thus placed the Briton on a level with the foreigner in the matter of communication with British colonies. In my published speech of the 17th of August, 1889, occur these words: 'My correspondents in India, particularly officers *stationed at Quetta*, write to tell me with what contempt for the British Post Office they receive their English letters and newspapers every week bearing French postage stamps.'

This remark appears to have borne fruit. For Mr. Goschen, in

announcing the reduction of colonial rates to 2½*d.* (the French rate), justified it thus: 'No doubt it is a great anomaly that *if letters were sent to Paris they can be posted more cheaply to our officers at Quetta*, or in Burmah, than they could be by the British Post Office. We propose to remedy this anomaly, etc.'

It is a source of the utmost gratification to sound Conservatives that Lord Salisbury's Government has thus made an end of the disgraceful anomaly, which I have so often denounced, arising out of the conveyance of foreigners' letters in British ships to British colonies, at half the rate charged by us to British subjects. What Mr. Goschen has done is a bare act of justice. He has transferred part of the charge for subsidies to the shoulders of the 'ordinary taxpayers,' which will henceforth rightfully bear it. May we not hope, now that his attention has been directed to the matter, that he will complete this great task of restitution, and introduce the penny rate?

I observe that the Postmaster-General claims the entire credit for this reduction to the 2½*d.* rate, on the ground that he has, within the last few months (or, as he says, 'when I heard that there was a well-ascertained prospect of a surplus of revenue this year'), suggested it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The fact of this tardy suggestion is, however, hardly enough to substantiate the claim based upon it. The question for the public in such a case is, who has worked to secure a reform for it, not who has profited by the exertions of the worker. For four years Mr. Raikes has been the persistent and implacable opponent of every attempt to bring down these high colonial postal rates. He has defended their imposition by elaborate arguments, and has, on at least eight occasions, declared against any reduction of the postage to India. And now that public opinion has, in spite of his teeth, been worked up to insist on a great reduction of the rates, he steps in with a proposal to adopt half measures, rendered possible, and even compulsory, by the very agitation which he has done his best to defeat; and forthwith poses as a public benefactor. The right honourable gentleman is rather a late convert than a missionary. The reduction to 2½*d.* will not, moreover, have the desired effect of killing the movement for a 1*d.* rate; for it has helped to bridge the chasm that divided us from the colonies, and only a narrow gap remains. The movement for a 1*d.* rate has clearly necessitated at least a reduction to the 2½*d.* rate, just as the turning of a general's position necessitates his retreat to a second position. In military affairs such a retrograde movement is not usually described as a triumph, but that is a matter of taste. The view I entertain on the 2½*d.* rate appears from the following words, which I addressed to the Colonial Institute two years ago: 'Do you think I would ever get the reduction of postage to 2½*d.*, if I did not ask for a reduction to 1*d.*? *I want a reduction to 2½d., if I cannot get the rate lowered to 1d.*, which must be obvious to the poorest mind.'

I am glad that the first-fruits of the agitation have been gathered in accordance with the policy thus briefly sketched. Whether a further reduction to the 1*d.* rate is so visionary a scheme as the Postmaster-General asserts, the next few months may reveal to him. He may yet find it convenient to suggest it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If so, he will only revert to the view he professed when, in 1886, he paired in favour of my motion for universal penny postage. His objection, that the colonists are alarmed at the bare idea of the expenditure of 75,000*l.* to secure the 1*d.* rate, can scarcely have been seriously advanced. For we are speaking of postage *to*, not *from*, the colonies. And as each country keeps its own postage, and pays for its own mails, the colonists have nothing to do with the matter. They could not lose if we sent our mails to them without charging the writers a single farthing for postage. And as a matter of fact the colonists, as may be seen from their press, strongly desire the 1*d.* rate; while the Colonial Ministers of Finance naturally oppose it.

I propose, then, to convey a letter weighing half an ounce from any place in the United Kingdom to any other place in the Empire, or in the United States, for 1*d.* There are reasons, both practical and sentimental, for the inclusion of the United States, which were a century ago part of our colonial domain, and the interests of which are still closely connected with ours. To take three facts. (1) The United Kingdom does more business than any other country with the United States; (2) many millions of Americans are closely related to British subjects; (3) the British mails for Canada are landed at New York, so that it would be absurd to charge 2½*d.* on a letter sent from London to New York, and only 1*d.* if it were addressed on to Canada. It will be observed that nothing whatever is done for the Dominion by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's decision to establish a 2½*d.* rate, since the rate to Canada is already 2½*d.* Canada has now the strongest claim of all the colonies to the 1*d.* rate. As we have seen, the Post Office has made a foolish bargain with the French and Italian Governments for the conveyance of letters to India and the East and Australasia from Calais to Brindisi for 1*d.* each, and while this bargain subsists, a penny post by that route could not yield a profit. There being, in the case of Canada, nothing but water between us and the American coast, the Post Office has had no opportunity of committing us; and there is literally and absolutely no reason why a profitable penny post should not be established to-morrow to British North America (for surely nobody will attempt to defend the juggle about subsidies any longer).

A high postage rate, as already said, checks trade. Those who are conversant with commercial affairs of any magnitude are aware of the supreme importance of the operations directed to the obtaining

of orders—canvassing, sample showing, and price list distributing operations, communications with agents in touch with the desired market, and so on. In these days of keen competition and lavish advertisement, it is obvious that these preliminary operations involve the fate of the business; and accordingly, every business man of experience will adopt all possible means to facilitate them. Now the English are a trading nation—a 'nation of shopkeepers'—for the sufficient reason that the soil of England is too small to support her immense population. Of course our agriculturists exchange their products with our manufacturers, and this home trade is of considerable amount. But the really important branch of our industries—that by which we live, and on which our greatness increasingly depends—is our foreign and colonial trade. And for every 10*s.* worth of goods purchased from us by the foreigner, the British colonist buys 8*l.* worth. Our immense colonial trade has inflamed the cupidity of numerous and powerful European rivals, and at every point we have to encounter French, German, Italian, and other intrigues for filching from us our commerce with our own colonies, by which so many millions of our working classes at home subsist. With the exception of Algiers, I doubt if any French, German, or Italian colony or dependency pays the expenses of administration; yet these Governments pay enormous subsidies to their national steamer-lines, nearly all of which run to British possessions. The French Government expends in such so-called mail subsidies no less than 26,060,000 francs annually, 400,000*l.* more than we do. Yet we have whole continents for colonies, as against the small possessions of France.

How does our Government behave with regard to this vital colonial trade of ours, and to the 'preliminary operations' in connection with it. Strange to say, until the decision to adopt the 2½*d.* rate, it had done all in its power to aid our foreign rivals at our expense. Not only did it refuse to spend as much as foreign Governments in subsidies, but it taxed British commercial correspondence with our colonies 100 per cent. more heavily than foreign correspondence, and it actually conveyed the foreigner's correspondence at the half rate in British ships. India is still regularly flooded every mail day with French and German trade circulars, sent in open envelopes for a halfpenny each, while an Englishman is not allowed to use that means of transmission. A Frenchman, a German, or a Russian, could send a letter to British India for 2½*d.*, while the lowest charge for an Englishman was 5*d.*, and to some forty British colonies or dependencies the British Post Office charged twice as much for postage to the Englishman as it charged to the foreigner. The results were exasperation amongst our mercantile classes at the favour shown to indefatigable and successful rivals, and various expedients for escaping the unfair rates. Thus one London firm alone

has saved 1,300*l.* a year by sending its Eastern correspondence to be posted in France: and of course an Englishman in the colonies has always, where it was possible, committed his letter for England to a German or French Post Office, and no one can tell how far the British postal revenue suffered from such practices.

Again, a high scale of postal charges to the colonies has a directly dissolvent effect on the Empire. When we remember that ours is not a solid compact territory like Russia, but on the contrary is broken up into widely distant fragments separated by the ocean, and peopled by races of various creeds, habits, and sympathies, we at once perceive the urgent need for the readiest, cheapest, and most perfect means of intercommunication.

The economical results of a change to the penny rate may be confidently anticipated. Trade between the United Kingdom and the colonies, and between colony and colony, would be powerfully stimulated. The British merchant, provided with a postal service far cheaper than those of his rivals, would be able to communicate with his agents and customers, and to canvass for new business, more than five times as often as is now possible, without increasing his expenditure one jot. What that means may be imagined from the statement of a high authority, that every million of Post Office receipts on foreign and colonial postal business involves the suppression of British trade to the amount of 30,000,000*l.* Private business of all kinds, as distinguished from trading business, would be vastly facilitated, so that a very large number of persons besides the commercial and working classes would derive immediate benefit from the reduction. And finally the increase in the amount of correspondence would be so great that in four or five years a large surplus would be realised. The same results occurred on the institution of inland penny postage. In 1839 there were delivered in the United Kingdom 82,500,000 letters. In 1840, the first year of penny postage, there were delivered 169,000,000, and last year 1,558,000,000. In those days the lower classes were mostly uneducated; now every man, woman, and child can wield the pen.

As to the silent, irresistible influence which such a change would exert in determining the course and fate of the Empire I am not qualified to speak. It is a task for the poet rather than for the politician. The postage-stamp would become the symbol of Imperial unity, nay more, the symbol of universal Anglo-Saxon brotherhood. The poorest and humblest, divided from home and friends by oceans and continents, might send his ill-spelt, blotted scrawl to father, mother, or sweetheart, for no more than my lord pays when he sends an order to his tradesman at the other end of the town. And, like my lord, he would for his penny obtain the best services of a great State department, with boundless resources, and an army of disciplined workers.

TELEGRAPHS.

With regard to the telegraph cables of the Empire, and the oppressive system of monopoly connected with them, the time has almost arrived for parliamentary action. Public attention has been attracted to the salient fact of the situation, namely, that a wonderful invention, whereby space and time are practically annihilated, and the one great weakness of the Empire, resulting from the widely scattered positions of its component parts, is removed, has been appropriated for the exclusive profit of a handful of monopolists, so that telegraphic communication between the home country and the colonies does not exist, except for a few wealthy men. Here again, as in the case of postal intercourse with 'Greater Britain,' there is no correspondence between the heavy charges enforced and the actual cost of communication, and immense reductions can be made in the tariff with the result of an augmentation of revenue. I shall presently set out a few of the charges referred to, and will here only add that no true patriot will touch such unholy gains, sucked from the very veins of the Empire.

A glance at the map of the world will show that at this critical epoch in British history, with colonies separated from the mother country by tens of thousands of miles, with a congested population at home, dependent for existence on foreign and colonial trade, and constantly overflowing into the outlying dominions of the Queen, with hungry rivals ever on the watch to intercept the trade that our energy and foresight have created, with the vital obligation upon all members of the Empire of working, suffering, rejoicing, and if need be, fighting together in union, the invention of the telegraph must be regarded as a providential revelation for us. For, by means of it, it is easy to regulate in half an hour from Downing Street the action of 330,000,000 of the human race massed under the Union Jack. By means of it, this vast section of humanity may be thrilled simultaneously with the same emotion, desire, or purpose. By means of it, the movement of goods to the distant market may be effected as easily and quickly as the movement of pawns upon the chessboard. And, finally, by means of it, the evils and sorrows attendant on the breaking up of the home-circle through emigration may be minimised, and the happiness of instantaneous intercourse conferred upon millions of families that are now physically divided, one member from another, until death, by impassable barriers of space.

All this might be. Now let us see what is the actual state of things. The cable net of the world, as I have often said, is the nerve system of the British Empire, and the centre of it is the British metropolis. As all roads led to Rome, so do all the great ocean telegraph routes lead to London. From a space easily measurable by yards within the City there radiate actual, material, tangible lines of

communication, reaching to Victoria in Vancouver on the one hand, and to Wellington in New Zealand on the other. The capital of the twenty-six submarine telegraph companies amounts to some 40,000,000*l.*; the miles of cable number 120,000; their revenue, including subsidies, is 3,204,060*l.*; their reserves and sinking funds mount up to 3,610,000*l.*, and their dividends range up to 14¾ per cent. The whole of this vast system of cables, with the exception of about 8,600 miles, is in British hands, and by far the greater number of stations are in British territory. Unfortunately, this universal cable system is in the hands of a small band of monopolists, who are exploiting the genius of Franklin and Wheatstone for their own profit. All the cables radiate from London, and all are made to feed the tills of the Eastern Telegraph Company. This Company's lines run only to India, but practically it is identical with the Eastern Extension Company, whose lines run to Australia, the Straits Settlements, China and Japan, and with the Eastern and South African Company, with lines running to Zanzibar and the Cape. The system is so arranged, that it is difficult to lay any competing line with any prospect of profit. For instance, lines constructed from Australia to the Straits, Ceylon, or the Cape would simply merge in the Eastern Company's systems. This state of things enables the Company to levy charges *à discrétion*. We pay, roughly speaking, for telegrams per word to India 4*s.*, to the Cape 9*s.*, and to Australia 10*s.*, whereas the rates should be about 6*d.*, 10*d.*, and 1*s.* respectively. At present the average price of a cable message to Australia is 6*l.*, and 1,000*l.* a day is spent in telegraphing between England and that Continent.[1]

I have no hesitation in declaring that the breaking down of this monopoly is an indispensable preliminary to the attainment of Imperial Federation. Until the sense of distance and division has thus been made to disappear, any paper Federation will be a mere delusion. One proposal for this purpose, which was considered at the last Colonial Conference, was to lay a cable from Australia, *viâ* Fiji, to Vancouver, the Pacific terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and there connect it with the line passing through Canada, and across the Atlantic to Valencia. It could transmit annually 10,000,000 words. That would mean a return of 500,000*l.* a year. Another scheme which would greatly increase the facilities for telegraphing is that proposed by my friend Mr. Pitman, C.I.E., Superintendent of Government Telegraphs in the Bombay Division, for connecting the

[1] Within the last few days the Telegraphic Conference has assembled in Paris, and, to the great satisfaction of the cable companies, I was not on this occasion named as a delegate. Nevertheless, I have been able to take effective outside action, which has resulted in wringing from these hard-fisted associations a reduction of the rate to Australia to 5*s.* per word. Of course, my reason for suggesting the 5*s.* rate was, that I thought it was better for the public to enjoy that concession at once than to wait until the ultimate reduction to 1*s.* a word could be enforced. And the public will probably be of the same opinion.

Russian (Penjdeh) and Indian (Chaman) termini by means of a short land line *viâ* Herat. With such a line in existence the rate to India would instantly fall to 6*d.* a word, and the stimulus given to Indian trade may be imagined. It will be remembered that the United Kingdom takes 55 per cent. of the total trade of India, and that our exports to that country increase to the extent of millions of pounds every year. Another advantage would be that the earliest possible warning would be received of the first movement of the Russians towards Herat. India is now practically served by two lines only, those *viâ* Suez and *viâ* Teheran. These lines are submerged for a portion of their course, and of course submerged lines are not only liable to interruption, but are very expensive to repair. It would therefore be clearly advisable to establish the Herat line at once, and thus to complete the land route from Calais to Calcutta.

I should then like to see a line laid down the Malay Peninsula, from Chittagong or Calcutta to Singapore, the nearest point to Australia. From Singapore a cable might be laid to Australia, and we should be in a position to make terms with the Eastern Telegraph Company. We could either buy the existing cable net, out and out, or if the Company proved unreasonable, lay new cables altogether. In either case the public would be enabled to transfer to the wire all the more important business now necessarily conducted by letter, and the beneficial effects upon business, upon family life, and even upon the future of the Empire, cannot be over-estimated. The chief objections urged to the construction of such a line are, that in case of war with Russia the line would be cut, and that the Afghans would not allow it to be laid. As to the first objection, it is to be observed that we are only at war with Russia for two years in a century, and that cables may be cut, as well as land lines. As to the second, the Ameer is our subsidised ally, and is personally interested in electrical science. Sir James Anderson indeed has recently confessed that he and his friends have not lost sight of the project.

To conclude, I have in the foregoing sketch laid before the public some of the facts and reasons which justify, and indeed render imperative, the movement for obtaining a radical reform of the postal and telegraphic services, by securing a direct relation between the actual cost of the machinery employed, and the charges levied on the public. The postal and telegraphic services must advance with the times. They have become part of our daily life, and our private, national, and imperial business is altogether dependent on their efficiency. I have pointed out how the desired result may be attained at a comparatively trifling cost. The next word is with Parliament. But the final decision rests with the British people, whose will on the subject has already been clearly declared in the press.

J. Henniker Heaton.

RACING IN 1890.

THE year 1890 will probably be memorable in the annals of racing. In the first place, it will be remembered that in the summer of 1888 the Jockey Club appointed a Committee of its own members to revise and re-draft the series of rules and regulations which govern all race-meetings and races held and run under their own sanction, compendiously known as the *Rules of Racing*. It was only towards the close of the lately departed year that the task thus undertaken, beset, as it was, with numerous difficulties, was brought to a close; and the accession of the new year inaugurated the binding force of the newly drafted code. It would, no doubt, be an exaggeration to say that, by this process, any radical innovations have been introduced, or that the broader controversies and questions of Turf reform have been dealt with or set at rest, the labours of the Committee being directed partly, it is true, towards changes of a practical and urgent character, but chiefly towards rearrangement and draughtsmanship—towards putting into logical and consecutive form the somewhat chaotic compilation which previously existed. At the same time, it will be obvious to any person who makes the affairs of the Turf a study, that this work of consolidation has duly paved the way for the consideration of various topics of great vital interest and importance to racing generally; that many questions which are from time to time ventilated in the Press will now receive the attention of the authorities.

But apart from the government of the Turf, from the point of view of race-goers generally—that section of the public which, though outsiders in a sense, are, nevertheless, firm supporters of racing—the present season claims at the outset to have special features of interest. Without question, the great attribute of the racing-year, which makes it interesting to contemporaries and memorable in history, is the quality of its three-year-olds. In spite of the growing importance of two-year-old races, and the increasing value of the prizes, the real interest centred in the two-year-old performances is the prognostication they afford with respect to the events of the succeeding year. Unless a horse is to be content with handicap celebrity, his great reputation must be made in some one or more of what are known as

the Classic events, open only to three-year-olds—the Two Thousand Guineas, the One Thousand Guineas, the more modern and lucrative Newmarket Stakes, the Grand Prize, the Derby, Oaks, and St. Leger. It is a trite saying that, with the exception of Donovan, the three-year-olds of the last three seasons have not been remarkable for quality, though in 1888 and 1889 the withdrawal of Friars Balsam and the lameness of Chitabob deprived the public of an interesting element of competition in these events.

But, judging from the performances and public form of the two-year-olds of 1889, it was clear from the first that the Classic events of the present year would afford competition of an unusually interesting and exciting character; and, up to the date of writing these pages, it cannot be said that last year's form has been upset.

But these pages are not designed to play the part, either of a 'Form at a glance,' by exhibiting a record of past performances, weights and winnings, or of a tipster's circular, full of 'anticipations' and 'selections' for future events. Nor is it my intention, either, to write a *vade mecum* for clerks of courses and promoters of race-meetings, in the shape of an analysis of the new *Rules of Racing*, or to enter into the more minute and technical questions of racing-law, such as the lowest racing-weight, the existence of selling-handicaps, or the liability for stakes after the hoisting of the telegraph-board. I propose to offer a survey and a description, rather than a commentary; to sketch the general circumstances and conditions under which the Turf exists—its hierarchy and executive, and the main features of the rules and regulations respecting the promotion and management of race-meetings—not omitting to notice the principal tendencies or changes, of which every diligent student of Turf affairs must long have observed the development.

In its organisation and government the Turf is, like our own Constitution, highly centralised both in respect to legislative and executive functions, while a liberal allowance of local government is at the same time conceded. The central power, the Jockey Club, is supreme. This body has, in some ways, the characteristics of a club, as its title would show. It is, for instance, self-electing; and this has been made by some people a point of attack, that it is not a representative body. This is true in the limited sense that its members are not representatives of constituents. But inasmuch as there are very few of its number who are not identified in a practical way with the interests of racing, it certainly has a certain representative character, representing the best interests of the Turf, and consisting, to use the words of Mr. Lowther, at Newmarket, the other day, of gentlemen who make racing a pastime rather than a business. But, like many other bodies in this country which hold the reins of power or 'wield a moral force,' it is purely unofficial. Neither its powers nor its proprietary rights have ever been stamped with the seal of an Act of Parliament or a Royal

Charter; yet its supremacy in matters of racing is an unquestionable fact. If we refer to their own constitutional codes, consisting of their rules as a club, and their rules as the supreme authority of the Turf, we find it all in black-and-white, in so far as race-meetings held under their *ægis* are concerned. Legislative power resides in the Club as a body: no new rule can be passed without being advertised in the *Racing Calendar* (the *London Gazette* of the kingdom of the Turf), and passed and confirmed at two subsequent meetings; and no suggested new rule can be advertised without being first submitted to 'the Standing Rule Committee of the Jockey Club.' The Rule Committee here alluded to is a novel and not unimportant institution, being a perpetuation of the committee of revision, to which I have already alluded, which would seem a certain guarantee against the constant process of patchwork and tinkering to which the rules were formerly subjected, and which often produced curious specimens of draughtsmanship. Their executive functions, if in theory vested in the Club as a body, are in practice and by the rules delegated to the stewards, who are three elected members of the Club, the senior steward for the time being retiring every year. Some idea may be formed of the administrative work which devolves on the stewards by studying the rules which prescribe the different preliminaries and requirements which have to be observed before any recognised meeting can be held or race run: every racecourse must be licensed; no person can act as official at any meeting without a licence; no meeting can be held, no race can be run, without the programme or conditions being previously advertised in the *Calendar*, subject to the consent of the stewards. But it is, probably, the judicial functions of the stewards which come most under public notice. They exercise penal jurisdiction over every owner of horses, trainer, jockey, or official of the meeting, by fine or suspension of licence; while there is no member of the public, whether connected with racing or not, who may not, if his conduct so deserves, be branded by the infliction of the severest social penalty a man can possibly incur—warning off, which involves complete social ostracism. As the final court of appeal from the decisions of the stewards of meetings in all disputes and questions relating to racing, it is almost a matter of course that the stewards of the Jockey Club are called upon to decide every important dispute, especially where a question of racing law or custom arises. This appellate jurisdiction, which has been suitably enlarged by the new rules, is now practically unlimited, and, in fact, is absolutely essential to a properly centralised system of Turf government, as tending to establish a uniform jurisprudence in place of the constantly conflicting decisions of the stewards of local meetings. It is only necessary to add that the stewards of the Jockey Club are, *ex officio*, stewards of all meetings at Newmarket, Epsom, Ascot, and Goodwood.

From the above sketch it will be obvious that the Jockey Club

has absolute control over all meetings held under their rules. This fact, of itself, is, however, inadequate to support the proposition that they are supreme over all racing in the country. The question is, Are they sufficiently powerful to exclude rivalry and competition? One-half of the answer to this question can be given from their rules, which shows that the necessity of securing a monopoly has not been forgotten: 'if a horse run at any unrecognised meeting, he is disqualified for all races to which these rules apply.' Any horse which runs at any flat-race meeting not recognised by the Jockey Club (such horse is technically known as a 'wrong 'un') is practically boycotted. But there still remains to be seen the extent to which these rules achieve their objects, designed, as they no doubt are, to keep the reins of racing in the hands of the Jockey Club; and the answer is, that no opposition has ever been attempted, nor, indeed, would be likely to succeed. For what reasons or by what means this situation has been achieved, is not a question which need be discussed here; the fact remains that, apart from steeplechase-meetings and pony and galloway meetings, there is not a single race-meeting held in the kingdom except under Jockey Club Rules. The experiment of competition, no doubt, in theory might be attempted; but there is, probably, less chance of the foundations of a rival Jockey Club being laid than there is of a new private bank being started in the City of London.

Subject to the supervision and veto of the Jockey Club, local government is conceded to the promotion and conduct of race-meetings. So long as the requirements of the Jockey Club, to which I shall hereafter draw attention, are complied with, so long as the conditions of the races do not violate the *Rules of Racing*, promoters are at liberty to arrange their own programmes and to frame their own conditions. At the head of the executive of the meeting are the stewards, who must have under them an adequate staff of licensed officials, such as clerk of the course, handicapper, stakeholder, clerk of the scales, starter, &c. Over all these officials, and over all jockeys, the stewards exercise a limited disciplinary jurisdiction; they are, at the same time, the tribunal to decide all questions and disputes relating to racing which arise at the meeting, subject to the very important right of appeal to the Jockey Club as supreme arbiter.

From the government of the Turf I pass on to more practical matters relating to racing. At the same time, many controversies or questions which have arisen, many of the rules which the authorities have deemed necessary in the best interests of those concerned, scarcely carry their meaning or purport on the surface, without a knowledge of the various motives and interests of those who take part in the curriculum of racing. I therefore propose, before discussing some changes which have lately been made, or the reforms which are now almost daily advocated, to draw attention to some tendencies and

characteristics of the Turf at the present time, and of the often conflicting interests of the different parties concerned. Of these characteristics, it will scarcely be disputed that the most prominent is a gradually increasing cosmopolitan character. It is with the Turf as with shooting and other sports: its area of patronage is rapidly widening; it has long since ceased to be the pastime of the nobility and gentry exclusively. For some years past the ranks of racing-men have been largely recruited from the mercantile classes, and the racehorse is now one of the first destinations of the newly acquired wealth of a prosperous financier. A further infusion of new blood has, moreover, been made from a different source—from the body of professional racing-men—which has for some years past been decidedly increasing in numbers—with whom racing is a trade and a business, rather than a pastime or an avenue to social notoriety; who look for their profits, not only to the stakes which their stock-in-trade can win, but to the odds that may be laid them in the betting-ring: as with athletic sports, the element of professionalism is on the increase rather than on the wane.

As an immediate consequence of this development, the racehorse has followed in the wake of shootings and Home railway stocks, and everything else of elastic market value; he has shared in the general boom in prices. The sums which now have to be paid, either for yearlings of fashionable parentage, for mares and sires, or sometimes for horses in training, put them beyond the reach of any but a capitalist. The record of the sales of blood-stock during the past year shows that forty-three yearlings fetched no less than 72,800*l*. No doubt there were three celebrated studs brought on to the market—Lord Rosslyn's, Mr. Sawrey-Cookson's, and Lord Falmouth's—the sums realised at the sales of which considerably augmented the average for the year. There was, moreover, an increased demand for exportation to foreign countries—such as France, Germany, and particularly Buenos Ayres—which may or may not be sustained in the future. Still, the undeniable fact remains, that the largely increased prices fetched at sales necessitate a heavy outlay of capital before a man can call himself an owner of racehorses. Some of the more indirect consequences of this rise in prices, and of the growth of the commercial view of racing, I shall allude to hereafter.

Here let me offer some explanation of the more elementary terms and phrases current in racing-circles, for the benefit of those who are not initiated in such terminology. Races are classified in two distinct ways. The first of these classifications relates to the sources from which the prizes are derived. A 'Sweepstakes,' as its name would show, is a race in which stakes are made by the owners of horses engaged, to be awarded to the winner or other horse in the race. But this by no means exhausts the pecuniary attributes of a sweepstakes. In most cases 'entrance money' has to be paid, which, by the new rules, in all

cases goes to the 'race-fund,' or coffers of the meeting—that is to say, it is the subscribers' contribution to the expenses of the meeting. If a horse which has been nominated for a race starts, of course, the full stake has to be paid in respect of that horse; but if he is withdrawn from the engagement, the conditions of races generally provide for the payment of a smaller sum, known as a 'forfeit.' The common hieroglyphic, 'h. ft.,' means that half the stake is payable as forfeit. In most sweepstakes, though not invariably, a sum of money is added to the stakes, out of the race-fund, as part of the prize; this contribution bears the frequently occurring name of 'added money.' Of course, the added money and the stakes do not necessarily go the same way, seeing that the conditions sometimes allot the former to the winner, and the latter to the second horse.

A 'Plate' is a race in which a prize is given out of the race-fund, or from any other source, without any *stakes* being made by the owners of the horses engaged. There is, however, usually a subscription to the *race-fund* payable by persons entering horses—in other words, entrance money.

The next classification of races relates to the manner in which the weights which the horses are to carry are determined. A 'Handicap' is defined as a race in which the weights the horses carry are adjusted by the handicapper for the purpose of equalising their chances. The term 'Weight-for-age race' occasions more difficulty, which is easily intelligible, seeing that racing-men themselves are not agreed as to its meaning. Suffice it here to say that, as compared with handicaps, weight-for-age races have two distinct characteristics—first, the weights are apportioned by the conditions, whereas in handicaps they are delegated to the judgment of an official; second, horses of the same age carry the same weight, except so far as any inequality is created by penalties and allowances. Of course, a free scale of penalties and allowances may make a weight-for-age race approximate to a handicap, seeing that they may produce a considerable inequality between the weights carried by any two horses of the same age.

Then there are 'Selling-races,' as to which much might be said, did space permit, with regard to their origin, nature, and design, as well as to the alterations which have been suggested in their scheme and procedure. The main features of the conditions of these races are that horses running to be sold are ticketed by their owners with a 'selling price.' The winner is generally sold by auction; his owner gets the stakes and the 'selling price,' but any surplus fetched at the sale over the 'selling price' is divided between the second horse and the race-fund. Each of the other horses running to be sold can be 'claimed,' by the owner of any other horse in the race, for the amount of the stakes and of that horse's selling price. It will easily be seen that the institution of races subject to these conditions may be very profitable to the meeting.

A clear understanding of the above phrases and institutions is necessary in order properly to understand one important aspect of racing—the promotion (so to speak) of race-meetings; and the prominence of financial considerations, both from the point of view of the promoters of meetings and of the owners of horses. Although it would not be at all correct to say that every race-meeting is got up, like a joint-stock company, for the sole purpose of putting money into the pockets of the promoters, still, the element of returns must always be in the foreground. Apart from the question of profits, it will easily be understood that the expenses and outlay involved in such an undertaking may be very heavy, and companies formed for this purpose have been known to go into liquidation.

The principal sources of emolument which accrue to the race-fund are threefold—first, the entrance money, payable, as described above, on nominating a horse; second, the receipts at the stands (and, in the case of 'gate-money meetings,' nobody can approach the most open part of the course without paying half a crown); and, lastly, there are the not inconsiderable profits derived from the proceeds of sales in selling-races. It is obvious from this, that a very large prize may be offered in a race which really comes out of the pockets of the competitors, without costing the meeting a shilling. Where the prize consists of stakes and forfeits, this goes without saying. But even when the meeting gives a sum as 'added money,' the result may be the same if a large number of entries be secured; or, indeed, it frequently happens that the sum-total of the entries exceeds the added money, in which case a profit accrues to the meeting. There is an important distinction between stakes payable to the winner and added money, even when the amount of the latter is covered by the entrance fees: the former are not recoverable at law by the person entitled to them, either from the competitors or from the stakeholder, to whom they may have been paid, a claim of this nature being as much a gaming debt as money won at cards. Added money is, however, recoverable. I have pointed out this distinction at greater length in a work to which I must here take the liberty of referring.[1] But as a large list of entries is a source of profit to the meeting, it rests with the promoters to exert their ingenuity to attract subscribers. One or two expedients resorted to for this purpose may here be mentioned.

One device is to award a bonus to the nominators of the winner, and sometimes also of the second horse—a condition which may make a race attractive to a breeder, or owner of yearlings. This year the conditions of both the Derby and the Oaks, for the first time, give the nominators of the winners 500*l.* and 400*l.* respectively, which may partly account for the great increase in the entries for both these races, those for the Derby being 235, and those for the Oaks 168.

[1] *The Law relating to Betting, Time-bargains, and Gaming* (Waterlow and Sons, London Wall).

Another scheme which has of late years found favour, and which has, at all events, been successful in providing some of the largest prizes, is embodied in the conditions of the great subscription races, of which the Eclipse Stakes at the Sandown Park Second Summer Meeting, and the Royal Stakes at the Kempton Park Spring Meeting, are fair examples.

It must for the present suffice to say that the main feature of the conditions of this description of race is that, while the entry of the horse is made three or four years in advance of the race, the liability in respect of the subscription increases progressively, according to the time the horse is left in the race: so that, the shorter the time a horse is left in the race, the less is the owner's liability. To express the same thing somewhat differently, the conditions provide for a sliding-scale of forfeits. There is in most races a forfeit, or minor stake, payable in respect of horses that do not go to the starting-post, the object of which is to prevent the start being encumbered by horses which have no chance of winning; such horses are not wanted at the post, however acceptable their entrance money and forfeits may be. With the same object, the new rules prohibit any prize being awarded to any but the first four horses. Any surplus over the advertised value must go to horses in the race; the new rules prohibit the meeting pocketing it.

I mentioned at the outset that some important questions relating to racing had, designedly, been left untouched by the authorities till they should have been better ventilated and discussed; while the new code forms a ready receptacle for any reforms that may be thought necessary. Several of these questions which are occupying the minds of the racing public arise out of practices and tendencies which are growing year by year, and are assignable to definite causes. I have alluded above to the largely-increased outlay of capital which is requisite before a man can become the owner even of a yearling, at which age the animal is disqualified by the rules from running at all; also to the growth of the class of men with whom racing is simply a matter of £ *s. d.* The broad result of these symptoms will be admitted to be that the racehorse is more and more coming to be looked upon, either as an instrument of gaming, or, at any rate, as an income-producing investment. The remark, of course, is by no means universally true; there are many who race for love of the sport, or to maintain the breed of horses. Still, it is largely true that a horse is expected to bring in not only handsome but speedy returns to his owners. The heavy engagements of two-year-olds are one of the outcomes of this. The rules contain no limitation in the number of times a two-year-old can run in a season, at a meeting, or during a day. The only restrictions on their exertions are that they must not run in races of more than six furlongs in length before the 1st of July; nor must they run in handicaps, except with horses of their own age (such handicaps being termed 'Nurseries'), and that only

after the first of September. Of course, it is not so much the number of two-year-old races that is material, as the munificent prizes that are open to competition, as witness the principal two-year-old events at Sandown and Kempton. Statistics of the past year show that, of the 480,000*l.* won under Jockey Club Rules, about 190,000*l.* was won in two-year-old events. Names need not be given, but there are unquestionably in existence horses whose constitutions have been impaired by an overtaxed two-year-old career. The principal suggestion that has been made with a view to counteracting this tendency is that horses should not be allowed to run as two-year-olds more than a certain number of times. Of course, any such curtailment of the liberty of the subject would require careful consideration, and, in view of the number of meetings at which the two-year-old races are the great feature of interest, would be certain to encounter severe opposition on the part of those who consider their chance of winning under present circumstances a vested interest.

The same sign of the times—the commercial spirit introduced into racing—is discernible in another tendency, slightly different, but not far remote from the last—viz. the preference shown in races for horses of any age for short-distance courses of five or six furlongs, which are the limits for two-year-old races previous to the 1st of July. With slight exceptions, the meeting has the control over its own programme in the matter of long or short distance races. The only restrictions contained in the rules are—(1) That no race shall be less than five furlongs, (2) There must be two mile races during the day, (3) There must not be more than two races, confined to three-year-olds or upwards, of less than six furlongs. There is here an entire absence of any provision that any race of over a mile should form part of the programme of a meeting.

Left, therefore, in the main to follow the bent of their own inclinations, the owners of horses have, with no uncertain sound, given their vote in favour of what are commonly known as the 'T. Y. C. (Two-year-old course) scurries.' The promoters of meetings have but to sail with the stream; their business is to offer a programme which will attract entries. It is scarcely, therefore, to be wondered at that, in the statistics given in the last volume of the *Racing Calendar* of the number of races of various distances during the last six years, we have the following figures:—Of races of five furlongs and under six, the average number run was about 750 per annum, the actual number in 1889 being 793; of races of six furlongs and under a mile, the average was over 255; while the average number of mile races was about 330. The old-fashioned long-distance cup-races are now but feebly patronised. To show this, reference need only be made to some of the long-distance races at Ascot, such as the Gold Vase, the Gold Cup, and the Alexandra Plate, the respective distances of these races being two miles, two miles and a half, and three miles; of late

years, each of these events has secured but a poor list of entries, and brought miserable fields to the post. Even the popular Hardwicke Stakes has of late shown signs of decadence, the average list of entries during the last four or five years containing about 85 names, instead of something over 120, as in former years. The records of other meetings tell the same story, as witness the entries for the Goodwood Cup in July and the Doncaster Cup in September.

Of course, opinions differ as to the steps which should or could successfully be taken to arrest the progress of this predominance of 'scurries.' There are people who think that the remedy lies with the authorities; that a certain admixture of long-distance races in every programme should be made compulsory by legislation. The contentions advanced in the interests of racing and the breed of horses generally, are that the present practices develop speed in a horse at the expense of staying power; that endurance over a long distance is tending to become an unknown quality. Furthermore, it is alleged, in these short-distance races even speed does not necessarily achieve its merited reward, seeing how much depends upon the start; an inferior horse may sometimes win simply through 'getting off' well at the time of the fall of the flag. But any innovation which did not receive the support of the owners of horses generally could only prove nugatory. If it were made compulsory to have a two-mile race in the programme of every meeting, it would be impossible to make subscriptions compulsory. It is not difficult to see what is the statement of the case from the point of view of owners. For such events as those just mentioned a horse must go through a long course of training, which will by no means prepare him for the short-distance races, out of which there is far more money to be made with less tax on his strength. Again, these events being weight-for-age races, the horse may, when the time comes, have to meet the best horse of his year on even terms, or, at most, at such an advantage in the weights as penalties and allowances can confer. The executives of the various meetings have, no doubt, paid due regard to this aversion to the long-distance weight-for-age races, seeing that, in offering the tempting baits of the colossal prizes recently instituted, they have not ventured to institute a race of longer distance than a mile and a quarter: the Newmarket Stakes is a mile and two furlongs; the Prince of Wales's Stakes, at Leicester, is rather less; the Eclipse Stakes and the Kempton Park Royal Stakes, a mile and a-quarter; and the Lancashire Plate, at the Manchester September Meeting, no more than seven furlongs. The enormous sums raised by subscriptions and stakes in each of these events last year show the measure of success they achieved. But, if one cause more than another would be likely to impair the popularity of these races in years to come, it would be the fact that all these five prizes fell to the Duke of Portland, two of them being won with Ayrshire, and the

others with Donovan. Considering the time in advance at which the nominations for most of these races have to be made, and the heavy liabilities in respect of subscriptions and forfeits, each of these engagements is a great speculation; the performances of Donovan may be repeated in any season by a horse equally in advance of those of his year.

Whatever may be the future of these weight-for-age events, it would seem that the new departure lately taken by the Leicester executive is a fair index to the signs and requirements of the times. Last autumn they advertised a handicap of 10,000*l.*, to be raised by subscription, and to be run at the Autumn Meeting of 1891. The precise conditions of this race are not here material; it is sufficient that they are framed on the lines of the other subscription races. The event has proved a fair success, and cannot be called a failure although the value has been reduced to 6,000*l.* on account of the stipulated number of entries not being reached. The important conclusion to which the institution of this race seems to point is the vitality of the handicap. Whatever interest outsiders may feel in Classic events, it is from the handicap that racing must continue to derive a large part of its support. Not that it came as a surprise, for it had long been foretold. That the example of the Leicester authorities will be followed, seems not improbable. The fact that they have hit a nail on the head is, perhaps, clearly demonstrated by the list of entries lately published for some of the principal spring handicaps; the conclusion to be drawn from which is, that if long-distance races are to maintain their prestige at all, it must be in the form of handicaps.

For example, the once-popular and well-patronised Chester Cup, of two miles and a quarter, which of late years has been on the decline, shows a list of 53 entries; the Great Metropolitan Stakes, at the Epsom Spring Meeting, of the same length, shows about the same number, also a considerable increase over the two preceding years; the Great Northampton Stakes, of a mile and three quarters, has secured an entry of 37, as against 29 last year. This does not exhaust the list of long-distance handicaps which last year were well patronised, but the particulars of which for the present year are not yet public. But if we compare these figures with the long-distance or cup-races at Ascot or Goodwood, comment is needless. The subject of handicaps generally is known to be engaging the attention of the authorities, and possibly 1890 may see some important changes introduced. I will only mention two suggested innovations, which have been more or less strongly advocated: one is that four-year-olds should carry a minimum weight of 7 stone; while the victory of Primrose Day in the Cesarewitch last year occasioned a clamour for a rule that, in all handicaps, a horse running the particular distance for the first time should carry the maximum weight allotted to any horse of his age.

A few remarks may be advisable on a subject closely allied with racing proper, viz. betting. Here we pass under a different *régime*. The Jockey Club and the stewards of race-meetings disclaim all authority, though the time will be within the recollection of many when betting disputes were decided by the Jockey Club. It may be difficult to lay a finger on the exact spot in which the supreme authority in betting matters can be said to reside. The nearest approach to it is the committee of Tattersall's, an amphibious body, having one branch presiding at Knightsbridge, and the other at Newmarket. Though strictly binding on members of the Club only, it is approximately true to say that their rules and decisions, by common accord, regulate the general business of betting.[2] Frequently the Courts refer betting actions to this tribunal; on their report the Jockey Club warn defaulters off the Turf.

It certainly is not true that Tattersall's is, nowadays, the headquarters of the bulk of the betting that goes on; far more is done at the Albert, the Victoria, and the numerous provincial establishments. In a previous number of this Review (November, 1889) I endeavoured to account for the general prevalence of betting among all grades of society, and to point out the great facilities for such operations afforded by the so-called commission agents, who form the connecting link between the general public and the clubs. I propose now to offer some explanation of the technicalities of betting, and of terms and proceedings which, though in everybody's mouth, are, really, but imperfectly understood. Of course, there are many to whom even the deepest subtleties of such matters are familiar household words: still, if by no means hidden from the wise and prudent, it may be expedient to reveal them unto babes.

How, in the first place, do horses become the subject of betting? What, in the second place, is the way in which a man bets? Before a horse has run in public, promise and 'trials' are the only elements in its reputation. Through the stable in which the animal is trained reports reach the outside public of a promising yearling, and 'those who know,' whether owners, trainers, jockeys, or touts, appraise its chances in some coming event by backing the horse to win. The bet is recorded in the sporting papers, and thus the market is formed. When once a horse has run in public, its 'form' is matter of history. The price at which it starts in any particular race, or, in other words, the bets that are made on or against it, depends upon its previous performances, its weights, its present competitors, reports of its condition, the confidence of the stable, and a variety of similar considerations. The market prices of all the intending starters,

[2] One great exception to Tattersall's jurisdiction over betting is what is known as starting-price betting, which is not recognised by them. I have, in my work on *Tattersall's Rules of Betting* (*Field* Office), explained the chief characteristics of this species of betting.

chronicled as they are in all the sporting papers, afford every one an opportunity of knowing what are the current rates at which he can back his opinion that any given horse will either win or lose. We may divide the betting world into two classes, those who bet upon and those who bet against horses, those who back and those who lay against one or more of the intending starters. As a rule, the amateur betting man belongs to the first class, the professional to the second.

So far as the ordinary member of the public (the backer) is concerned, his transactions are simple enough; he promises to pay 1*l.* in consideration that, if his horse wins, he is to receive perhaps 10*l.* A slight element of complication is added to this simple transaction when the backer, having early in the season backed several horses at about this price, resorts to hedging, or covering possible losses on one bet by gains on another. Thus, if he has backed three horses at 10 to 1, and afterwards manages to lay against two of them at 8 to 2, a little calculation will show that, if they all lose, he will make 1*l.* This device is, however, no certainty, as possibly neither of the horses backed may go to the shorter odds. Another hedging device, more complicated, but in some ways safer, is to lay against, say, two horses separately, and then, if you can get a very slight change in the odds in favour of such a bargain, back them, coupled, against the field—by 'the field' meaning, of course, the other horses in the race except those backed. Suppose the odds about horse A. are 7 to 3, and B. is at 9 to 4, and we lay against A. 91 to 39, and against B. 90 to 40. The chances in favour of these horses are $\frac{3}{10}$ and $\frac{4}{13}$ respectively (not $\frac{7}{3}$ and $\frac{9}{4}$, as a novice sometimes supposes); consequently, the chances about them, coupled, will be represented by the sum of these two fractions, $\frac{79}{130}$, or 79 to 51 *on* them. Suppose, however, we manage to back them, coupled, at 75 to 70 *on*. The result of the whole is that, if A. wins, we win; we lose 91*l.* by the first bet, win 40*l.* by the bet against B., and win 70*l.* by the third bet. If B. wins, we win 39*l* by the bet against A., lose 90*l.* by the bet against B., and win 70*l.* by the third bet. If neither win, we win 79*l.* by the first two bets, and lose 75*l.* by the third bet.

So far we have assumed the case, not of a professional bookmaker, but of a person who makes a practice of betting, and has facilities, perhaps through belonging to a club, for making such bets as he pleases. As a rule, it is difficult for an outsider to lay against a horse, either for hedging purposes or otherwise. The so-called commission agents will not back horses with you, being really bookmakers themselves, whose business is to lay against horses. The elements of a bookmaker's plan of operations are simple enough, though, like many other things, capable of difficulties and dangers, when reduced into practice, which should discourage an unpractised hand from trying to make a book. It is, in the main, an elaborate system of hedging. Suppose there are twelve horses in a race, and

he lays against all of them, at odds varying from 2 to 1 to 10 to 1. If the 10 to 1 chance wins, he will lose 10*l.* on this horse, but will receive 11*l.* on the others. His great difficulty is that he probably has considerably more than one bet on the 2 to 1 horse, which is the favourite. Thus, if he had a 10*l.* book—*i.e.*, in which he did not purpose to lose more than 10*l.* on any one horse—if he found he had laid six bets against the favourite, and the latter wins, having only backed the others once, he has 'overlaid' his book, and has not succeeded in 'getting round' by bets against the other horses. This is the great difficulty of the ready-money bookmakers in the ring, where there is always a great tendency to get on to favourites; it is chiefly in ante-post betting that outsiders are backed.

In order to make the nature of a book rather more clear, let us proceed to operate on the coming Derby, and the following table will show how we stand.

50	25		Surefoot	75 (*a*)
50	25	50	Surefoot	150 (*a*)
60	20	70	Le Nord	80 (*b*)
20	5	75	Le Nord	100 (*b*)
60	4	79	Sainfoin	64
50	5	84	Sainfoin	119
20	1	85	St Serf	21
33	1	86	St Serf	55
20	20	106	Surefoot	190 (*a*)
10	20	126	Surefoot	220
33	1	127	Galway	34
40	1	128	Killowen	41
40	1	129	Alloway	41
20	2	131	Le Nord	127

The first column contains the odds laid against the horse in the same line in the fourth column; the second contains the stakes, or amount the odds are laid to—*i.e.*, the first bet is 50 to 25 against Surefoot; the third column contains the field-money, which represents after each bet the total amount of the stakes, or the amount available to pay his losses; the fourth column contains the horses; and the fifth, the total amount which will have to be paid after each bet if that horse wins; (*a*) and (*b*) mean that the same horse has again been laid against lower down. By this arrangement the bookmaker can see at a glance how far what he takes as field-money covers what he may have to pay over each horse. It will be at once seen that this is not a good book for the bookmaker, seeing that, if Surefoot wins (as most people think he will), he loses 220*l.*, and the total field-money is only 131*l.*; while his winnings over Le Nord would be very small.

The above will perhaps suffice to give those who are not thoroughly initiated an insight into the forms and methods pursued in the business of bookmaking, and also to correct the somewhat prevalent error that

bookmakers are necessarily gainers.[3] A few observations must suffice on the relations of racing to betting. It cannot be denied that the prejudice which, in the minds of many people, attaches *a priori* to racing as an avocation, has its origin in the frauds and malpractices which are prevalent in connection with betting. For many years past, previous to a celebrated inquiry conducted last year, the atmosphere had been rife with rumours of conspiracies between jockeys, trainers, and bookmakers pre-arranging the results of races in fraud of the public. If the prevalence of betting amongst jockeys was exaggerated, it did not exhaust the possibilities of fraud, seeing that a handsome *douceur* from a bookmaker to the jockey of a horse that had been heavily laid against by the ring would effectuate the same result. The storm-clouds which had so long been gathering burst on the occasion of a celebrated meeting of the Gimcrack Club; and, in the opinion of many, the racing-season of 1890 was commenced in the midst of a purer atmosphere.

At the commencement of the season several horses, some of which carried some public money, were disqualified for important engagements by non-registration of partnership; and loud were the execrations of those who could only see a miserable technicality in the decision. But the public failed to appreciate the endeavours of the racing-authorities to protect them from the abuses about which so much had been heard. The importance of the rule which, as lately revised, requires, not only partnerships, but all leases and sales with contingencies, to be registered, cannot be overestimated when the opportunities for fraud afforded by secret ownerships are considered. It is of small avail to prohibit jockeys betting if it be allowable for them to ride one horse in a race, while secretly owning a large share in another, with which it is supposed to compete; or if (and such a case has been known in history) the owner of a horse which had been backed into the position of first favourite before the stable had got 'on,' could, unknown to the public, secretly sell him to a syndicate of bookmakers who had laid heavily against him: such persons would gladly pay his owner a large sum of money for him, on the understanding that he was to be withdrawn from the engagement! Rules, no doubt, may be broken, but their enactment shows the policy and activity of the authorities.

Apart from the grosser forms of roguery, the bookmakers have a great advantage over the public. With their comparatively easy access to jockeys, stableboys, and others in the secret of the stables, to say nothing of their facilities for unearthing unsuspected causes of disqualification, they are in a far better position than the public to know what is *not* going to win. In unison with the possession of such secrets, a remarkable system can be worked of what is known as

[3] Persons who desire to pursue the subject further can consult Mr. Norris's work, to be had at Scales', Ludgate Arcade, E.C.

'making false favourites.' For this purpose a combination of artifices is often sufficient to impose upon the public: rumours, freely circulated, of the horse's excellent condition, and of his successes in his trials, accompanied, at the same time, by rumours antagonistic to his competitors; fictitious bets, commonly known as 'stumers,' recorded in their books, and published in the papers—all are calculated to bring the public in to back him, perhaps up to the position of first favourite. The table given above will show what a splendid situation this makes for the bookmakers when a horse which, perhaps, is not even intended to win, is a hot favourite.

There is, at the same time, considerable mutual dependence between racing and betting. Racing, of course, is the substratum of betting; but nobody who looks facts in the face can fail to see that racing derives a great deal of reciprocal support from betting. It would be idle to suppose that the crowds which throng the stands at racecourses pay their guineas for admission, in the same way as they might take tickets for a theatre, simply to see a show. If the betting element were abolished from the racecourse, as some would have it, it is not difficult to see the effect such a change would have in the receipts of the meeting; and if the race-fund suffers, the prizes that are given at meetings must suffer, too. The body of professional racing-men of which mention has been made above, forms another link between racing and betting. If part of their reimbursement is derived from prizes or stakes, for the bulk thereof they look to 'getting on' at a good price; and this they are only able to do through the existence of a free market for betting. Vague rumours are from time to time afloat as to the enormous sums won by 'the stable' over some big handicap, which, if even approximately true, must cut considerably into the profits of the ring. But here the length to which these observations have run warns me that, as the space at my disposal does not enable me to write a book, so, the most I can offer to others is the elements of how to 'make' one.

G. Herbert Stutfield.

'A BATTLE DESCRIBED FROM THE RANKS.'

I HAVE just read, in the *Nineteenth Century* of March, the article entitled 'A Battle described from the Ranks,' by Arthur V. Palmer (late sergeant 79th Highlanders).

The article is so interesting that even if printed in pages less widely circulated than these it would be eagerly read by large numbers. It contains so much that is true, and so much of it is unmistakably the narrative of an eye-witness, that it may not improbably, especially now that it has the weight which a place in this Review confers, induce many to accept numerous and serious misstatements which it is to be regretted that a Cameron Highlander should have made—the more so that some of them are calculated to injure the fair fame of his own regiment, and to produce false impressions of the acts and methods of British soldiers in time of war.

Let me say, to begin with, that I have the honour to have served in the Cameron Highlanders (the 79th) for more than a quarter of a century, that during the last five years of my service in the regiment I was its sergeant-major, and that I was its sergeant-major at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. I think no one who understands the interior economy of a British infantry regiment will deny that, from the position I held, I am as well qualified as anyone can be to speak about the behaviour of and the casualties amongst the rank and file of the regiment at the battle under consideration. When the regiment landed in Egypt in 1882, I knew thoroughly the character and disposition of every non-commissioned officer and man in the ranks —Sergeant (then Lance-Corporal) Palmer included. I kept a journal, which is still in my possession, throughout the campaign, and I have before me now the pocket-book in which I noted, after the battle, the names of all men of my regiment killed or wounded during the day. I compared, in the ordinary course of my duty, these lists of names with the reports of the different companies, after they had called their rolls, and with the hospital returns. This makes it absolutely certain that my lists are correct.

I cannot deny that there were cases of intemperance while we waited at Ismailia on the 9th of September, for the cool of evening, before our first march into the desert. During the march some men,

no doubt, fell out, or rather dropped from exhaustion, and were placed in charge of non-commissioned officers, as Sergeant Palmer says, but his statement that these men 'were flogged with rifle-slings to urge them on until their yells cut the darkness like a knife' is as untrue as it is disgusting, and has no foundation in fact whatever. Such procedure would not have been tolerated, and, if it had been adopted in any case and had escaped the notice of the regimental authorities, it must have been known to the two regiments, the 74th and 42nd, following us at intervals of about 300 yards, and, in that case, we should have heard more about it before this.

Still referring to the same march, Sergeant Palmer writes, 'some dropped never to rise again, and were buried where they fell.' I am not aware that a single death took place in the Highland Brigade during this day's march, and certainly none took place in the 79th. I think I may say without fear of contradiction that the brigade lost only one man from exhaustion during the march from Ismailia to Kassassin.

I must now pass on to the night of the 12th of September. Sergeant Palmer says, 'another non-commissioned officer and myself were placed on the directing flank.' I have no doubt that Sergeant Palmer was on, or near, that flank, as he belonged to the leading company (A company) of the right half-battalion, and being a tall man, the right would probably be his place; but he seems to imply that he was placed on the right for a special duty, namely, to watch the stars for Lieutenant Rawson, R.N. This I must contradict. When the brigade was formed into line of half-battalions in columns of double companies at Nine-Gun Hill, no one in the 79th had the least idea that the regiment was to direct, or that we were to be led by Lieutenant Rawson. Lieutenant (now Captain) McLeod was the directing guide, and Lieutenant Rawson rode behind him directing him to march on certain stars. I marched close to Lieutenant Rawson throughout the night, and must have heard every word he uttered during the march. He very carefully watched the stars himself, and neither asked nor required any aid from anyone.

In referring to a noise that took place during our long halt at Nine-Gun Hill, 'a man on whom rum had taken effect, &c.,' Sergeant Palmer relates the incident as if it had occurred in the ranks of the 79th, whereas the story, which is now an old one, is told of another regiment altogether.

Now for the battle and the two Irish Fenians. The Highland Brigade was formed in line of half-battalions in columns of double companies at deploying interval and double-company distance, with thirty paces between battalions. The companies marched at loose files, half-pace interval. When the bugler (Drummer John Alcorn, 79th Highlanders) sounded the 'advance,' the brigade was to fix bayonets on the march, closing on the right of half-battalions, and

then to break into a steady 'double' and charge home with the bayonet. No man was to load until inside the works.

Just as day broke, about 4.45 A.M., a single shot was fired from the left front, and Private Pollock (F Company) fell dead. The bugler then sounded the 'advance,' the only response being the rattle of fixing bayonets. Then, with a cheer that rang loud and clear on the morning air, the Highlanders dashed forward to the works, the 79th moving steadily on in an unbroken line. Not a shot was fired till we were inside the works.

When the works were reached, the 75th and 79th had to cross a ditch about 5 feet deep and 9 or 10 feet wide with a parapet behind a 5-foot berme, whereas the flank battalions had to face a ditch 10 feet deep surmounted by a heavy bastion. This accounts for the quicker and easier entry of the two battalions in the centre of the brigade.

The formation of the 79th during the advance to the trenches was as here shown: —

F Company.	E Company.	B Company.	A Company.
H Company.	G Company.	D Company.	C Company.

Private Donald Cameron (E Company) was the first to gain the top of the works, but fell dead at once, shot through the head. How Sergeant Palmer on the right of A Company could have seen, as he says he did, this act of gallantry performed by a man in E Company it is hard to understand.

Before the first line was over the works the second had closed on it, and by the time we reached the inside both lines were mixed together. The scene inside was one of confusion: fire came from all sides, and the foremost men were fighting hand-to-hand, when a voice rang out clear and distinct, 'Retire the Highlanders into the trenches.' I could not believe that such an order was intended, and, amid the noise, I at first doubted my own hearing, but the words were distinctly repeated. I remember shouting at the top of my voice, 'It is a mistake, men! not a move!' But the same order was repeated a third time in, if anything, a louder tone than before. Captain Chapman and I, who were near each other, tried all we could to keep the men about us from retiring, but in vain. The line retired slowly and steadily, carrying all with it, like a wave, back over the earthworks. Whose voice it was we heard I have never found out. I gave my version of the occurrence to the late Colonel Leith after the battle, but, at that time, no one seemed to know anything about it. I believe the voice came from the left rear.

Sergeant Palmer's explanation and his story of the two 'Glas-

gow Irishmen' are, as I will prove, pure fabrication. His 'Irish major' and other minor episodes are touches of imaginative colouring which it would serve no purpose to discuss; but in this connection I must say that in writing of the last words of Lieutenant Rawson, Sergeant Palmer has forgotten that that gallant officer died off Malta, and not on the battle-field of Tel-el-Kebir.

Immediately after the battle I myself asked the colonel's permission to call for volunteers to go over the field and assist the wounded. About forty non-commissioned officers and men responded to the call, every man who had any water left in his bottle giving it to the party. I commanded the party, which crossed the battle-field in extended order, and not a single man, either dead or wounded, escaped our observation.

I copy from my note-book, in which I took down the names of all men found on the field, the following complete list of killed:—

Private	Alexander Denniston	A Company
,,	John Hyslop	A ,,
,,	George Rugg	A ,,
,,	William Simon	A ,,
,,	George Crawford	B ,,
,,	Patrick Kenny	C ,,
,,	Thomas King	C ,,
,,	Robert Brown	E ,,
,,	Donald Cameron	E ,,
,,	William Smith	E ,,
,,	Alexander Paterson	F ,,
,,	James Pollock	F ,,
,,	William Bodle	H ,,

These men were, each and all, brave, good, and loyal soldiers. The only one of them who was, in even the remotest sense, Irish, was Kenny, and he was killed close to a large bastion on the right centre of the position about an hour and a half after the unaccountable word 'retire' had been given. No one can accuse him of disloyal conduct. As I look over this list of names, I can imagine I again see the brave fellows themselves, who well deserved the inscription on the stone erected to their memory in the European cemetery at Cairo:—

CUIMHNE:
NAN SONN NACH MAIREANN.

I can answer for it that all fell fighting for the honour of their grand old corps with their faces to the enemy.

The following men died, after the battle, of their wounds:—

Corporal	W. Cattanach	C Company
Private	A. Murray	B ,,
,,	W. McKenzie	C ,,
,,	D. Murray	H ,,

Besides these, forty men were wounded. Sergeant Palmer's name, however, in spite of his circumstantial story, does not appear in my note-book upon the list of these.

I examined the wounds of all men of my regiment who were killed in the battle, as they lay where they had fallen, and *all were killed by bullet wounds, not one bearing the marks of a bayonet.* Sergeant Palmer avers that he *saw* one of his traitors bayoneted by Sergeant ——.

I may say that all wounds, however slight, were placed on record for the information of the medical officer in charge of the regiment, Surgeon-Major Will, who was not the man to let a single case escape his notice.

In his description of the burial of the Arabs, Sergeant Palmer has, I think, again drawn upon his imagination, for at 4.30 P.M. on the day of the battle the regiment had fallen in to march to Zagazig, when we received an order to leave a sergeant's party behind to bury our own dead, under an officer of the Royal Engineers.

It is needless to say that the act of cowardice said to have occurred in front of Kafr Dowar has no foundation in fact, as I have already shown that the men accused of it never existed.

The statement that, with the exception of the three senior officers, few soldiers in the 79th had seen active service before Tel-el-Kebir is misleading. We had a few men still left from the contingent that volunteered for service with the 42nd on the Gold Coast in 1873, and a draft consisting of 165 non-commissioned officers and men from the Reserve had joined at Lake Tismah, of whom nearly every man had either a South-African or an Afghan medal on his breast.

I have written this chiefly to disprove two points: the alleged flogging of men with rifle-slings, and Sergeant Palmer's story of the 'Glasgow Irishmen.' I have only brought to light other misstatements of an old comrade in order to show that his evidence is not strictly credible in matters regarding which the truth can be ascertained from many sources. This I have felt it right to do in defence of dead comrades and of the honour of the Cameron Highlanders.

J. A. CAMPBELL, Lieutenant,
Staff Adjutant, Volunteer Forces, Western Australia
(formerly Sergeant-Major 'The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders').

Perth, Western Australia: 7th April, 1890.

[This article has been sent to Mr. Palmer with a request for his observations upon it.—ED. *Nineteenth Century.*]

NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES.

We hear a good deal in the present day of the love of truth which animates the explorers of physical or historical science, and those who do not unreservedly sympathise with them are said to be indifferent to truth—or even to be its enemies. It is perhaps worth while to remind ourselves that truths may be lost as well as gained; that there are old truths to preserve as well as new truths to learn; that scientific discovery is concerned only with new truth; that though all truth is intrinsically consistent, it may not always appear so in the course of its attainment; and that at a given stage a too exclusive concentration on steps towards new truth may obscure for the individual mind its perception of truths already possessed. The truest discoveries may come upon an individual, or even upon a nation, accompanied by all the peculiarities of a new fashion; and it is of the essence of the new fashion to neglect and undervalue the old; to develop a pet tendency out of due proportion; to pass over as of no account that which is out of harmony with itself; to absorb the attention of its votaries for the moment as though it were all-sufficient; to discourage and expel by its sneer that which is unlike itself. These are the characteristics of all fashions, intellectual or social, artistic or religious. The question, then, may be asked whether qualified sympathy with a particular scientific movement may not sometimes be due to suspicion of its form as a fashion, its surroundings and exaggerations, rather than to want of love for the truth to which it is leading; to an attachment to old truth rather than indifference to new—nay, to love of truth itself measured by the quantity and importance of the knowledge preserved rather than by its novelty alone.

That great intellectual movements have in the past had the characteristic of exaggerating for the moment their own importance, and expelling and discrediting much that was really valuable, needs no proof. The littérateurs of the Renaissance despised the Bible. The deep and subtle intellects of the medieval scholastics were in so little repute at the time of the Reformation that the popular nickname for the remnant who read the works of Duns Scotus furnished for our own day the word 'dunce.'[1] Or, to take an instance of scientific dis-

[1] See Trench, *Study of Words*; 19th edition. p. 144.

covery proper, Bacon's doctrine of induction, in insisting on the value of observation, so undervalued the deductive method of the older logic, which was required for its fruitful exercise, that while he bequeathed to us the greatest instrument of discovery we possess, his system as he expounded it was almost useless.[2]

Fashions reign intolerant and imperious; but fashions die and truth lives. Though obscured or lost for a season it prevails in the end. Time prunes the excrescences of novelty. Lovers of Horace do not now despise the literary features of the Bible. No one in our own day denies the subtlety of the scholastic intellect; no one hopes for discovery without deduction from hypothesis. But, learning from past experience, those who love old truths and wish to preserve them *in their own generation* will do well to wait till discoveries are mellow, and have lost the dangerous characteristics of new fashion, and can rest peacefully in company with all that is true in our inheritance from the past, before they finally estimate their bearing on the universe of knowledge. There are old truths whose knowledge is of vital importance to each individual, and he cannot afford to lose them, even though his grandson should eventually regain them. Let him then be chary of allowing the raw exaggerations which accompany new discoveries to mutilate or destroy his inheritance. Let the two be kept apart until the new is ripe for assimilation with the old. 'No man seweth a piece of raw cloth to an old garment, otherwise the new piecing taketh away from the old, and there is made a greater rent: and no man putteth new wine into old bottles; otherwise the wine will burst the bottles, and both the wine will be spilled and the bottles will be lost.'[3]

These remarks are suggested by recent attempts, to which public attention has been drawn, to find a *modus vivendi* between Christian faith and advancing science. We have in the first place the scheme of Mrs. Humphry Ward, as set forth in the manifesto to which Dr. Martineau's subscription has given a weight which it could not otherwise have had.[4] The tone and spirit, however, of the manifesto are the tone and spirit of *Robert Elsmere* and not of Dr. Martineau. The peculiar vividness with which Dr. Martineau realises the bearing and importance of the dogmas to which he adheres—definite Theism, the life of prayer, personal immortality—and which makes him far more in sympathy ethically with Mr. Hutton, or the late Mr. F. D. Maurice, than with any school of negative criticism, is entirely absent from the manifesto, which brings us rather into the vague and enervating atmosphere of *Robert Elsmere* than the bracing oxygen of *A Study of Religion*. Read in the light of its origin and with *Robert Elsmere* as its commentary, it is so complete and melancholy

[2] This is brought out in a very interesting manner by Jevons (*Logic*, p. 255). See also the Dean of St. Paul's *Bacon*, p. 241.

[3] St. Mark ii. 21. [4] See *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 10.

an illustration of my theme, that its discussion need not detain me long. 'Hope in God and love of man,' this is the meagre remnant of the old truth which Mrs. Ward's scheme, as explained in her preface to the manifesto, aims at preserving and fostering. The study of biblical criticism and of comparative religion is to be one main instrument of increasing the spiritual stature of the neo-Christians, and we know from *Robert Elsmere* the manner in which this is conceived;—the latest theories in criticism accepted bodily, not as steps, as hypotheses with more or less of plausibility, to be examined and re-examined, to be tested as to their unconscious and unproved assumptions, and the views of human nature and of the supernatural which these presuppose; but to be swallowed wholesale, and judged to be final by a mysterious 'historical sense' without appeal. The natural exaggerations of a discoverer, the tendency of novelty, of which I have spoken, to assume for the time the undue preponderance of a fashion, the tentative character of the proofs themselves, are entirely ignored. If the Tubingen school were in fashion, its conclusions would be interwoven as integral parts of the new gospel. The general acceptance of any suggestion of an able critic as a proved fact, has eviscerated natural religion itself. Theism has become a manifestation of a divine something in good men; immortality has ceased to be a certain hope. If Reuss and his friends share the fate of Baur and Volkmar, the articles of belief must undergo a corresponding change. Were the scheme to last, its gospel would have to be considerably remodelled every ten years at least, and a *formula* for retractation should in common prudence be provided in the new liturgy.

But more than this, the inspiring ideal of Christ's character, which is to be the animating principle of its philanthropic work, may well cease to inspire when criticism has been allowed to rove freely, with no better rudder or compass than the scheme furnishes. M. Renan will not be excluded from the programme, and to many minds his conclusions will be far from satisfying. The 'frightful accesses of enthusiasm' which he describes, the acquiescence in pious frauds which he postulates in his account of the central figure of the Gospels, may temper the enthusiasm of some, and will hopelessly bewilder more. The figure which is supposed to be one of ideal perfection may in the end appear to combine the very unstimulating mass of contradictions which it conveyed to Bishop Alexander:—

> Divinely gentle yet a sombre giant,
> Divinely perfect yet imperfect man,
> Divinely calm yet recklessly defiant,
> Divinely true yet half a charlatan.

Enough has been said. In such a plan there is no *modus vivendi*, no recognition of the independent claims and basis of old truth.

New methods, new exaggerations, new fashions have been swallowed with a wholesale timidity, and in defiance of all the lessons history teaches as to the advancing tide of truth, with the constant incidental errors, which, like the backdraw of each wave in a flowing tide, are its normal accompaniment. We may sympathise with the kindness and philanthropy in the practical aim of such a plan, but of stable intellectual basis it has none. The new wine has been poured bodily into the old bottles, and the bottles have burst forthwith. The scheme preserves only a few of their fragments.

But a much more serious and important attempt at the *modus vivendi* to which I have referred is contained in the collection of Essays entitled *Lux Mundi*, which has been recently published by some influential members of the High Church party.

To many the special interest of the volume will arise from the mode and motive of its composition. It is not the work of a number of men airing pet theories on the relations between science and religion; but it arose, as we gather from the work itself, from the practical experience of a few able and thoughtful tutors and clergymen in the University of Oxford, as to the necessity of reconciling apparent contradictions between current Christianity and current biblical criticism and other scientific movements, for the sake of their own faith and peace of mind, and that of their friends. It is this actuality of the problem it attempts to solve, and the accompanying sense which many readers will have that that problem is a very real one for themselves, which raises the discussion from the rank of mere abstract speculation, and gives it an interest for the general reader as well as the professed theologian. The two deep feelings which inspire the writers are a devotion to many elements in traditional Catholic Christianity and belief in its essence (as they conceive it) on the one hand, and on the other a sense of the discrepancy between modern research, physical and critical, and certain features in the current Anglican teaching. This discrepancy has doubtless been forced on the writers with peculiar vividness by the difficulties they have witnessed in the minds of young men, at an age when the logical powers are keen, and a sense of inconsistency the more urgent because the experience which life brings of the many puzzles and enigmas which the finite mind must patiently bear with to the end is yet to come. On the other hand, men of the old school whose minds have been formed, and whose associations have been welded together, before the problems raised by the theory of evolution and modern biblical criticism became pressing, fail to realise the vividness with which these theories and their apparent consequences press on those who are in process of educating their intellectual nature and shaping and arranging their convictions. Such men see no difficulty because they see no reality (as it has been expressed) in a series of hypotheses or scientific proofs which have come before them after

their capacity for assimilating new ideas and principles as active and determining forces has in the course of nature become dulled.

Thus Archdeacon Denison writes of this book—a book, be it observed, prompted apparently by the motive of saving the faith of many who are in danger of losing it—as 'the most grievous specimen of defence of truth of all those I have had to contend against, and the most ruinous under all the circumstances of its production, a blow *ab intra* without parallel.' And other divines of influence are known to entertain similar feelings.

It is not to my purpose to discuss the problems raised by *Lux Mundi*: the work of writers of so much weight and ability would call for fuller treatment than my limits allow. But, looking at the opposite attitudes of Mr. Gore and Archdeacon Denison in the light of the opening remarks of this essay, an important question suggests itself. If Mr. Gore finds that those who seek his sympathy or guidance are hard-pressed by the apparent inconsistency between the outlook suggested by science at the moment and the religion they have been taught, is he not bound to make some such attempt as *Lux Mundi* to solve the problem, if only to help men to hold by their faith? On the other hand, if what I said at starting is true, that scientific advance, in the rawness, inaccuracy, and imperfection of its different stages, is far more exacting in its demands for sacrifice of traditional interpretations than truth requires, may not Archdeacon Denison be right in discouraging a *modus vivendi*? Does not *Lux Mundi* tend to the rashness of pouring new wine into old bottles? Still the retort will be that young men cannot be influenced by advice which appears to ignore the march of science, and will not listen to conservatives who tend to think that the distinctive glory of their age is an idle boast.

The fact is that the problem is a double one: truth is to be guarded, and individual consciences are to be protected, and the matter cannot be dealt with satisfactorily unless this is recognised. The young man cannot practically, in the present day, be simply told not to believe in scientific progress. Such a course would put his faith in opposition to his common sense. On the other hand, the ever-growing, ever-changing forms of scientific opinion may not be in such a state that the Church can commit herself to them, or condescend to revise and guard her statements to suit what may be a temporary phase of opinion. Such a thought suggests an explanation of the mode of action often pursued in the Catholic Church in these matters, though her application of the same principle is, as we shall see, naturally somewhat different in different ages.

The question formed a theme of interesting discussion at the International Scientific Congress of Catholics at Paris, which I attended in company with the late Father Perry, S.J., in 1888, and which is to hold its second session next year. And I the rather

choose that Congress as furnishing a sort of text to my remarks as it partook of the actuality and practicalness which, as I have said, lends such interest to *Lux Mundi*. It was no authoritative meeting in its form, but an assembly which included many very distinguished and eminent Catholics, who met to discuss scientific and critical questions, and who made use of the opportunity for comparing notes as to how practically an individual could and should stand with reference to the modern speculations to which I have referred.

Let me, as indicating a line of thought which I found to be a common one among the congressists, make a citation from the introductory address of the organiser of the Congress, Monseigneur d'Hulst, rector of the Catholic University of Paris.

Il a toujours existé, il existera toujours des dissentiments parmi nous sur les points que l'autorité de l'Église n'a pas tranchés. Les occasions de rencontre sont nombreuses entre la science et la foi. Si la foi est immobile, la science ne l'est pas. C'est la gloire de la parole divine d'être toujours semblable à elle-même. C'est l'honneur de la pensée humaine de n'être jamais contente d'elle-même et de reculer sans cesse les bornes toujours étroites de ses connaissances. Mais entre deux termes contigus, dont l'un est en repos, l'autre en mouvement, il est inévitable que les points de contact se déplacent. Si le déplacement se faisait toujours au nom d'une certitude absolue, l'accord serait facile entre croyants; car autant ils sont convaincus qu'une proposition révélée n'a rien à craindre des constatations scientifiques, autant ils sont prêts à affirmer qu'une proposition démontrée n'encourra jamais le démenti autorisé des juges de la croyance. Ces deux axiomes représentent les deux faces d'une même vérité enseignée en termes exprès par le Concile du Vatican et par toute une série d'actes pontificaux, et qu'on peut résumer en cette formule: *le dogme catholique ne saurait être pris en défaut par les faits.* Mais le problème est moins simple que cela dans la pratique.

La science, en effet, arrive rarement d'un bond à la certitude. Elle procède par l'hypothèse, s'essaie aux vérifications expérimentales et s'achemine à travers des probabilités grandissantes vers le terme désiré de l'évidence discursive. Encore si cette marche était régulière et constante! Mais non. Il y a des tâtonnements et de fausses manœuvres; il y a des chevauchées hors de la route: *magni passus, sed extra viam*; il y a des hypothèses qui jouissent longtemps d'une certaine faveur et que de nouvelles recherches obligent d'abandonner. Tant que dure leur crédit provisoire, bon nombre d'esprits trop prompts à conclure les confondent avec les dires absolus de la science, et pendant ce temps-là on se demande comment les mettre d'accord avec l'enseignement chrétien.

Les uns disent: 'Le désaccord est manifeste, c'est l'hypothèse qui a tort.' Les autres répondent: 'L'hypothèse est bien appuyée, c'est vous qui interprétez mal la croyance. Ce que vous prenez pour l'enseignement catholique n'est qu'une façon d'entendre cet enseignement, façon bien naturelle tant qu'on n'avait pas de raisons d'en chercher une autre, mais qu'il faut abandonner à la demande de l'expérience.' Sans doute, si l'autorité suprême intervient pour fixer le sens indécis du dogme, le dissentiment fait place à l'unanimité. Mais il est rare que cette autorité se mêle ainsi aux virements de bord de la science. Gardienne prudente de la parole sacrée, protectrice bienveillante de l'activité humaine, elle attend d'ordinaire, se contentant de surveiller le mouvement et de condamner les excès de part et d'autre. Pendant ce temps-là, deux tendances se manifestent parmi les catholiques: celle des hardis, qui sont parfois téméraires; celles des timides, qui sont parfois arriérés. Et là encore la situation se complique et les reproches se croisent. Les hardis prétendent que ce sont eux qui sont prudents, parce qu'ils réservent l'avenir et épargnent aux

théologiens la nécessité de s'infliger plus tard à eux-mêmes un désaveu. Les timides répondent que ce sont eux qui méritent la louange décernée aux braves, parce qu'ils témoignent moins d'appréhensions devant les attaques de la science, plus de confiance dans la victoire finale de la conception traditionnelle.

Encore une fois, Messieurs, ces divergences sont inévitables, et vouloir les prévenir serait interdire aux croyants de penser. Aussi bien, le danger n'est pas dans ces discussions loyales et fraternelles, un peu vives parfois, mais toujours placées sous la double garantie du respect réciproque et d'une commune docilité envers l'Eglise. Le péril commencerait le jour où l'on prétendrait engager l'Eglise elle-même dans l'expression d'opinions particulières.

Et ce péril croîtrait si cette imprudence était le fait non plus d'un écrivain ou d'un groupe, mais d'une assemblée nombreuse et accréditée par le mérite individuel de ses membres, par l'éclat de leurs travaux et de leurs services; si une telle assemblée usurpait sans autorité le rôle d'un concile.

This passage brings into special relief the help which the constitution of the Catholic Church may give in dealing with the double aspect of the problem to which I have already referred. Where there is no clear distinction between the individual teachers and the final living authority of the Church, the immediate skirmishes called for by each fresh scientific hypothesis, which has for a time a hold on public opinion, seem to commit the whole faith of a Christian to the counter movement which is made on the spur of the moment. An undergraduate comes to his tutor full of Baur's theory as to the dates of the Gospels in the days when Baur reigned supreme, or looking on Darwin's account of the origin of the moral sense as finally proved, and his adviser tells him that though not in keeping with traditional Anglicanism both may be accepted. In many cases Baur's theory, as discrediting all approach to contemporary evidence of Apostolic Christianity, has, as we know, been found to weaken or destroy all belief in the received Christian history; to commend the 'myth' hypothesis; and even to lead to Agnosticism. And the evolution theory of conscience has often had a parallel result. Years pass on: the exaggerations of the Tubingen school become discredited, and Wallace brings his great authority on purely scientific grounds to destroy the urgency of the young man's original difficulty as to the moral faculties of mankind. The tutor sees that a little patience would have saved his pupil. Or suppose he has taken the opposite course, which Archdeacon Denison would perhaps prefer, and has said 'You cannot accept Baur or Darwin,' the young man, overcome by the tide of popular opinion and the tyranny of the Zeitgeist, refuses to retain belief in a religion so antiquated and unable to keep pace with the times. Years pass; irreligious habits are formed, and by the time that scientific teachers have modified their decision he is incurably a godless man of the world.

I do not deny that want of tact on the part of a Catholic teacher might issue in a similar result. But I want to point out the vital importance of the third alternative which obviously suggests itself in the case of a Catholic. He may simply be told, as Monseigneur

d'Hulst reminded his hearers, that the Church has not contemplated what is new, and has not pronounced on it; and he may be reminded that neither has science pronounced fully and finally. The lesson appropriate to the situation is that of prudence and patience. There stand the corresponding principles of scientific progress and development of Christian doctrines; and the limits of their application, so far as the trials *hic et nunc* to individual faith go, have to be decided to the best of the Catholic tutor's or adviser's ability. The double guidance attainable from the Church's general principles and decisions, and from their application to a new case, is parallel to the double action of preacher and confessor. The preacher preaches in general terms the principles of Christian morality and duty. The confessor listens to his penitent's account of his special case; judges as best he can as to his circumstances and disposition, and decides which of the principles, universally true in themselves, apply to the particular instance. Further knowledge may modify his decision in the confessional; nothing can change the principles of morality he preaches from the pulpit. One is a statement of absolute and abstract truth; the other is concrete and relative. It is a system for dealing with each case as it arises, with the half-knowledge of facts and circumstances, which is possible at the moment, liable to reconsideration, capable of addition, capable even of absolute contradiction in presence of new discoveries as to antecedents, surroundings, and character; yet all the while it is the application of the same eternal principles of right and wrong.

So the individual teacher looks at the analogies in Church history and at the general principles laid down by theologians, and to their treatment of similar cases, and decides to the best of his power what is tenable by a Catholic with respect to a new scientific hypothesis; but he does not and cannot commit the Church to the conclusion he draws except so far as he may say he thinks it is the true conclusion. He understands to the best of his power the real bearing of the hypothesis on dogma; endeavours to distinguish the traditional interpretation of a Christian belief from its essence, and decides as he can for the individual conscience he is helping. But his knowledge and his applications of it are liable to error. His acquaintance with theological precedents may be one-sided and incomplete. His apprehension of the scientific hypothesis may be so wrong as to make him miss its true bearing. And a change in his opinion and counsel as science advances, or as his knowledge is corrected, is quite as consistent with the Church's truthfulness as the confessor's change is with the changeless moral law.

But this is not all. While individual Catholics often have what may be called a certain provisional power of reconsideration[5] where

[5] St. Thomas expresses this power, so far as the interpretation of Scripture texts is concerned, as follows: 'Since the divine Scripture may be expounded in many

the Church has not decided authoritatively, we may also see in the Church a power of assimilation and of ultimate consolidation of her teaching in its relations to assured scientific advance, or well-examined and tenable hypotheses. While her caution protects her against those whims of the Zeitgeist which prematurely claim the title of discoveries, the activity of her life enables her *in the end* to find a *modus vivendi* with what is really valuable in intellectual movements, or really true in scientific achievement. This is a special prerogative of a living authoritative tribunal which, from the nature of the case, cannot be clearly asserted by any ruling power whose nature is documentary. And the Church has, on occasion, exhibited this principle of progressive assimilation in a marked manner.

It is perhaps instructive to note the illustration the principle in question receives from cases which often seem at first sight instances of unmixed narrowness and bigotry on the part of ecclesiastical authority. In days when the temper of the age, as shown in all religious parties, was less sympathetic and tolerant than at present, when every school of religious thought asserted its claims by more or less stringent persecution of its opponents, the slowness of the Church to commit herself prematurely to any novel form of thought which seemed at first sight at variance with traditional teaching, naturally led to intolerance on the part of the teachers or officers of the Church. There was in this as in other matters less of individualism than at present; and a new opinion to which the Church refused to commit herself was often not tolerated in private persons, as a matter of discipline. There was probably less need for toleration for the sake of individual consciences, as scientific discovery had not yet got so firm a foothold as to be in many cases a living source of difficulty; and the greater simplicity of thought in these matters made especially true Cardinal Newman's saying, 'Novelty is often error to those who are unprepared for it from the refraction with which it enters into their conceptions.' The immediate danger to conscience and faith may generally have come rather from the admission of startling novelty, than from over-severe repression of individual opinion. We can, perhaps, see in this fact the reason why, though some might suffer unfairly from such a policy, ecclesiastical authority tended to be more chary then than now of allowing—apart from infallible decisions, and as a matter of practical guidance—new opinions, not absolutely proved, and which at first sight shook dogmatic beliefs, whose traditional interpretation had from the temper of the age become for

ways, it is not right to attach oneself so strictly to any one opinion as still to maintain it after sure reason has proved the statement supposed to be contained in Scripture false; lest on this account Scripture be derided by infidels and the way to faith closed against them.' This passage is cited in the very interesting article on Creation in the Catholic Dictionary as bearing on the interpretation of the account of Creation in *Genesis*.

many indistinguishable from their essence. That very duty of protecting the Christian's conscience which, as I have said, is the motive of the immediate action of the Christian teacher as distinguished from the final decision of the Church herself, would, in many cases at all events, lead to an opposite policy in circumstances so different. The over-subtle mind of the present day, readily grasping the real weight of evidence for a new scientific discovery, more readily than formerly distinguishing between the essence and the traditional interpretation of dogmatic belief, has more to fear from the temporary denial of what may prove true, and less to fear from the readjustment of explanations of dogma. Whereas the bulk of medieval Catholics would feel less the weight of scientific proof, and more the shock of novelty in expression, now the proportions are reversed. Just as the simple Silas Marner believed in God's justice and in its unfailing expression in the decision by lot, and to find the lots unfair was for him to find that there was no just God; so when thought was ruder and education rarer there was greater danger of identifying a religious truth with its popular forms of expression. To invalidate the latter was to shake belief in the former. Perhaps then of the two alternatives our teachers would now be more ready to allow provisional freedom, as a concession to a puzzled intellect, where the will seems to have no disposition to indocility, while formerly independent thought, as arguing disobedience in spirit and having less *prima facie* claim to genuineness and simplicity, would be checked; the double change of circumstances bringing the further excuse for a change of policy, that the novelty, which is now more quickly interwoven with a modified expression of dogma, would formerly have seemed inevitably to contradict it. But doubtless an individual in advance of his generation was liable in days of old to suffer from a rule of action suited to the many. The condemnation of Galileo may be considered to be an instance of this by those who think that he himself was hardly used by ecclesiastical authority. The primary duty of protecting religious belief in the mass of Christian souls may have called for a check on the propagation of an imperfectly ascertained discovery for which the minds of the faithful were unprepared and which seemed to impugn the authority of Holy Scripture. This is the view of the matter indicated by Cardinal Newman in his preface to the new edition of the *Via Media.*

Be this as it may, a marked instance of the earlier method of procedure—of the condemnation on grounds of prudence of a system which was ultimately assimilated with Catholic teaching—was the case of the peripatetic philosophy. Though, of course, unconnected with discovery properly so called, it assumed in the twelfth century, as Schlegel has pointed out, very much the position of 'advanced thought' at the present day. When it came over to the West, from the hands of the Arabian revivalists, whom the

era of Haroun al Raschid had first begotten, it was looked upon as the daring, enterprising philosophy which appealed to the highly cultured intellect. Some of the Stagirite's logical works had gained a footing a few years earlier, and his dialectical method had attracted some of the most brilliant minds of the Western Church. The new philosophy was the 'rationalism' of the day. The most celebrated of the early advocates of the Aristotelian dialectic was the famous Abelard, who applied it to theology in the Western as John Damascene had already done in the Eastern Church. It is not to my purpose to dwell fully on its history. We all remember the historic conflict between St. Bernard the Abbot of Clairvaux and Abelard. St. Bernard saw that the scholastic method as it stood exalted reason at the expense of faith. That mystical and mysterious side of religion which must ever remain only seen in part—through a glass darkly—was exposed to the pretence of full analysis, and to a shallow confidence in the all-sufficiency of syllogistic deductions. The tendency which he saw was that expressed by another saint, who beheld in a vision a theologian attempting with his measuring tape to ascertain the height of the gates of heaven. 'Posuit in cœlo os suum,' said St. Bernard of Abelard indignantly, 'et scrutavit alta Dei.' They met for a public disputation, but Abelard's courage, it is said, failed him; and he refused to defend his own doctrines. Abelard, the prince of Western scholastics, was condemned in Rome. Nor did this sense of the dangers of the new method quickly pass away. Seventy years later Aristotle's metaphysical works were burnt by order of a council at Paris, and a papal legate, by direction of Innocent the Third, forbade their use to the faithful.

Here we have an extreme case of the first side of the principle to which I am referring. The rationalistic spirit was the danger of the times. It was the danger from which the conscience and faith of the multitude were to be protected; and ecclesiastical teachers, in the rough and summary manner which was the custom of the day, put their hand down upon the cause of the evil and checked it. Whatever was good or bad, true or false, in Aristotle, here was a practical danger. The province of faith was being ignored, and a secular and rationalistic spirit propagated. As the summariness of a court-martial provides less accurately than a civil trial for just treatment of the individual, and yet is called for by the danger to larger interests, so St. Bernard and pope Innocent, leaving nice distinctions for a less critical juncture, checked the new philosophy with prompt energy.

All the more remarkable, in remembrance of this, is the fact of which Catholics have been specially reminded of late years by Leo the Thirteenth. It would have been a strange vision alike to St. Bernard and to Abelard could they have seen the Encyclical 'Æterni Patris' in which a few years back the present pope traced the lineal

descent of the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas from Leo, Gregory, and Augustine; and could they have turned to the volumes in which it was contained, and found the Aristotelian dialectic and Metaphysics adopted into its very essence.

And yet this fact is but the other term of the Church's double attitude, which shows itself in a jealousy of hasty and dangerous submission to novel doctrines—which is, nevertheless, compatible with her assimilation in the end of however much they contain which is true or intellectually valuable. In the reign of Innocent the Third a system fraught with the associations of the paganism of Aristotle and the pantheism of Averroes, the Arabian commentator, which had not yet found place for faith, and advocated the autonomy of the reason, was claiming acceptance in the name of the intellect of the day. This intemperate claim had simply to be met by a decisive check. In St. Thomas's time all was changed. Years had passed, and the details of Aristotelianism had been discussed and weighed in the academic circles of the *Schola Theologorum*. Albert the Great and Alexander of Hales had adopted such of its principles as were consistent with Christianity, and interwoven them with the ethics of the Fathers, texts of Holy Scripture, and the decisions of Church authority. In this new garb and surrounded with these new associations and safeguards, the condemned *Metaphysics* lost their terrible character. The dialectical method was held in check by the faith and sanctity of St. Thomas, and the insistence on the mystical side of religion which we find in his great scholastic contemporary, St. Bonaventura. The danger of exalting reason and destroying faith had passed away under these altered circumstances. Time had been allowed; and the contemptuous sneer of the hasty rationalist of the twelfth century, that Catholic faith was irreconcilable with the best products of the human reason and the great thoughts of the philosophy of Grecian antiquity, was falsified. The saying 'Roma patiens quia æterna' received a fresh illustration, which succeeding ages, which take such close note of the temporary conflict between secular science and religion, will do well to note.

Now to point as briefly as may be the moral with which I set out. The principle of double treatment which the Church has variously applied at different times seems to have peculiar importance in view of the circumstances of our day; and the constitution of the Church undoubtedly offers certain facilities for its application. Outside the Church a decision for the immediate guidance of Christians tends to become final. A book with the weight attaching to *Lux Mundi*, from the ability and position of its writers, is as near an approach to an *ex cathedra* decision as to what are within the limits of Anglican orthodoxy as the case admits. On such a subject there is no effective court to revise its declarations. The case of *Essays and Reviews* has shown (if it needed showing) that, so far as the State Church

is concerned, the utmost freedom in dogmatic matters is compatible with retaining official status as a member of the Church of England; while for persons who consider that those only are true Anglicans who retain those traditional dogmas which they deem the Anglican Church's inheritance, disowning, as they generally do, the Privy Council and Crown as a final court of appeal, and accepting in practice no living authority as dogmatically supreme, the opinion of a weighty section of their number as to what is compatible with their position is in a sense final. There will always be a certain number to follow suit, and there is no machinery to check either the increase of adherents to such views, or their further development in the direction of free thought. Thus we find a recent critic styling this book the Manifesto of the High Church party.[a]

On the other hand a Catholic book on similar lines would be necessarily tentative, and would be liable to many hierarchical grades of revision and reconsideration. It might be condemned as dangerous or inopportune, yet much of it might be ultimately adopted as true. It might be (as in a recent case in France) approved by an ecclesiastical superior, and then censured by a more authoritative tribunal. And yet such a double fact need not prevent much of the substance of a book from being finally declared consistent with Catholic doctrine. Or, on the other hand, in view of the harm done by too much public discussion, or of the intrinsic unimportance of the work, it may be left unnoticed, and yet the points it raises may receive in due time and place more or less authoritative treatment, limiting the degree to which it can safely be accepted. A work of this kind, if expressly dealt with, is weighed by an authority which considers in its different functions what it is wise to say, what is possible, what is probable, what is calculated to produce a false impression, what, though creating a true impression in itself, will jar with some article of belief which has not yet been fully explained, as well as what is in itself absolutely true or absolutely false. And this last, in religion as in science, is a matter on which infinite caution and slowness are natural and necessary. Fénelon's *Maximes des Saints* was condemned as objectively containing false doctrine, but the pope refused to condemn the author's own meaning (*in sensu ab auctore intento*), which he subsequently set forth, though his enemies pressed for such a condemnation. The famous congregation *de Auxiliis* left uncondemned the extremely opposite doctrines of Thomism and Molinism, contenting itself with condemning only such conclusions on either side as struck at the morality of the active Catholic life. A common form of decision in Rome, where a difficult principle is involved, in an individual case for decision as to a person's lawfully continuing in a certain course, is 'that he is not to be disquieted' (*non esse inquietandum*), a purely personal precept involving the refusal to decide on

[a] See *Academy*, March 8.

the principle. The authority does not attempt to enunciate there and then a general principle which is to apply to all possible cases, and yet desires in the interests of the individual to give him the practical rule which his case demands.

Many steps, then, are possible towards supplying materials (so to speak) for the Church's ultimate decision and guiding individuals provisionally, which yet do not commit the Church finally and fully one way or another. And this likewise leaves time for another important factor in the progress of universal truth—the further development and analysis and proof of scientific hypotheses themselves. Thus when finally the truth emerges with scientific certainty, a double office has been performed—minds have been familiarised with an hypothesis, and prepared for its reconciliation with Christian teaching should it prove true, and at the same time positive assent on the part of the Church herself has been withheld to what may after all prove to some extent false. It is hardly worth while to recall the application of such a principle to the innumerable varieties on purely scientific grounds which our own day has witnessed in Darwinism - the numerous and partially conflicting theories of physiological selection, sexual selection, development and atrophy by use and disuse, and the very different limits assigned to the operation of natural selection itself by Wallace and Darwin; facts which, however, do not affect the belief most of us have that Darwin discovered a *causa vera*, whose exact operation and limitations it will take many generations to determine. But Darwinism is a signal instance in both departments of what has just been said. Not only do we see the very considerable modifications which it is gradually undergoing at the hands of men of science, but within the Church its tenability, and the degree and form in which it is tenable, and the precedents and means for its reconciliation with Scripture, have within the last twenty years been discussed to an extent amounting almost to a literature.

I will observe, finally, that the *modus agendi* I have described —though doubtless many will consider that the immovable limits set to its operation in the Church by past decisions of an infallible authority prevent its being adequate to the requirements of the case—seems, as a principle of action, to be only an extension of that philosophic temper of mind which, in their own departments, all great natural philosophers, the Darwins and the Newtons of history, have enjoined. It combines readiness to consider the working of every possible hypothesis with great slowness in ultimate decision on its limits or on its truth at all. We remember how Newton for sixteen years refused to consider the principle of gravitation established because of a very slight discrepancy between the time he calculated to be taken by the moon to fall through space and by a stone at the same height. 'Most men,' writes a competent authority,[1] 'would

[1] Professor Jevons.

children's children, whom by his earlier imprudence he had wronged. He died in that almshouse accordingly, more than a hundred years ago.

Many years after that event I remember hearing some one say that *my* grandfather had never been able to get over the distress which his grandfather had caused him by refusing to come out of the almshouse, and as I listened to them talking the subject over, I had great discussions with myself in my small mind, and debated the matter again and again. I came to the conclusion that the old man was right, and I got to reverence his nobleness, and often and often I have said to myself, 'If I am ever a grandfather and have to live in an almshouse, I shall be proud to entertain my grandson with suitable hospitality, but I will not permit him to patronise me!'

I mentioned the Charterhouse just now. Who can think of it without thinking of Colonel Newcome? I went there the other day, and I am sorry I went. There was no one there remotely resembling Colonel Newcome. The place is fusty, shabby, sulky, frowsy—sweetness and light nowhere. The very air the old gentlemen breathe is stale, their very potatoes must be sodden, they talk of things gone by, they are specimens of a bygone era, and all around them there are things of the past and of the past only; and that not a living past, but a dead one, dead, stagnant, and profitless, with no lessons, and out of all touch with the present, let alone the future. I spoke to this one and to that, and the tone was that of the dreary refrain—

I know not! What avails to know?

I would rather not die there among the brethren of the Charterhouse, and as one of them. No! Somehow the old gentlemen are out of place there, and I cannot but believe that if Master Sutton were to rise up from his grave and make a visitation of the place as it is now, even at its best, the founder would say: 'This is not as I would have had it. This is no place for such as these!'

But a while ago I was at the Hospital of St. Cross. It was an autumn afternoon. The leaves were still upon the trees, but they were changing from green to ruddy gold. Each leaf as it trembled in the gentle breeze seemed to whisper, 'Thank God for life, the life upon the kindly earth. And thank God that the earthly life does not last for ever. We have lived through our fresh greenery, and the golden days have come, and are passing. Thank God for life, thank God for death!' That was the whisper that came to me from the leaves that fluttered and laughed upon the boughs. Through the rich meadows the little Itchen flowed quietly; yonder rose the cathedral tower, and a sound of bells came softly to my ears—not riotous with too much mirth, not telling of sadness or suggesting parting. I went to that beautiful church within the gates—there was a certain atmosphere of joy about it. The richness was not the

splendour of proud display; it seemed to tell of mere thankfulness, and one old gentleman was sitting there far down in the aisle—sitting, not kneeling—and looking upwards; looking, not I think praising or praying, but taking in a calm delight, as if there was a serene enjoyment in idly gazing at that luxury of colour and form. He rose as we entered, and passed out, as if we had disturbed him. I hope he did not resent our intrusion, for what right had we there, we who came only as chance visitors, while he was at home?

I asked where B. was to be found. They showed me where his chambers were. The rich red creepers had climbed to the very roof. The little window was bowered in leafage. The sun was going down, but the casement was opened, and as it faced the west the diamond panes gleamed with an evening glory. B. was drawing at the window. He looked up, knew me, and smiled a gentle recognition. The last time I had seen him was at my own house, where he had come professionally, when he had charmed me by his wide knowledge, his refined taste, and his attractive conversational powers. We talked for long; he told me much about the history and the architecture of the hospital. He had only one regret, that was that he could not move about without inconvenience or pain. 'But was he not straitened?' He appreciated the delicacy with which the subject was approached, but he waived it off. 'Thank God! you see my pencil and my brush are not quite idle. They have always been a source of happiness to me, and though I have not prospered as well as some, I cannot reproach myself, nor will they who alone have any right to do so reproach me. I am happier here than I have been for many a long day, because I have learnt to acquiesce. I know the worst now. There was a time when I used to think it would be dreadful. I find it what you see. Isn't it a very peaceful and beautiful retreat for a man who aimed just a little too high, and failed?'

Yes! It is this, and much more than this. It is just what such a refuge for the unsuccessful in the great battle of life should be—quiet, orderly, not without discipline. The roar of a great city very far removed. Nature all around smiling in her serious fashion—even the very semblance of her wrath kept away from those bowed heads, sheltered as they are from the storms that must needs rage elsewhere. As I passed out I asked myself: 'Is it always autumn at St. Cross—golden autumn, with its glowing leafage, its lush meadows and their placid kine, and the gentle river too content to hurry on its way? Is the sun always sinking in the west there, and always streaming forth a gleam of hope and promise for the day that dawns after the lengthening of the shadows?'

Why are there not more such resting-places as St. Cross for such as have run their race and run it bravely, have done their work and toiled manfully, and yet have not where to lay their heads?

Such retreats were numerous enough once upon a time. They called them 'hospitals' in the old days, but they were all swept away ruthlessly, savagely, horribly—all but some very few, and I know not how those few were spared. How is it that they have never been revived? There was one I wot of in this county of Norfolk once. It lived on for some four hundred years at Coxford, and when the suppression of the religious houses came it was blotted out, and the thirteen poor men who cowered and huddled tremblingly round the cruel visitors were turned out in the cold. 'Sir John Mendham, Pryst of y^e^ Hospitall,' received ten shillings to comfort himself with, and seven servants of the Priory got thirteen shillings and fourpence each for their 'wages and lyverys;' but those thirteen old creatures were left to beg their bread, the doors of their old home being shut against them for ever on that bitter 22nd of January, 1537. *Their* autumn had lasted all too long. They had to face the winter now.

Aye! Why are there not more such resting-places as St. Cross? Is our age an age of genuine pity? I have my doubts. It is pre-eminently an age of bustle and fuss and fidget, but I think we are lacking in tenderness. We are all for organising; we subscribe guineas, we get up societies for the extinction of poverty, and publish reams of statistics. Then we hold up our heads and pull down our waistcoats, and comfort ourselves with the reflection that we have done as much as a certain widow at the treasury. She gave her mite and so have we given ours. Blessed are the givers of mites! Amen.

I confess I do not love to see an almshouse in a crowded thoroughfare. There is one—or was till very lately—in Gray's Inn Road, a dreary, dismal-looking place, suggestive of rats. There is another in the city of Norwich, six feet below the level of the street. I went down to it the other day and shuddered. Faugh! it should clearly not be there. And yet in that same city of Norwich there is the magnificent 'Old Man's Hospital,' which I hold to be the glory of our East Anglian metropolis. Yes; for it is one of the best managed eleemosynary institutions in the kingdom, if we estimate its efficiency by the sum of happiness which is to be found within those walls, and the cost at which that happiness is provided. The poor old souls, I admit, live disgracefully long; I have seen them go in skeletons, and, in a year, they have grown as sleek as brewers' dray-horses. I have known a man go there with every line in his face telling of chronic bitterness of spirit, and in a little while I have seen him sitting on a long bench in the sunshine spinning yarns and laughing like a clown. 'What, Dolly, you here?' I said one day to a worthy old laundress whom I had known for long and often wished she were there. 'Yes! bless the Lord, I'm here, and all I've got to do now, sir, is to live as long as I can. I don't want to die till I'm a hundred, and that'll give me thirty years of joy here, and everlasting glory—you know where, sir!'

The Great Hospital of Norwich is one of the very few survivals of those many refuges for the aged poor which existed in considerable numbers down to the time when the detestable oligarchy which made havoc of the land in the name of King Edward the Sixth swept them all away. It owes its preservation from the general pillage to an accident—the accident of its 'foundation' being attributed to the boy King, though in truth its 'new scheme,' as we should call it nowadays, had been drafted before the death of Henry the Eighth. As far as I know, there is hardly another almshouse in England which can boast of such large endowments dating back from mediæval times. But it was only one of five hundred *hospitals* which were robbed of their all in the first half of the sixteenth century. People talk as if the spoliation of the monasteries were the monster act of robbery of that bad time. We are perpetually assured that *that* measure dealt a crushing blow to the labouring population, as if they were the great losers—the great sufferers. I am by no means sure that it was so. It was the pillage of the hospitals that was the first great wrong done to the poor; but it was the infamous confiscation of the funds belonging to the *guilds* that wrought immeasurably greater mischief. It has been calculated that five hundred hospitals—let us call them almshouses, for they were that, and little else but that—were plundered. Poor old men and old women lost their homes and their maintenance, and were turned out into the roads to beg their bread. That was bad enough; but there were more than *thirty thousand guilds* that were stripped of their all by a sweep of the pen. The guilds answered partly to our trades union societies, partly to benefit clubs. Some of them had existed for centuries; some had large accumulated funds, the savings of generations of penurious thrift, grown habitual to those poor toilers by the discipline of long training in the duty of providing for the future. There was not a village in the land that was not ruthlessly despoiled of its little hoards. The guilds were absolutely looted: they lost every farthing they possessed, every rag and cup and platter. The gangs of ruffians did their work so thoroughly among the frightened villagers, that not only were they beggared, but the whole machinery of self-help which had been at work from time immemorial was absolutely extinguished. Our modern trades unions and benefit clubs are things of yesterday. For more than two centuries after that hideous spoliation Englishmen of the working classes never rose to the conception that they could help themselves. They belonged to the parish and the parish belonged to them; the parish bred them as the parish bred the owls and the polecats; the parish used them till they were past work, then the parish put them into the *poor-house*, where the idiots drivelled, and the palsied mumbled, and the halt and the blind howled and cursed and raved; and there they huddled, gaunt and stolidly desperate

till they died, like rats in their holes; and then they were tumbled into their graves, sometimes two or three at a time, the sexton taking care not to go too deep, for decent burial couldn't be done at the money. Ah! my masters, you must live in *an open parish* where there hasn't been a gentleman's house for centuries, where the land is owned by eighty or ninety propr etors, and where the parson was looked at askance as an intruder 'arter no good' had he dared to show his face on any day except a Sunday, if you want to know what was going on in some favoured spots in merry England less than a hundred years ago.

Happily it was not as bad as this everywhere. God never leaves himself without witnesses even in the worst times. To be sure, the labouring classes never had the heart to try and help themselves again for many and many a long day. Poor wretches! They had lost all heart, as the phrase is. There was only a sore where a heart ought to have been. The guilds had gone, and no man had uttered a word. Even historians held their peace, and up to this hour have said almost nothing. But as for the almshouses, they were no sooner gone than they began to rise up again. They who had lived for years among their tenantry and dependents, were saddened and shocked at the sight of poor old people, who could no longer earn their daily bread, being reduced to something like beggary in their old age, with no means of subsistence but the pittance grudgingly awarded them out of the parish allowance; and here and there kindly and pitiful people made provision in their wills, or were beforehand with death, and did their work while they were alive. These kind people soon began to build new almshouses as refuges for the poor battered old folk who had few friends now, had no longer the power of earning their own living, had seldom had the chance of laying up in store for the evil days 'in which thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them,' and had not where to lay their heads. The new almshouses were not as the old ones had been. For the most part they were very unpretentious and unambitious institutions; a row of three or four tiny cottages by the wayside, such as we see them now. Half a dozen old creatures housed and little more; the endowment provided just enough, and sometimes barely enough, to keep the dwellings in repair and to find the aged inmates in food, fuel, and bare necessaries. The hospitals 'of the older foundation' had grown up under very different conditions, and had been, almost always, started on a much grander scale: they were in many cases affiliated to some religious house, or, when this was not the case, the poor people who were provided for were put under the guardianship of some warder and a chaplain or two; whose duty it was to look after the other inmates, and far the larger share of the endowment went to support the governors of the house, not the governed. In a large number of cases, as the income declined—and somehow it almost always did decline—the poor

people suffered first, and their numbers were not kept up. Sometimes there was no income for the poor brethren or sisters, and again and again we read that the houses became ruinous, or that the revenues were absorbed into those of some larger foundation. It is an ugly history, and as we look into it it saddens us. At any rate, it always saddens me to find that our forefathers were no better than ourselves for all their professions of aiming at a higher ideal than we profess to follow. And yet, if it be indeed true that the human race is growing slowly upward, what right have we to expect that our forefathers should have been more noble and truer, more far-seeing and consistent than ourselves?

The new almshouses rose up but slowly, but they did rise up during the century that passed between the spoliation of King Henry the Eighth and the Great Rebellion. When men of pity and generosity desired to make some permanent provision for the destitute, the way was not easy for them. Millionaires like Allen and Sutton were few and far between, and their millions were in shillings, not in pounds sterling; it was not the time for doing things in the grand style. As long as any great eleemosynary institutions were in some sort of working order, they offered themselves naturally as the accredited recipients of charitable benefactions even of the smallest; but for one man who could build up a new asylum from its foundation and provide for its maintenance, and draw up a body of statutes for its regulation, and make all those provisions for the future which such a considerable undertaking implies, there were hundreds who would be willing enough to enrich such an institution after it was once in working order; and the aggregate of such smaller benefactions contributed by men and women of no great resources made up the real wealth of the house, which without such accretions would be pretty sure to decay. Our modern orphan asylums and dispensaries and homes and the like would fare very badly indeed if it were not for the perennial flow of that stream of benefactions which keep them all going. But when the 'hospital' or the refuge had become a ruin, roofless and desolate, they who had the wish to leave or give a hundred or two of pounds or an acre or two of land for the maintenance of the decayed artisan or the housing of the widow, found themselves in a practical difficulty. Who were they to leave their legacies to? How could their intentions be carried out? Every donation, subscription, or bequest helps to keep up a going concern; but if there be no going concern—What then?

The first almshouse built in England as a home for the aged poor, after the suppression of the monasteries, is said to have been that founded in Queen Elizabeth's time at Greenwich by William Lambard, whom Camden calls 'a goodly good gentleman.' The polemics of the Roman persuasion sneered at the fact that almsgiving had ceased among us since the Anglican Church had broken off communion

with Rome, and were not slow to remind us that Lambard 'was the first Protestant that built an hospital.'[1] We may let the sneer pass.

I do not know the exact date of the foundation of Lambard Hospital, at Greenwich, but if it were started before 1594 his example was very soon followed; for in that year Clement Paston, Esq., left a considerable estate to certain of his kindred, which was to be held by them conditionally upon their providing six poor men in the parish of Oxnead, in Norfolk, with house room and a somewhat liberal maintenance, according to a scale that was carefully laid down by the testator. If the almshouse was eventually plundered and the poor men were left to shift for themselves, that was no fault of Mr. Paston, and the less said about that piece of iniquity the better. Three years later, William Cecil, the great Lord Burghley, founded his almshouses for thirteen poor men at Stamford, and there they are now.

In this instance, as in many others, the sagacious statesman took good care that there should be no mistake about his intentions, for he built and endowed his hospital during his own lifetime. Two years later again, Richard Platt, a London brewer—he too during his lifetime—founded his almshouses at Aldenham, in Herts, for six old people, who were not to be eligible till they were sixty, 'except they be impotent, and therefore thought fit to be relieved at a lesser age, and such as have been known in their youth to have lived by their labour.' House room and allowances for fuel, food, and raiment were provided for them, and careful regulations were drawn up for maintaining discipline and guarding against abuses. In this case the estate left was well husbanded by the Brewers' Company, and the establishment is still kept up; though, as usual, it is now treated as if it were a mere encumbrance upon the school, which is also supported out of the same endowment. And exactly as in mediæval times the tendency always was for the *monastery* to absorb the income of any hospital affiliated to it, to treat the property held by it in trust as only part of the common funds available for the support of the *domus*, and to grumble that the bedesmen cost them so much annually; just so it has come to pass in even modern times, that the *school*, which was more often but an adjunct to the hospital than the reverse, loudly complained that its income was seriously burdened by having so many old impotent folk—of no use whatever to the community—to support in idleness. Thus history repeats itself. There was a time when asceticism, or that which passed for the religious life, was regarded as the one thing needful. Now we have got to worship education as the god of our idolatry. I wonder what will be the favourite interest next.

[1] He had, however, been anticipated by *Thomas Lewin*, who by his will, dated the 20th of April, 1555, founded an almshouse in St. Nicholas Olave, Bread Street, which almshouse is, I believe, still kept up by the Ironmongers' Company. But then Lewin was not a *Protestant* by any means.

During the reign of James the First, the fashion of founding these refuges for the destitute prevailed rather widely. William Goddard left rather a large estate to found the Jesus Hospital for old people at Bray, in Berks. This was in the year 1609. Henry, Earl of Northampton, in 1616 built and endowed his almshouses at Castle Rising, in Norfolk, and Sir Ralph Hare established others on a smaller scale at Stow Bardolph, in 1622. The number of these hospitals went on increasing year by year down to the time of the Rebellion, after which it is observable that the stream of benefactions almost ceases to flow. The earliest and most considerable instance of any such foundation after the Restoration was that of Smith's Almshouses at Maidenhead. In this case, again, the buildings were completed and the income secured to the inmates and their successors in 1661, while Mr. Smith was still living.

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It is to be noted that, with one or two exceptions, all the almshouses of the new foundation were set up *after* the passing of the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth in the forty-third year of her reign (*i.e.* A.D. 1601). There is a very general belief that no provision was made by the common law of England for the relief of the poor till this statute was passed. I am told that this is one of our many popular delusions. Be it as it may, there can be no doubt that ever since the Elizabethan time 'competent sums of money' were to be raised by the parishes for the maintenance of the destitute poor, that such money was regularly distributed to them, and that a list of such as were the recipients of the 'alms' was kept by the officers appointed to give it out. It is equally certain that where an almshouse was set up in any locality, it was almost invariably limited in its operation to the inhabitants of a certain area, and that whatever relief it aimed at affording was supplementary to such as was provided out of the parish alms; or, as we should say, the almshouses came in as an important assistance *to lighten the Poor Rate.*

The same holds good of the doles of bread and money which were left so frequently by testators with some bowels of compassion. These doles were to help out the overseers' allowances. Thus, when Thomas Stretchley, in 1678, left 5*l.* 4*s.* to the poor of the parish of Christ Church, he ordered that the income should be spent in buying 'twelve twopenny loaves, to be set up in the church every Sunday, and to be distributed by the churchwardens and overseers to twelve poor helpless men and women, *who take alms of the said parish.*' The principle in both cases was the same. It was enacted by law that no man or woman should be allowed to starve, but charity came in where legal obligation stopped. It was enough in the eye of the law that the ratepayers should keep people alive, but it seemed abominable and atrocious to Christian sentimentalists to reduce the pauper's allowance down to the last straw. Of course,

where these doles increased and multiplied, and no restrictions were placed upon the distribution, vagrants would crowd into the parishes, on the one hand, and substantial people who were in easy circumstances would lay claim to a share of the spoil on the other. But this did not prove even that the doles were in their nature mischievous: it only went some way towards proving that the 'unearned increment' of any institution, if it exceed a certain reasonable limit, may require to be administered according to regulations better adapted than the old ones were for carrying out the original object aimed at. Is the amount of income enjoyed by this or that parish, or larger geographical area, larger than is at all sufficient for providing for the aged and destitute whose characters will bear looking into, and who have been *bona-fide* labourers, artisans, or even substantial tradesmen in their time, but in old age find themselves destitute? Then extend the area, and let the advantages of the endowment be extended as far as it will go. But do *not* go grovelling before your idol of education, and proceed to appropriate every scrap of margin of income that you can pick up, and then say with much self-gratulation: 'Lo! we have made ample provision for the poor and needy in this small corner of the earth, and for the residue, we will appropriate it to the sacred cause of culture, by stimulating boys and girls to spend their days and nights in getting up books for examination.'

Let us take an instance in point. Thomas Cuttell, by his will dated the 17th of March 1556, left a house on St. Dunstan's Hill, which at that time was let for 7*l.* a year, to the churchwardens of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East. They were to spend 3*l.* 4*s.* of the rent yearly to provide a dinner for the poor prisoners in Newgate, 2*s.* 6*d.* in remunerating the aforesaid churchwardens for their trouble, and 34*s.* 8*d.* for providing 'two poor women to *look after any persons that should be visited with the plague or other sickness.*' The balance—1*l.* 18*s* 10*d.*—to be reserved for the cost of any repairs that might be needed from time to time. I do not know where St. Dunstan's Hill is, but I suppose it is somewhere near the Tower. I read, however, that this house was let in 1829 for 56*l.* a year on a repairing lease, and I should not be surprised to learn that by this time it has been turned into a warehouse, and brings in to the churchwardens 500*l.* a year. There are no prisoners in Newgate, nor need to feast them now if there were; but I can see no sort of objection, and quite the contrary, to the whole of such an endowment as this being utilised for the support of a great Nurses' Institution, the geographical area to enjoy the benefits of worthy Mr. Cuttell's endowment being extended as widely as you please. But I see every objection to your laying your hands upon half of that endowment because there are no Newgate prisoners, and applying it to the founding of scholarships in the City of London School.

It may be in consequence of my impenetrable stupidity, or it

may be from some other cause, but I never have been able to see any rational ground for accepting that position of certain theorists which has been repeated so persistently that the world at large have got to acquiesce in it from mere weariness—I mean the position that an endowment ought ever to be allowed to save the pockets of the ratepayers.

You can't help an endowment benefiting the ratepayers, no matter what the endowment is. You might just as well try to prevent a border in your garden from receiving the rain of heaven upon it when the showers fall, because the peas want all the moisture and the potatoes can do without it. Even though you hold up an umbrella over the potato patch, some of the moisture will be sure to trickle through to the podgy tubers. If you go the length of saying, 'Better then have no endowments at all,' there is an end of the argument, for that means that you would rather the poor and needy were left in their misery, than that anyone except the poor and needy were the better for any boon bestowed. But where is the sense of all this cry about not allowing the ratepayers to benefit directly or indirectly by a charitable endowment? Why should not a man be permitted to leave his money to lighten the burdens pressing upon his surviving neighbours, and likely to press more and more heavily upon his and their children? In the wills of our forefathers, made not so very long ago, you may find hundreds of bequests for all sorts of public objects, such as the mending of roads, and the reparation of churches, for which the parishioners were liable, and by these bequests the ratepayers were gainers to the extent of their several assessments. When the Rev. Abraham Colfe in 1656 left his estates to found a school and almshouses at Lewisham, in Kent, he also left a sum of money yearly 'in working drains out of the highways into the ditches and water-courses, and in amending the footpaths of the parish.' Sir Martin Bowes Knight, an Alderman of London in 1565, during his life-time provided for a payment of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to be made annually for the repairing of the conduits and the conduit-pipes of the city of London. About the same time Elizabeth Gavener left her manor of Shabcombe in Devon to be sold, the money to be 'distributed and given away *in alms, as well as towards the reparation and amending of highways.*' Ought such funds as these to be confiscated whenever the charge of providing for the roads is thrown upon the rates? You might with equal fairness confiscate all the money left for the repair of churches, because church rates are abolished.

But there is another assumption just as baseless as the other, namely, that no *paupers* ought to receive anything from ancient endowments, inasmuch as they are already provided for by the ratepayers. It would be nearer the truth to say that such endowments as take the form of doles and almshouses were *only* meant for

paupers. As we have seen, these bequests were intended to supplement the minimum provision which the law compelled the ratepayers to supply. The statute of Queen Elizabeth enacted that in every parish house room should be supplied for the houseless, and the bare means of subsistence be allowed to the destitute. At this point charity stepped in and offered better house room for a favoured few, and additional sustenance to those who were dependent upon the parish alms. What the giver of almshouses and doles did *not* contemplate was that the 'sturdy beggar' and the vagrant should participate in their bounty. The 'sturdy beggar' was whipped out of the parish if he dared to show his face in it. Let him go back to where he belonged. There was no thought of encouraging the casual. In many instances, nay, in most, it was a condition that no one should be admitted to the almshouse who had not been known as a *bona-fide* labourer or artisan in the parish for a longer or shorter term of years; and, as we have seen, none might lay claim to any share of the doles unless his name were in the parish books as one of the recognised recipients of parish relief. If that condition had been adhered to we should never have heard of troops of vagrants crowding into a parish a week or two before the annual 'gifts' were distributed, and scrambling each for his share; nor of the rents of fever-dens in a favourite locality reaching an almost fabulous figure in consideration of the amount of doles which the inhabitants of the parish had a right to. The old law of settlement had its evils, but it had its merits too. In sweeping it away in the rough-and-tumble way you did, you turned the vagrant from being a criminal into a pauper; you turned the poor man who had worked as long as he could hold a plough or use a flail, from a pauper into a criminal. You take his very clothes from him when you admit him into the 'house,' you dress him in the pauper uniform, and you tell him that because he has sunk so low he is not even fit to be admitted into an almshouse.

These are the kind of assumptions which are at the bottom of such a scheme as has quite lately been drafted for the future management of the charities of the city of Norwich. Just at the moment when we are told that centralisation is to be minimised, and that counties and cities have arrived at such a level of intelligence that they ought to be left to manage their own affairs, here you have the Charity Commissioners, dwelling in mysterious isolation—the veiled prophets whose sentences go forth irreversible from their chamber of horrors—saying to this community of 100,000 citizens, 'You blundering, ignorant jobbery-mongers, you narrow-minded, pig-headed Tories. You are permitted to manage your own schools, and highways, and libraries, and police, your sanitary arrangements, your water, your gas, and your paupers. But as to your charitable endowments, those endowments which your own citizens have in days gone by expressly given you for the benefit of those needy and

stricken and sore broken, who were born and bred and grew up and toiled and struggled and dropped out of it under your very eyes, and whose needs and struggles and characters and sorrows you know, and you only can know—these funds you are not fit to deal with or to administer. These funds are to be taken out of your control, you are not to be trusted with them. In all that concerns your charitable endowments, you will have to do as we tell you. It is for us to order, for you to obey!'

In this new scheme, one of the latest which the Commissioners have put forth, it seems that any one who has ever been in the receipt of parish relief is for ever disqualified from admission to any of the existing almshouses or hospitals.

Oh! these dragons of routine, who go up and down seeking whom they may devour. Some of us remember the glorious hopes that they raised among us when they first were introduced to a too sanguine nation, eager for reforms, and believing in the need of them. We were all going to have the old trammels and fetters knocked off, and the governors, and trustees, and feoffees of the old charities were to be left with free hands! What has it all come to? Left with free hands! Nay, our hands are to be tied behind our backs!

The new Poor Law has done much good during the last fifty years in educating the nation; and the reform of our social organisation has been carried on earnestly and intelligently wherever we turn our eyes. What we need now is not restriction, but liberty of action. We want to be educated now into a belief in great *Principles*. You will never educate men by giving them mere *Rules* to go by, and telling them to hold their tongues when they ask the reason why. The red tape needs no tightening, it wants cutting, and there is some red tape that will have to be cut—is bound to be cut some day.

I have said that the new Poor Law has done a great deal for us in the way of educating the masses—educating them in certain sentiments of independence, helping them to the conviction that we are all bound to try and help ourselves. But there is a growing belief among some thoughtful philanthropists that the new Poor Law has almost done its work, that the abuses which it swept away are gone for ever, and can never be tolerated again; and that the time has come for starting upon a new departure. To begin with, there is one very mischievous doctrine which the new Poor Law has been the means of inculcating among us. It admits of being stated very simply; it is held unblushingly by many, and preached loudly by not a few. It stands thus.

The inhabitants of this world are divided into two classes. The first class includes all who are possessed of, or who have the power of earning the means of living without anybody's help except their own. The second class are they who have no means and no power

of earning a livelihood. The first class are more than respectable; they are virtuous, estimable, exemplary persons. They are good citizens; they are householders—compound or simple; they have votes; they have spotless souls and bodies—white as the driven snow; some of them pay taxes, almost all of them pay rates. The second class are they who have no means of livelihood. These are beasts of prey feeding upon the members of the first class. Some of them are professional beggars, some are cadgers, some are tramps, some are receivers of outdoor relief, some are dwellers in the Union workhouse, and some are nondescripts. But be they what they may, as the first class are all white and glistering, so the second class are all black as soot—every one of them. This being so, why should you attempt to make out that the blackamoors are anything else than blackamoors? Why set up any such preposterous theory as that there are shades in black—light black and dark black? That is undeniably rank heresy. Away with it!

Men and brethren, take note of it. There is nothing so catching as talking nonsense—pompous nonsense. Given the requisite mental constitution for the due development of the germ, and the period of efflorescence is almost instantaneously followed by immense fertility of reproduction. I've known a man described as a dazzlingly clever fellow, for no other reason than because he solemnly asserted that to eat a ham sandwich was a sin. He began with that, but he ended by founding a sect, and a large one.

Granted that all who have no means of livelihood are—as some of my severe friends tell me they are—all blacks, I really cannot see why some of them should *not* be a great deal blacker than others, and some in fact be little more than grey.

Looking along the sleeve of my well worn coat as I write, I notice that there are very decided differences of shade in the texture of that venerable garment. Black? Yes! It's black, but observe the seams. And yet, alas! there's many a poor creature who would accept the gift of this old coat of mine with pathetic gratitude, and count himself a *beau* if he had it upon his lean shoulders.

It is just as false to assert that among the 'Have nots' there are no grades as it is to maintain that among the *Masses* there are no *Classes*; and how false that assumption is I will not stop to illustrate. Poverty has its aristocracy, such as it is, as well as its dreadful *residuum*, and between the two extremes of lonely shabbiness—where men and women suffer so patiently, so silently, so piteously—and semi-nakedness, where poor wretches have lost all decency and all semblance of self-respect, there are almost infinite shadings off.

Was it any fault of yours, sweet Lady Maud mavourneen! that all your means of livelihood were swept away, you scarce can tell us how, and no rent came from those broad lands in county Kerry which had given you an ample income, spent in good works for the most

part, even till the time when old age had come upon you, and the sunny glow that once was as a crown upon that noble brow had changed to winter's rime? Poor gentlewoman! You too have come to feel the pinch of penury at last, come to accept the scanty gifts of others and to bow to the sad inevitable. Were you to blame, Celsus of the quick eye and the iron nerve, because at the outset of a career that promised so well a frenzied patient sprang upon you from behind and left you a palsied man, with your private resources exhausted almost to the last pound? Or when my worthy friend John Balls, in his seventieth year—with a sickly wife for ever ailing—found himself one morning out of place by the bankruptcy of the firm which he had served as a copying clerk for more than half a century? Or when blindness, sudden and incurable, came upon that promising young schoolmaster who married only a year ago? Or that lone widow whose trustee appropriated her little all and then vanished? Or those others whom the wise and prudent advised to invest their savings in Dock shares which paid so well for a time and now pay nothing? Were each and all of these *criminals*, who got no more than they deserved when they found themselves face to face with want, not knowing where to turn for the daily bread? Are you going to lump them all together, ticket them as paupers, and shut them up with broken-down harlots and tramps and inebriates in the same ward of a Union workhouse? Are you prepared to do this and assure us with a simper that 'It can't be helped. We are bound to discourage improvidence, and if we once begin to make class distinctions and differences and to indulge in sentiment, the consequences will be disastrous and dreadful to contemplate.' My good man! Are not the consequences of *your* cruel and heartless *modus operandi* dreadful to contemplate?

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There are some men who are born drudges, and nothing on earth can make them fit for anything else. As the poet says:

> Some men are born for great things,
> Some are born for small,
> Some—it is not recorded
> Why they were born at all.

These last may be content and thankful if they have drudgery to do. They are the Gibeonites. The hewers of wood and drawers of water for others, they can have nothing to expect but bare existence. Without brains, without physique, without character, without anything that they can call their own except a rickety carcass, scrofulous and feebly puffy, commonly designated a human body, they flopped into the world somehow, and there they are. Of course they cannot be allowed to starve, nor will they be; but they never can make the running in the fierce competition of our time, and the less ambition they have the better for themselves. They are below the

average. But for the average man, and him who is only a little above the average, let such be taught early and late that they are bound to have a reasonable ambition. For he who lacks the stimulus of any future, in this life or the next, must needs wither. Why should he live at all? The question is, What may fairly be called a reasonable ambition?

Leave the *residuum* out of account, and come to the working man in the widest acceptation of the term; and is it too much to say that every man who plays the part of a good citizen may reasonably set before himself the hope of repose in his old age, when he has ceased to be the man he was, and when others can do his work better than he and with less effort? In some form or another we all do look forward to 'retire'—as the phrase is—in our old age. Some have a chance of earning their retirement and make the most of it, some have no chance, and some throw their chances away.

As to those who have thrown away their chances, the people who have earned good wages and spent them as they came, the reckless and the improvident, the workhouse is the place for them.

As to those who have never had a chance of doing more than earn a bare subsistence—the Gibeonites, the physically and mentally incompetent—in their case too I am inclined to think no special favour should be shown them. All gentle kindness, food and shelter and raiment should be assured to them, but more than that it is difficult to see why they should be encouraged to expect.

As to those who have used their opportunities, and made provision for their old age in time, they are the last people in the world to 'come upon the rates.' The joy and pride of their declining years is that they want no man to help them, that they are possessed of an independence, or, as we say in Norfolk, that they 'live upright and walk with a stick.'

But there still remain those who have lived all their lives at a comparative disadvantage. Circumstances have been against them, or that mysterious factor which is for ever baffling our most careful calculations which scientists with praiseworthy circumlocution deal with as 'the personal equation,' while the vulgar brutally call it *luck*. There is the peasant who has had a large family dragging at him for the last twenty years of his life and longer. There is the man who suffered from an accident in his prime, reducing him to something just a trifle less than an able-bodied workman. There is the man who with all his economies and frugality only managed to scrape together a little hoard of some three or four score pounds, and had lived too long and come to the end of it.

There is the man who has invested his all in a row of cottages, and somehow got into the hands of a rogue of an attorney, and finds himself just nowhere when the pinch comes. What need to multiply the instances? Observe! I am not thinking of the men of the

streets. They have their champions and their friends, God bless them! who are not likely to forsake their clients and by no means likely to lack support. They have rich and earnest philanthropists at their backs who are not idle just now. I speak of the men and women in the wilderness. I speak as I do know.

And this is what I know: that during the last twenty years or so the agricultural labourer in Norfolk has become a *saving* animal. Yes! Since drinking has gone out of fashion and drunkenness has got to be looked upon as disgraceful, the agricultural labourer has begun to hoard. The mischief is, that he is afraid of doing anything more than hoard. He is afraid of the savings-banks. He is almost equally afraid of buying little bits of property near his home, afraid of letting anyone know that he has money laid by, afraid to talk of it, afraid to whisper it, afraid of your suspecting it. How has this come about?

The explanation is plain and evident enough to those who know anything about the facts; and here it is. As long as a man is known to possess a shilling that he can call his own, he is debarred from receiving any relief from the rates for the barest necessaries of life. If a poor fellow has hidden away say 20*l.* or 50*l.* or 100*l.*—and again, I say, *I speak as I do know*—he will hardly let his own flesh and blood suspect the fact. Be seen in the post-office with a bank-book? What! that he may be called upon to produce it before the Board? Not he! Buy the house he lives in, though he could get it cheap? Why, he'd have to pay the rates on it, and when he wanted to put himself upon these same rates, 'I mean to say as that there chairman would laugh at me!' 'What does he do with his savings then? What *can* he do with them? He *hides* them until such time as they have grown to inconvenient bulk, and then he slinks about and seeks for an investment. In point of fact, he starts as a money-lender on a small scale, under the secret guidance of Mr. Oily Gammon. I am not going to betray confidences, and so I will not stop to explain the methods pursued. It will perhaps be enough to assure my more knowing readers that I could point to one case where, when fourteen acres of land were sold some six years ago, there were *eleven mortgagees to pay off*, each of whom, by a composition, received under eleven shillings in the pound.

Think of the surroundings of an agricultural labourer, and how he *must* be at the mercy of sharpers who can talk of things he cannot understand. You will never be able to protect poor Hodge from quacks and herbalists, who promise to cure all his aches and pains and sores; from touts who tempt him to take shares in a peripatetic provident society; from deputations who 'stand forth, sir! before all the world,' as the labourer's friend; from his own credulity and cunning, his own suspicion and self-conceit; from his ignorance of the world and his ignorance of the swindler's wiles and ways. No! you will never be able

to do this, but you may do something else for him. You have no right to educate our peasantry into the belief that all their little savings are looked upon by the well-to-do as mere pickings and stealings, which they will have to answer for, when they are past work, before a board of inquisitors, who will tempt them to lie and shuffle lest they should suffer for their frugality. If, in his old age, the agricultural labourer has the audacity to come before the guardians asking for just a little *relief*, as distinct from *support*, he is told, almost in so many words, that he is not starving yet, and it will be time enough to help him when it comes to that. But the sot who has lived all his life spending half his earnings at the pot-house, when he breaks down at last is treated precisely as the decent labourer; and is it to be wondered at that this latter soon learns the needful lesson, to sham indigence, to pretend that he is penniless, to protest before God and man he has never laid by a pound and that he hasn't a shilling in the world? It is an odious and demoralising system and has lasted too long.

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Frightful as have been the confiscations of our charitable endowments during the last thirty years, and amazing as is the bigoted idolatry of that grisly phantom, yclept Education, which men have been making such huge sacrifices to during the same period, there still remain some funds here and there in our country villages which have not yet been taken from the poor. There are still some doles and coals, still some blankets and cloaks, still some loaves and flannel distributed in our country parishes. I am told that it is only a question of time how long these things shall be allowed to be distributed. I am told that they will all, sooner or later, be absorbed into educational endowments. For myself, I hope I shall not live to see that day, and I will say more—I hope nobody else will live to see it. I do hope, however, that these funds will, at no distant day, be turned to better account than they now are. I am quite ready to admit that there is a foolish waste in distributing even 20*l.* a year in actual loaves given out to the 'poor' of a parish of 700 inhabitants, with the vaguest possible notion of who the 'poor' are. I see, as plainly as anyone else, that in an 'open' parish, with fifty or sixty small owners of land and cottages, the annual gift of fifty pounds' worth of coals means so much money into the pockets of the creatures who own those cottages. The evils of such a state of things are patent, but the remedy hitherto in vogue has been almost the clumsiest conceivable. It is a remedy which has proceeded according to the old plan of making a desert and calling it peace.

Again and again let it be said: These emoluments were meant for the poor; to the poor they belong; they are their birthright. They were left to lighten the hard lot of the poor; to take off, if ever so little, the *pinch* of poverty; to shed here and there some

beam of the light of joy even upon the poor man's life; to lessen its burden; to cheer its dreariness. Here are resources which you actually possess, and which you say you know not how to use except by taking them away from those for whom they were meant. Some of us hear talk like this with indignation, and a burning blush at the shameful confession of helplessness which it is almost impossible to believe to be sincere. What difficulty can there be in applying such funds as those referred to to the building and maintaining of houses for the poor and needy, who are not, and never have been, of the lowest and most reckless? Throw the endowments of half a dozen parishes into a common fund, and let it be used partly to build almshouses for those parishes, and the maintenance of those who may be chosen to dwell in them. Let these live rent free—with their little gardens to make gay, their little chambers to keep clean, their little household gods not all confiscated. There is no need of any very great weekly allowance. Give the aged couple five or six shillings a week, and they will manage to live in comfort after their fashion. Let there be nothing grand about it all—no largeness, for that frightens our rustics; no grand architectural 'features,' only some humble homeliness—a resting-place for him or her, and if it may be so, the house of prayer not far off, for the end is drawing nigh.

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It is characteristic of all the great schemes put forth by idealists of past times for the reconstruction or amelioration of society that they postulate a human nature other than it is, and aim at the unattainable. We of the nineteenth century have grown to be intolerant of the idealists. We are proud of being realistic—very! We demand first and foremost, 'How can this or that be *carried out*? Show us how it can be *done*.' The present writer is no idealist, only a plain man—a *practical* man. He is humble in his aims; he despiseth not the day of small things; he does not even dream of being original; he contemplates no more than that which is easily possible; he starts with a single IF; grant him his *if*, and this is what he means to do.

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If God should ever grant me five thousand pounds, which I may without injustice to others spend in a lump during my own lifetime, I hereby promise and vow that I will indulge myself to the extent of the aforesaid five thousand pounds in giving shape and form to an old whim or dream.

I will buy half an acre of land, and in it I will build a humble row of five little houses, each with its own little garden, and each with its own little patch of land. There shall be ornamental trees planted, and there shall be a good fence all round, and there shall

be a frontage to the road, and there shall be at least one well of water, and there shall be the best possible drainage. To the occupants of each house there shall be allowed six shillings a week, and there shall be a surplus income set apart for repairs and contingencies. There shall be a board—or a bench—of governors, or managers, or trustees, to whom the oversight or management of the said houses shall be entrusted, who shall be tied and bound by as few hard and fast rules as possible, consistent with providing for the absolutely necessary requirements of health, decency, and cleanliness. The area from which the governors shall be chosen shall be wider than any single parish, and so shall the area be from which the inmates of the houses may be elected, and no one shall have the right to claim priority of election over anyone else. As I will allow of no disqualification for admission except such as the managers may from time to time lay down for their own guidance, so I will allow no one to be irremovable from his or her house in cases where it shall seem necessary for the managers to exercise their right and power of dismissal. I will set down my houses at least three miles from any market town, and, if it may be so, not more than a quarter of a mile from the parish church, whither the old folk may resort if and when they can and are so disposed.

When I think of my model almshouses—as I often do—I really quite envy those dear old people hobbling in and out of one another's houses, and gossiping, and peeping, and sunning themselves, and telling stories—dreadful stories—and squabbling to their hearts' content; of course they will—and be all the better and happier for their little tiffs. And then I think, too, of other scenes; of how the light will fade and fade in the old eyes, and of the peaceful sleep in which the spirit will return to God who gave it, and the little house left empty for a while till it is made sweet and neat and smiling for the next comer. And I cannot help saying to myself, as I think of all this and a great deal more, 'Oh, my dear old Biddy! we'll always do what we can for you in our small way: we will try and smooth your pillow, and come and speak of the great hope, and make the best of what we have for you, and you won't doubt us? But I wish—yes, I do so very much wish—you were in an almshouse such as we talk of and dream of sometimes. Such a one as should not be very far off, you know, where we could come and look at you, as we do now, and have our little talks and little secret communings, but a little home that might be just a trifle more bright and smiling than the one we wot of now, Biddy!'

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

AN ATHEIST'S PUPIL.

M. PAUL BOURGET is unquestionably among the first of contemporary novelists. We might call him, not inappropriately, the Stendhal of our day—the most considerable living artist in psychological fiction. In some respects M. Paul Bourget surpasses that great master of what is termed *le roman de caractères*. Inferior to him in originality, he is assuredly superior in poetic faculty, in philosophic culture, in literary form. It is indeed a noteworthy sign of the times that the author of such verses as *Les Aveux*, of such dissertations as the studies of Renan, Taine and Amiel, should have deserted poetry and philosophy, and have given himself up, as apparently M. Bourget has, to the writing of romantic fiction. How great is his success in that province of literature, all the world knows. The publication of a new novel by the author of *Un Crime d'Amour*, *L'Irréparable*, *Mensonges*, is a literary event. His last book, *Le Disciple*, has been out only a few months, and 30,000 copies of it have already been sold.

It is not, however, the large sale of *Le Disciple* which leads me to offer a few remarks upon it to the readers of this Review. The book has a special interest and importance, as marking what we may, perhaps, call a new departure in M. Bourget's literary life. It appears to me very difficult to overrate the practical influence of the novel. In this age of ours, art appeals most widely and most powerfully to men and women, under the form of literature. Poetry, the drama, and romantic fiction—which is really a development of the drama, for what is the modern novel but an unacted play?—fill a large place in the lives of multitudes who never look intelligently upon a picture or a statue. But where the poet or the dramatist counts his votaries by thousands, the novelist counts his by hundreds of thousands. There can then be hardly any more important question than that of the ethos of a popular work of fiction. And it is in the author's treatment of his subject, rather than in his choice of personages, his plot or his *dénouement*, that the ethos of his work comes out. The test is, What is the impression left upon a healthy mind? a mind infected neither by prudery nor by pruriency, which are but different forms of the same moral disease. Now, if we judge M. Paul Bourget's previous novels by that test, what must be our verdict on

them? Take, for example, his *Crime d'Amour*, which, from an ethical point of view, is unquestionably one of the best of his books. The last thirty pages are admirable. I hardly know where to turn for a more passionate and persuasive exhibition of the moral agonies which, by the nature of things, are bound up inseparably with the crime whereof he has been writing—the crime of high treason against the most sacrosanct of human affections. Those pages go far to redeem and explain all that has gone before. But still—I put it to any man of the world who has carefully read the book—does not the sensuous impression of certain voluptuous scenes, of certain 'audacities of description' (to use the author's own phrase) in the earlier chapters, gradually dim, if it does not quite efface, this stern and lofty teaching? 'Tout cela, c'est de grandes saletés,' says the Abbé Taconet towards the end of *Mensonges*. It is too true of too much of M. Bourget's work. M. Bourget has described himself, half apologetically, as 'Un Moraliste de Décadence.' I suppose it is difficult for him to escape from the contamination of the intellectual atmosphere which he breathes, from the yoke of the tradition of lubricity so firmly established in French fiction. Assuredly he has not escaped. As we look through his pages, we may almost say that adultery is his πού στῶ whence his whole world is moved. Man is apparently conceived of in them as an essentially adulterous animal. 'First catch your hare,' enjoins the ancient oracle of British cookery. 'First find your neighbour's wife,' prescribes the French novelist, and then proceed to corrupt her, *secundum artem*, with all due gravity. For one thing notable about M. Bourget's fiction is the utter absence of humour from it. 'Thou knowest, dear Toby,' quoth Mr. Shandy, 'that there is no passion so serious as lust.' Well, I say that this lubricity is the capital sin of French fiction—a sin against the laws of art as against the laws of ethics. For—if I may venture to quote from a recently published work of my own *On Right and Wrong*—'beauty and morality spring from the same eternal fount: they are expressions of the same immutable truth: they are different sides or aspects of the same thing: of reason, order, harmony, right.' And so Kant, in a pregnant passage of his *Critique of Judgment*. 'Only the productions of liberty—that is, of a volition which founds its actions upon reason—ought properly to be called art.' This dictum goes to the root of the matter. The true starting-point of the controversy is Free Will. If we may choose what we will habitually dwell upon in our thoughts—and no man who has not sophisticated his intellect away can doubt that this is largely in our own power—the question arises, whether we have any right to be indifferent to the sort of facts with which we surround ourselves, which we habitually contemplate, and which leave their impression, through the channel of the senses, upon the hidden man of the heart. Are all facts ethically equal and indifferent? Is it enough that a thing should be

true, to justify us in considering it in all its bearings, and in exposing ourselves to all its seductions? What calls itself 'free thought'—God only knows why, for instead of thought, I find in it claptrap phrases; instead of freedom, slavery to the basest passions—boldly answers, Yes. Modern and ancient Determinism tells us that the question is idle, for that we cannot help ourselves. Well, I assert, on the contrary, that we can help ourselves, and that we ought to do so. I say that there are truths which it is well not to know, and which it is a duty not to dwell upon if we do know them—truths which tend to debase and destroy a being like man, who is not constituted wholly of spirit, but of spirit and sense. I say that the great moral principles of reserve, shame, reverence, have their perpetual application in art as in every sphere of civilised life. A savage is naked, and not ashamed, because all facts are to him equally devoid of moral significance. French fiction is naked, and not ashamed, for a far worse reason: all facts that possibly can, acquire in it an immoral significance. Lord Acton, I think, somewhere speaks of George Sand's 'ignominious novels.' He is quite right. She wrote too many—*Lélia*, *Valentine*, *Jacques*, occur to my mind as examples—which amply merit the epithet. And surely it is not inapplicable to much in M. Bourget's pages.

And that brings me to my immediate point. If *Le Disciple* had been *in pari materie* with M. Bourget's previous writings, I should not, assuredly, have sat down to write about the book for this Review, however important it may be on account of its author's literary position. But it appears to me important, for another reason. I think it marks not only the highest point to which M. Bourget has as yet attained in his novelistic career, but also, as I said before, a new departure in his literary life. And now let me give a brief account of the story.

A charming young girl, Charlotte de Jussat, is found one morning dead in her bed in her father's château. Her face is livid. Her teeth are clenched.. Her eyes are extraordinarily dilated. Her frame is curved. These signs of poisoning by strychnine are confirmed by the *post-mortem* examination. Suspicion at once falls upon Robert Greslou, who had been employed in the family as a tutor, and who had left the château, suddenly, on the night of the girl's death. A phial bearing no label, but containing a few drops of *nux vomica*, is found under her windows. A bottle, half-full of the same poison, is discovered in Greslou's room; and the village apothecary states that the young man had obtained it from him some six weeks before. A footman testifies that on the fatal night he had seen Greslou leaving her room. Others of the domestics allege that the relations between their young lady and the tutor, formerly somewhat intimate and confidential, had of late become manifestly strained. The ministers of criminal justice are led, by these and

other facts of a like kind, to conjecture that Greslou had fallen in love with Charlotte de Jussat, and that, finding his advances repelled, he had infused the poison into some medicine which the girl was to take at night, his object being to prevent her from marrying another man to whom she was betrothed. Greslou is arrested and committed for trial at the forthcoming assizes. In prison he refuses to answer any interrogatories, and spends his time chiefly in writing, and in reading the philosophical writings of M. André Sixte, of whose doctrines he is an enthusiastic disciple.

M. André Sixte, a recluse of fifty, lives, and has for years lived, in a quiet street of Paris near the Jardin des Plantes. He is what Rabelais would have called 'an abstractor of quintessences,' the whole formula of his life summed up in the one word *penser*. In the first of his works, *La Psychologie de Dieu*, which won him a European reputation, he directly attacks the most tremendous of metaphysical problems. His argument is that 'l'hypothèse-Dieu' is necessarily produced by the working of certain psychological laws, connected with certain cerebral modifications of a purely physical order. And this thesis he establishes, confirms, and develops with an atheistic bitterness which recalls the invectives of Lucretius. His other two books are *L'Anatomie de la Volonté* and *Une Théorie des Passions*, which latter work has had a greater *succès de scandale* than even *La Psychologie de Dieu*. The substance of their teaching is this: The human intellect is impotent to know causes and substances: it can do no more than co-ordinate phenomena. What is called the soul is only a group of these phenomena, and must be investigated according to the methods of physical science. The genesis of the forms of thought is explicable by the law of evolution. Our most refined sensations, our subtlest and most delicate moral emotions, as well as our most shameful turpitudes, are the ultimate outcome, the supreme metamorphosis, of the simplest instincts; and these are a mere transformation of the properties of the primitive cell. The moral universe is only the consciousness, pleasurable or painful, of the physical universe. In this connection the learned author is led to discuss the passion of love, on which subject he abounds to the extent of two hundred pages, 'd'une hardiesse presque plaisante sous la plume d'un homme très chaste, sinon vierge.' As might be expected, the most complete Determinism pervades the book. Liberty of volition, according to M. Sixte, is the greatest of illusions. Every act is but an addition. To say that it is free, is to say that there is more in a total than in the elements which compose it—an absurdity as great in psychology as in arithmetic. To the philosopher there is neither crime nor virtue. For our volitions are facts of a certain order, absolutely governed by certain laws, and nothing more.

Such is the philosophy to the elaboration of which M. Sixte

devotes his life; a life led with mechanical regularity and in absolute detachment from the ordinary interests and pursuits of men. Imagine the consternation and dismay of the *savant* when one afternoon a citation arrives, summoning him to appear, on the morrow, before the *juge d'instruction* for examination 'regarding certain facts and circumstances which will, in due time, be made known to him.' He has hardly recovered from the stupor into which he is plunged by this document when a card is brought, bearing the name of Madame veuve Greslou, and begging that he will receive her on the next afternoon, 'to talk with her regarding the crime of which her innocent son is falsely accused.' M. Sixte, who never looks into a newspaper, has not the least notion of what crime Robert Greslou is accused. All he knows of Robert Greslou is that a young man of that name had called upon him, about a year before, to express deep gratitude for his writings, and that he had been greatly struck by the erudition and power of reasoning displayed by his visitor, who had since addressed to him a few letters dealing entirely with philosophical questions. But what this can have to do with the crime of which Greslou is accused, passes M. Sixte's comprehension.

The next day M. Sixte presents himself at the Palais de Justice. When he is announced as in attendance the *juge d'instruction*, M. Valette, a magistrate of the new school, is conversing with a friend, a man about town, who is at once much interested.

'Hein! mon vieux Valette, en as-tu de la chance à causer avec cet homme-là? Tu connais son chapitre sur l'amour dans je ne sais plus quel bouquin. . . . Et voilà un lascar qui connait les femmes. Mais sur quoi, diable, as-tu à l'interroger?'

'Sur cette affaire Greslou,' dit le juge; 'il a beaucoup reçu le jeune homme, et la défense l'a cité comme témoin à décharge. On a lancé une commission rogatoire, rien que pour cela.'

'Quel dommage que je ne puisse pas le voir,' dit le autre.

'Ça te ferait plaisir? Rien de plus facile. Je vais le faire introduire. Tu t'en iras comme il entrera. . . . En tout cas c'est convenu, pour ce soir à huit heures, chez Durand, Gladys y sera?'

'Convenu. . . . Tu sais son dernier mot, à Gladys, comme nous reprochions devant elle à Christine de tromper Jacques: "Mais il faut bien qu'elle ait deux amants, puisqu'elle dépense par an le double de ce que chacun d'eux lui donne."'

'Ma foi,' dit Valette, 'je crois que celle-là en remontrerait sur la philosophie de l'amour à tous les Sixtes du monde et du demi-monde.'

The two friends laugh, and the *viveur* takes his leave as M. Sixte is introduced. M. Valette at once assumes his judicial manner. Man of pleasure as he is outside his court—'goûté dans le demi-monde, ami des hommes de cercle et de sport, émule des journalistes en plaisanteries'—he is an extremely able magistrate within it. The aspect of the timid, eccentric old man who stands before him, evidently most ill at ease, takes him aback for a moment. He had expected the author of the pungent passage in the *Théorie des Passions*,

which he had read with much gusto in certain reviews, to be a very different sort of person. However, he proceeds with his examination, and after a brief statement of the case existing against Robert Greslou, proceeds to question the *savant* as to his relations with the young man. M. Sixte replies that these relations were very slight, and were of a purely philosophical kind. The magistrate asks him to explain, if he can, certain expressions contained in a sort of Programme of Life found among the papers of the accused—for example, this: 'To multiply as much as possible psychological experiences.' In reply M. Sixte unfolds a portion of his *Theory of the Passions*. In physics, experimental knowledge means the power of reproducing at will such and such a phenomenon, on reproducing its conditions. Is a like procedure possible with regard to moral phenomena? He believes that it is. But the field for experimentation is too limited.

Suppose (he goes on, by way of illustration) the exact conditions of the genesis of any particular passion were accurately known. Well, if I wished to produce, at will, such a passion, in any particular subject, I should at once encounter insuperable difficulties from the existing legal and moral codes. Perhaps the time will come when these experiments will be possible. It is on children that we could best operate: but how difficult it is to make people understand what gain would accrue to science if we could impart systematically to children certain defects or certain vices.

M. Valette is taken aback by the calmness with which the philosopher expresses this opinion. He explains that he speaks as a psychologist. The magistrate replies that such materialistic doctrines have doubtless had much to do with the destruction of all moral sense in the accused. M. Sixte rejoins,—not very conclusively perhaps—that he cannot be called a materialist, as he does not pretend to know what matter is. He adds, in a tone of deep conviction, 'It is absurd to hold a philosophical doctrine responsible for the interpretations put upon it by a badly balanced brain; you might as well blame the chemist who invented dynamite for the crimes perpetrated by means of that substance.'

In the afternoon Robert Greslou's mother comes to see the *savant*. She speaks of her boy's innocent childhood and pious youth, and of the change wrought in him by the study of M. Sixte's books. 'You have taken away his faith,' the poor woman sobs. 'Can it be that you have made him an assassin? No, it cannot be that. But he is your pupil. You are his master. He has a claim upon your help.' It was the second time in that day that this altogether new view of his responsibilities as a teacher rose before M. Sixte. Then Madame Greslou gives him a packet of papers, written by her son in prison, which she has promised to convey to the philosopher. On opening it M. Sixte finds a document with the title 'Mémoire sur moi-même,' followed by these words: 'I beg my dear master, M. Adrien Sixte,

to consider himself pledged to keep to himself these pages; or else to burn them, unread.' M. Sixte, after some hesitation, applies himself to the perusal of the manuscript.

The writer begins by an apology for placing this account of himself before his Master. His excuse is that between him and the philosopher there exists a tie which the world would not understand, but which is as close as it is adamantine. 'I have lived with your thoughts; and that so passionately, so completely, during this most decisive epoch of my existence! And now in the distress of my intellectual agony, I turn to you as the one being from whom I can expect, hope, implore, any help.' Not help to save him from the scaffold—no—but some word of sympathy, of confirmation, of consolation. He has not killed Mlle. de Jussat, but he has been very nearly concerned in the young lady's tragic end. And now remorse weighs upon him. Yes, remorse, although the doctrines which he has learnt from M. Sixte—doctrines grown into convictions now forming the very essence of his intellectual being—assure him that remorse is the most foolish of human illusions. Charlotte de Jussat had interested him by her grace and sweetness. 'Comme elle était jolie dans sa robe de drap clair, et fine, et presque idéale avec sa taille mince, son corsage frêle, son visage un peu long qu'éclairaient ses yeux d'un gris pensif! Elle ressemblait à une Madone de Memling, fervente, gracile et douloureuse.' She was a creature of almost morbid sensibility, which manifested itself sometimes by a slightly tremulous movement of the hands and the lips—those lovely lips where dwelt a goodness almost divine. He thought it would be an experiment rich in psychological interest to win her affections and to practise upon them. Did an inner voice ask him, Had he a right to treat the young girl as a mere subject of experiment? He replied, Yes, assuredly. Is it not irrefragable truth that might is the only limit of right? Has not M. Sixte written, irrefutably, concerning 'the duel of the sexes in love'? Is it not the law of the world that all existence is a conquest of the weak by the strong? the inevitable law, ruling in the moral as in the physical order? Are there not souls of prey as there are beasts of prey? Yes, there are, and his is one of them. And so he resolved to attempt her seduction.

Mais, oui, c'est bien ce que j'ai voulu—et je ne pouvais pas ne pas le vouloir—de séduire cet enfant, sans l'aimer, par pure curiosité de psychologue. La seule idée de diriger, à mon gré, les rouages subtils d'un cerveau de femme, toute cette horlogerie intellectuelle et sentimentale si compliquée et si tendue, me faisait me comparer à Claude Bernard, à Pasteur, à leurs élèves. Ces savants vivisectent des animaux. N'allais-je pas, moi, vivisecter longuement une âme?

I must leave those of my readers who will, to follow this history of the prolonged vivisection of a soul, told with rare power of morbid analysis in M. Bourget's admirably written pages. I hasten on to the *dénouement*. Robert Greslou succeeds too well in winning the affec-

tions of the young girl, who meanwhile is betrothed by her parents to a man of her own station, an eligible *parti*. She falls ill, and goes away for a time. When she returns to the château, Greslou finds that he is really enamoured of her: 'all lies and subtleties melted in the flame of passion, like lead in a brazier.' He is a prey to what he has learned to consider 'the malady of love,' and the instinct of destruction, so nearly allied, as M. Sixte has shown, to the sexual instinct, awakens in him. 'Je me rappelle,' he writes, 'des sensations tourbillonnantes, quelque chose de brûlant, de frénétique, d'intolérable, une terrassante névralgie de tout mon être intime, une lancination continue, et—grandissant, grandissant, grandissant toujours, le rêve d'en finir, un projet de suicide: cette idée de la mort sortie des profondeurs intimes de ma personne, cet obscur appétit du tombeau dont je me sentis possédé, comme d'une soif et d'une faim physiques.' He procures from the village chemist a bottle of strychnine. He writes a last note to Charlotte de Jussat, to tell her that at midnight he will drink the poison. A little before the hour strikes she enters his room. She entreats him to live. No, they will die together. He swears it. And she abandons herself to his passion. But when the moment for their suicide comes, his volition fails him. He will not give her the poison. She begs for it in vain, and leaves the room exclaiming, 'Mais m'avoir attirée dans ce piège ainsi! . . . Lâche! lâche! lâche!' A day or two afterwards Charlotte de Jussat finds means to read in his journal the account of how he has practised upon her, and to possess herself of some of the strychnine. She writes to her brother André, who is with his regiment, an account of what has occurred. Then she takes the poison and dies. Greslou is arrested, as we have already seen, on suspicion of her murder. At his trial André de Jussat appears, and tells the true tale of his sister's death. Greslou is acquitted, and places himself at Count André's disposal for such satisfaction as may be sought from him. 'No,' replies the Count; 'on ne se bat pas avec les hommes comme vous, on les exécute;' and drawing a revolver he shoots the wretched man dead.

And now let us turn to the philosopher poring over his disciple's manuscript. As he advances in it something of his inmost self seems to him soiled, corrupted, gangrened; so much of himself did he find in the young man: but a self united—by what mystery?—to the sentiments which he most detested in the world, to actions utterly remote from the pure and passionless tenour of his blameless life. And here let me quote an eloquent page of M. Bourget, to which no translation would do justice:—

Que de fois, pendant cette fin de février et dans les premiers jours de mars, il commença pour Robert Greslou des lettres qu'il se sentait incapable d'achever! Qu'avait-il à dire en effet à ce misérable enfant? Qu'il faut accepter l'inévitable dans le monde intérieur comme dans le monde extérieur, accepter son âme comme on accepte son corps? Oui, c'était là le résumé de toute sa philosophie. Mais cet

inévitable, c'était ici la plus hideuse corruption dans le passé et dans le présent. Conseiller à cet homme de s'accepter lui-même, avec toutes les scélératesses d'une nature pareille, c'était se faire le complice de cette scélératesse. Le blâmer? Au nom de quel principe l'eût-il fait, après avoir professé que la vertu et le vice sont des additions, le bien et le mal, des étiquettes sociales sans valeur, enfin que tout est nécessaire dans chaque détail de notre être, comme dans l'ensemble de l'univers? Quel conseil lui donner davantage pour l'avenir? Par quelles paroles empêcher que ce cerveau de vingt-deux ans fût ravagé d'orgueil et de sensualité, de curiosités malsaines et de dépravants paradoxes? Démontrerait-on à une vipère, si elle comprenait un raisonnement, qu'elle ne doit pas sécréter son venin? 'Pourquoi suis-je une vipère? . . .' répondrait-elle. Cherchant à préciser sa pensée par d'autres images empruntées à ses propres souvenirs, Adrien Sixte comparait le mécanisme mental, démonté devant lui par Robert Greslou, aux montres dont il regardait, tout petit, aller et venir les rouages sur l'établi paternel. Un ressort marche, un mouvement suit, puis un autre, un autre encore. Les aiguilles bougent. Qui enlèverait, qui toucherait seulement une pièce, arrêterait toute la montre. Changer quoi que ce fût dans une âme, ce serait arrêter la vie. Ah! Si le mécanisme pouvait de lui-même modifier ses rouages et leur marche! Si l'horloger reprenait la montre pour en refaire les pièces! Il y a des créatures qui reviennent du mal au bien, qui tombent et se relèvent, qui déchoient et se reconstituent dans leur moralité. Oui, mais il y faut l'illusion du repentir qui suppose l'illusion de la liberté et celle d'un juge, d'un père céleste. Pouvait-il, lui, Adrien Sixte, écrire au jeune homme: 'Repentez-vous,' quand, sous sa plume de négateur systématique, ce mot signifiait: 'Cessez de croire à ce que je vous ai démontré comme vrai'? et pourtant c'est affreux de voir une âme mourir sans rien essayer pour elle. Arrivé à ce point de sa méditation, le penseur se sentait acculé à l'insoluble problème, à cet inexpliqué de la vie de l'âme, aussi désespérant pour un psychologue que l'inexpliqué de la vie du corps pour un physiologiste. L'auteur du livre sur Dieu, et qui avait écrit cette phrase: 'Il n'y a pas de mystère, il n'y a que des ignorances . . .' se refusait à cette contemplation de l'au-delà qui, montrant un abîme derrière toute réalité, amène la Science à s'incliner devant l'énigme et à dire un 'Je ne sais pas, je ne saurai jamais,' qui permet à la Religion d'intervenir. Il sentait son incapacité à rien faire pour cette âme en détresse, et qu'elle avait besoin d'un secours qui fût, pour tout dire, surnaturel. Mais de prononcer seulement une pareille formule lui semblait, d'après ses idées, aussi fou que de mentionner la quadrature du cercle ou d'attribuer trois angles droits à un triangle.

So much must suffice to convey some account of this singularly powerful work. That its pages are wholly free from stains I by no means assert. And I regret the more that I am unable to make the assertion, because the crudities of description which here and there occur, serve neither to point the moral nor to adorn the tale. I would add that in my judgment they proceed not from excess of imagination, but from defect of it. It is the very office of the imaginative faculty to *suggest*. Minute literal description and hard analysis are foreign from it. French novelists—it is a fault common to wellnigh all of them—seem to suppose that no one will understand the thing to be impressed, unless he is taken by the throat, so to speak, and made to look at it by force. But the general scope and aim of this new book of M. Bourget appear to me worthy of no less praise than its workmanship. In his dedicatory preface—a singular and impressive document, well deserving attentive perusal—

he tells us that *Le Disciple* is a study of one of the responsibilities of men of letters. He has aimed at showing how the philosophic nihilism of a popular and influential school works in practice. Now to this treatment of his subject exception may be taken on two grounds. In the first place, it may be said that the function of the novel is not didactic. Well, I admit that the ethical reflections of novelists are often as little founded upon the story—I suppose a genuine story-teller—as are the dull prosings of too many a preacher upon the text which he has never understood. I allow, or rather I maintain, that to convert the novel into a moral sermon dealing, as sermons too often do, with *individua vaga*, with untrue types, is fatally to pervert it from its true use. But certainly the novelist, like the dramatist, is concerned not only with the external incidents of the lives of men, but with their inner springs of action. The great majority of people are quite incapable of understanding a principle until its light falls upon a fact. And it is chiefly for that great majority that the novelist writes. Again, it may be said that M. Bourget's exhibition—even if true—of the practical working of philosophic nihilism is no argument against the truth of that doctrine; that consequences are the scarecrows of fools. To which I reply that only a fool will lose sight of consequences, and that a doctrine, like a tree, may be judged by its fruits. A *reductio ad absurdum* is a good logical process. Why? Because man consists in reason. And so does the world external to the human mind. There are mysteries everywhere, and locked doors. But that is not contradiction or unreason. The more closely the material universe is examined, the more clearly is it seen to be everywhere intelligible. It is cosmos, not chaos. Reason everywhere, in the microcosm of the leaf, and in the macrocosm of the fixed stars, and in the mind of man—such is the most certain of all certitudes. And a philosophy which makes unreason the last word is self-condemned.

W. S. Lilly.

LABOUR DISPUTES AND THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

I VENTURE to prophesy that the above title will at once provoke the remark from many readers of this Review that 'It is much better for employers and employed to settle their differences between themselves without outside interference.' After forty years' experience as an employer of labour both in this and in other countries, I emphatically approve that sentiment. Nevertheless, outside interference of every possible kind in labour disputes is now the almost universal rule, and its evils will not be diminished by a mere 'do nothing' policy. I submit that it is only by organised efforts that a better system can be made to prevail. As Chairman of the Labour Conciliation Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce, I am about to offer some explanation of a proposed organisation, by which it is hoped that employers and employed in the various trades carried on in the metropolis may be brought together, on equal terms, and on neutral ground, for the purpose of avoiding or settling labour disputes so far as it may be possible, upon the basis, and in the spirit, of an ordinary commercial bargain.

A few words as to the constitution and objects of the London Chamber of Commerce itself may not be inappropriate. It is composed of a number of trade sections, who meet independently to discuss and promote the interests of their particular trades; and of a council, or governing body, who discuss questions upon which it may be deemed desirable that the united action of the Chamber should be exercised, whether on behalf of particular trade interests, or for the support and furtherance of measures important to the whole commercial community. The council is composed, partly of members elected at the annual meetings of the Chamber, partly of the chairmen of various trade sections, and a few distinguished persons who have seats on the council *ex officio*. It is not difficult to trace a resemblance, but with a difference, between the labours of such a body and the functions formerly exercised by the great craftsmen's and mercantile guilds of London and other cities. But 'the old order changeth.' The ancient trade guilds, with their splendid traditions, have suffered atrophy of the organs which performed the functions for whose exercise such guilds were created. The fact that, not only in London

but in all the large cities of the kingdom, Chambers of Commerce have sprung into vigorous and useful existence, is a sufficient proof that the interests of commerce and manufactures necessitate co-operation and organisation on the part of traders.

'*Mind your own business! and do not interfere unnecessarily with that of other people*,' is the keynote of commercial prosperity, and, I may almost add, of commercial rectitude, and it is wholesome to apply this adage to labour questions especially. Had the Chamber of Commerce any *business* to interfere in such a question as labour conciliation? Up to last autumn it had given no special attention to this subject. Recent experience has, however, brought into fresh prominence the well-known fact, that, of all the varied negotiations which affect the interests of commerce, there are none of more vital importance than the bargains between Capital and Labour, which must of necessity be from time to time renewed and modified. And the extent to which the direct business interests of the 3,000 firms and members of the London Chamber of Commerce were interfered with by the strike of the dock labourers, and by the many strikes and lock-outs which followed, was brought home in a very vivid manner to the attention of the Council.

It is absolutely beyond the scope and intention of this paper to express any opinion upon the merits of the original dispute between the dock directors and their labourers. The strikes spread from the docks to the wharves, and to numerous other industries. It was a marked feature of this period of civil war, that many employers, who had no disputes with their workmen, or who had conceded all their demands, were as severely punished as those who held out. Banners were borne in the daily processions of the strikers, with inscriptions to the effect that their bearers had no dispute with their employers, but that they had struck '*on principle*.' The position of the ordinary merchant was as serious as that of the direct employer of labour. He could not fulfil his commercial engagements, as he was unable to procure delivery of goods either from dock, wharf, granary, or ship. Orders were countermanded or placed abroad, ships ordered to other, and in some instances to foreign, ports. The paralysis not only of trade in general, but even of supplies of food from abroad, could hardly have been much greater, for the time being, if a hostile fleet had held triumphant possession of the mouth of the Thames. The Council of the Chamber was overwhelmed with applications, remonstrances, and suggestions, and was urged to take some action in view of a calamity so far-spreading in its consequences. At an early period of the difficulty, it sent a communication in identical terms to the dock directors and to the Dockers' Union, suggesting the adoption of some form of arbitration. From both sides this suggestion met with a polite refusal, and with this exception the Chamber has never interfered, or suggested interference, in any labour dispute until after

receiving a direct and formal application from one or both of the parties immediately concerned.

After the settlement of the dock dispute by the intervention of his Eminence Cardinal Manning and the Mansion House Committee, the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to examine the whole question of labour conciliation and arbritration, with instructions to report as to the advisability of devising some scheme for the better settlement of labour disputes in the metropolis. Of this Committee I was elected chairman, and it fell to my lot to draft a scheme for the consideration of my colleagues and of the Council. It was with the deepest sense of anxiety and of grave responsibility that the committee commenced its labours, which have proved to be of an arduous nature. With some special means of information, we could realise the magnitude of the injury, some of it of a permanent character, which the commerce of London had sustained. Loss of trade in the City means also destitution in the East End, where *trade* spells *existence*. For nowhere on this planet is there crowded together so enormous a number of human beings absolutely dependent upon trade as in London. Their number increases constantly; and if the trade which supports labour fails to increase as constantly, misery and starvation ensue.

As a remedy for the evils resulting from strikes and lock-outs, *the intervention of the Legislature* is frequently recommended. The London Chamber of Commerce has been complimented by ministers of the Crown, including the Premier, for its assistance in advising upon, and promoting, useful measures of commercial legislation. Should it endeavour to promote legislation on the subject of labour disputes? From this point of view the retrospect is peculiarly discouraging. From the fourteenth up to the end of the last century there have been reiterated attempts in this country to fix wages by parliamentary or official regulations, all of which have proved mischievous and ineffectual. The first 'Statute of Labourers' was passed in 1349, in the reign of Edward the Third, fixing wages at the rates prevailing twenty years previously. But even during the feudal period, and amongst the sparse population of that time, it would appear that the mailed hand of the greatest of the Plantagenets was not heavy enough to enforce such provisions. We find two other statutes during his reign, and one in that of his successor, repeating similar enactments, with more stringent penalties, and affording evidence that previous Acts had not been obeyed. In 1389 an Act was passed which, instead of fixing rates of wages, enjoined justices of the peace to settle and proclaim them. By the 6th Henry VI., the 2nd and 3rd Henry VII., and the 6th Henry VIII., wages were alternately fixed by statute, or by the decisions of the justices, the continual changes showing that

neither system was satisfactory. The 'Statute of Labourers' of 5th Queen Elizabeth abolished all preceding labour Acts, fixed the hours of labour with great minuteness, and empowered the justices in session to make rates of wages. The 1st James I. confirms the Act of Queen Elizabeth, and extends its operation to all labourers, weavers, spinsters (*sic*), and workmen whatsoever. *Giving or receiving more or less* than the fixed rate is declared to be an offence. Opinions are divided as to the causes leading to the failure of these enactments; some authorities ascribing the mischief which ensued to the attempts at enforcing them, others to the negligence of the justices in carrying out their provisions. The truth would probably exist between the two contentions. It would have been impossible to carry out the enactments effectually, but they would afford occasion for an enormous amount of petty and corrupt tyranny. The evil effects of this mass of legislation, bristling as it did with cruel penalties, are almost incalculable. In 1796 occurs the last serious effort recorded in our statutes to fix officially that which *can never be enforced officially, except amongst a nation of slaves.* Justices were ordered to fix a *natural rate of wages*, regard being had to the price of necessaries, and to the size of the labourer's family, and in cases where the labourer was not receiving wages equal to the computation of a *natural rate*, the difference was to be made up out of the Poor Rates. The disastrous consequences of this absurd Act exemplify almost every kind of blunder which can be perpetrated by a neglect of the proved teachings of political economy. The employer was encouraged to screw down the rate of wages, and to throw part of his duties on the ratepayers, whilst the labourer was pauperised and his independence destroyed. The healthy instinct of migration from centres of congested population to districts where labour was in brisker demand was discouraged. This Act was swept away in 1834, but I am old enough to remember conversations with 'rude forefathers of the hamlet,' who are now in their graves in certain country villages, and although the conversations took place in my youth, and some twelve or fourteen years after the old system was done away with, they have fixed upon my mind a lifelong impression of the demoralisation and nameless evils which such legislation produces.

If the labour legislation of the present century has been infinitely more successful than that of the preceding five hundred years, it is due to the fact that it has been mainly occupied in obliterating and destroying official interference with the bargains between adult workmen and their employers, and the doing away with restrictions to legitimate rights of combination. A recent utterance of Mr. Bradlaugh expresses an enlightened conclusion, when he says, '*that Parliament should only interfere in industrial pursuits of adults where necessary to protect life or limb, including in this sanitary legisla-*

tion.' Attempts have been made, and are still proposed, to fix the rate of wages by courts of arbitration, with compulsory powers. The 'Act to establish equitable councils of conciliation' of 1867, and the 'arbitration (masters and workmen) Act' of 1872 have been inoperative to enforce any awards as to future rates of wages; and the reason is obvious. If a workman engages himself for a week, or for a month, at a fixed rate, he is bound to that agreement by ordinary law. What more could be done by an arbitration court with compulsory powers? Some workmen may be engaged by the month, and more by the week, but most are engaged by the day or even by the hour. Would it be possible to fix, for any period in advance, the wages at which a man should be compelled to work, without at the same time engaging his services for the whole of that period? Or would it be possible to compel him to work at any particular trade, or at any particular place, unless he voluntarily engaged to do so? What is true of one man is true of any combination of workmen. By the Trades Union Acts of 1871 and 1876 the law of conspiracy is altered in favour of labour combinations, and anything in that connection which one workman might legally do, any number are empowered to do, 'even in restraint of trade.' It appeared therefore to our committee, that no legislation which would be likely to be enforced in this country could prevent strikes or lock-outs, and that any attempt to procure compulsory powers for courts of arbitration or conciliation would be extremely undesirable. Our attention was, however, called to the *Conseil des Prudhommes* in Paris, as a successful instance of such powers being exercised. But the *Conseils des Prudhommes* never attempt to fix the future rates of wages, they only adjudicate upon disputes arising out of existing contracts.

A study of the attempts which have been made at *conciliation on the voluntary principle* proves much more encouraging. In 1860 a Labour Conciliation Board for the hosiery trade, due to the initiative of Mr. Mundella, was established at Nottingham. A similar board for the lace trade was established in the same town, and the movement spread to Leicester and Derby. In 1869 the system was introduced at Darlington, with marked success, into a much larger industry, that of manufactured iron; the iron trade in South Staffordshire, South Wales, and in Scotland, and the Cleveland Ironstone Mines followed the example. In the Staffordshire potteries, in the chemical trades of Northumberland and Durham, and in various collieries, different systems of arbitration were adopted. The history of this movement down to the year 1876, accompanied by most practical and pregnant commentaries and suggestions, will be found in a book written by Mr. Henry Crompton, called *Industrial Conciliation*;[1] and to this source I owe much of my information as

[1] For the perusal of this book, which is now out of print, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. C. J. Drummond, the able Secretary of the London Society of Com-

to these earlier attempts at voluntary boards. From 1876 to the present time the progress of the principle has been steady and continuous, although chequered by some disappointments and failures. In a letter written to me by Mr. James Laing, of Sunderland, in February last are the following words: 'I have the pleasure to send herewith a copy of the rules of the board of conciliation for the Wear shipbuilding trade, which have worked very well. We have not had a strike since the board was established, although there have been very many changes in the rates of wages, both as regards reductions and advances.'

Mr. Laing is the chairman of this board, which has now been in existence for about six years. Nor is this the only testimony to the loyalty of the workmen in keeping to their engagements. There is abundant and encouraging evidence that in the great majority of cases the men have adhered to the awards or decisions of the boards, even under circumstances of trial and difficulty. The 'joint committees' of the North of England Coal Trade Association, composed half of owners, half of workmen, have now been in existence for more than ten years, and have proved to be exceedingly useful, although disputes have not in all cases been avoided. In Belgium, a successful attempt at the establishment of councils of conciliation has been made at the extensive collieries of Mariemont and Bascoup, by M. Julien Weiler, engineer and manager of those mines. M. Weiler has been so obliging as to send me three most interesting[2] pamphlets, which contain descriptions of his experiences and aspirations. He has also translated into French the work of Mr. Crompton.

After mature consideration of the foregoing, and many other sources of information, my committee came to the unanimous conclusion that the establishment in London of some organisation for conciliation on the voluntary principle was desirable. A collation of the rules of the most successful conciliation boards of the North, and elsewhere, showed that no two of them were identical in their organisation. Careful note having been taken of the leading principles which commended themselves as worthy of imitation, it became evident that, with its vast population, its exceptionally numerous industries (estimated at between 600 and 700) and the great interdependence of various crafts upon each other, London would require a special organisation suited to its unique conditions. And it was at once felt that it would be both imprudent and futile to launch any scheme attempting to deal with so complex a problem, without availing ourselves, by the most careful and painstaking inquiry, of the opinions of those whose future co-operation would be indispensable. A long

positors. It is much to be desired that a new edition should be published, with information brought down to the present date.

[2] (1) *Arbitrage et Conciliation entre Patrons et Ouvriers*; (2) *La Grève de Mariemont, et les Conseils de Conciliation et d'Arbitrage*; (3) *Rapport sur les Travaux de l'Année 1889, des Conseils de Conciliation et d'Arbitrage des Mines de Bascoup.*

series of personal interviews and considerable correspondence commenced with the principal leaders of the working men, with authorities on labour movements, and with all the trade unions of London, with various trades sections of the Chamber itself, with the other Chambers of Commerce of the kingdom, and with the heads of great industries carried on in the metropolis. We also obtained the opinions of the principal working men's clubs through their federative councils, as well as by procuring discussions at their debating clubs, and by addressing them at public meetings. It was with sincere gratification that we found a strong consensus of opinion in favour of our principal propositions, on the part of nearly all the experts with whom we came in personal contact. Finally our scheme, drafted for the approval of the Council, was accepted unanimously by that body, and approved at a general meeting of the Chamber. At the annual meeting of the associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, I had the honour of explaining the scheme, and, after a discussion upon the relative merits of compulsory arbitration and voluntary conciliation, the voluntary principle, upon the motion of the Aberdeen and the London Chambers, was unanimously adopted by the association.

An abstract of the scheme itself is added in an appendix to the present paper. The following is a brief explanation of its principal features.

Each trade in London is invited to form *a separate conciliation committee*, in connection with the London Chamber of Commerce, whose rooms and secretariat will be at its disposal. It is believed that this arrangement for a neutral ground where meetings can be held is of great practical importance. This committee, consisting entirely of experts in the particular trade, will be composed of equal numbers of employers and employed, who will be elected by their respective orders, with full liberty of choice as to methods of election. The rules of procedure will be left to each committee to determine for itself, subject only to a few guiding regulations which stipulate for perfect equality of representation and of voting power. It is to such a body that any dispute in its own particular trade will be submitted, provided that both parties voluntarily agree so to do. And as most disputes of any great importance affect the whole of a trade, there will be thus provided a means of amicably discussing any grievance, or proposed change of conditions, before the acute crisis is reached of a strike or lock-out.

This is the main feature of the scheme, and it is hoped that these *trade conciliation committees* will be of important service in peaceably arranging most of the questions which are brought before them, without any outside interference whatsoever. And having in view the important results which have already been achieved by similar agencies in the North and elsewhere, I submit that the hope is neither impractical nor over-sanguine.

There may, however, be cases where the trade conciliation committee may fail to arrange a dispute, and for this and for other objects further machinery is provided. A central body will also be formed, to be called *The London Conciliation Board*. It will be composed of twelve representatives of labour, elected by the working men's organisations, and of twelve representatives of capital, to be appointed by the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce. Each trade conciliation committee, so soon as it is formed, will also send representatives to this board, and a few members are to be added, who will sit, *ex officio*, by virtue of their occupation of certain offices of importance. The London Conciliation Board, like the separate trades committees, will contain representatives of capital and labour, in exactly equal numbers, and with equal voting powers, and it is hoped that all the principal trades of London may, in course of time, be represented thereon. To this board will be referred any case which a trade conciliation committee may have been unable to settle the procedure will be by way of discussion, advice, and conciliation generally. I have pointed out the great interdependence of the trades of London. It is not an unwholesome provision that a trade having a quarrel which has proved too obstinate for its own committee to settle, should have its dispute discussed by men of other trades. Some of them, although no parties to the original dispute, may be deeply affected by an outbreak of hostilities; a stoppage of work in one trade frequently paralyses several others. Finally, if the board should be unable to reconcile the dispute, it will recommend and offer facilities for arbitration in the last resort; and should this be refused, the disputants would still retain all their rights to become belligerents.

Such, in brief outline, is the scheme proposed by the London Chamber of Commerce. It will be seen that submission to conciliation or arbitration will in all cases be voluntary. The conditions are elastic enough to offer facilities for one trade after another to affiliate itself to the organisation at any moment, and to make those special regulations for itself which may best suit its particular case. The sympathy of the public is an enormous factor in the issues of a labour contest; it is sometimes extended to one side, sometimes to the other. Is it not desirable that the public sentiment should be enlisted decidedly on the side of peace? Has not the whole community a right to ask, and a duty to perform in asking, of each belligerent in such contests, the important question, 'Have you exhausted all efforts for arriving at an amicable settlement, before you proceed to hostilities?'

Two principal impediments obstruct the progress of all plans for labour conciliation. The first is the distrust entertained by the workmen, which, however, I have most encouraging evidence to believe is rapidly diminishing. The second, is the great reluctance

which some employers still feel at recognising the trades-union leaders as representatives of the men. In many trades in London this feeling has long ceased to exist, and employers have made arrangements with the unions from time to time as a matter of course, with great advantage to both sides. But there are many employers who still retain the old feeling respecting the unions. The objection is historic, and impeded the first attempts at peaceful solutions of the labour problem. Mr. Mundella, in alluding to this difficulty, says, 'the very men that the manufacturers dreaded were the men that were sent to represent the workmen at the Board of Conciliation. We found them the most straightforward men we could have to deal with,' &c.[3] As a 'modern instance' amongst many others, M. Julien Weiler, who has been already alluded to, as introducing the English methods of conciliation into Belgium, laments the absence of trades-unions in his district, and strongly advocates their establishment and multiplication. Coming from a large employer of labour, in a country where the influences prompting and accompanying strikes are more violent and unscrupulous than in England, this opinion of a practical man who thoroughly understands the subject is pertinent and suggestive. It is unwise to indulge prejudices as to institutions which are now fully acknowledged by law. It is neither generous nor just to ignore the moral right of workmen to combine for the furtherance of their interests, within fair and legitimate limits.

In these combinations the workmen are further advanced than the employers. But it has been clearly pointed out, by the leaders of the workmen themselves, that the continued growth of trades-unions must inevitably lead to corresponding associations on the part of employers. Are we, then, to have a series of rival camps, in which, during ever-shortening periods of peace, each party will regard the other with ever-growing distrust and suspicion, whilst forging weapons for constantly impending war? If this be the outlook, alas for the future of England! It is no longer a question of her 'commercial supremacy;' it is a question of her power to feed her children, who depend on trade, and largely on foreign trade under competitive conditions, for their daily bread. I cannot but think that a momentous crisis in industrial relations has been arrived at. If the associations on both sides are not careful to arrange for co-operation and mutual good understanding, the results will be disastrous. If better counsels prevail, these organisations can be made productive of the highest usefulness, and each trade which possesses a trades-union and an employers' association will be in the best possible position for forming a Trade Conciliation Committee. It is in this way that the Durham Coalowners' Association and the Miners' Association combine to form their 'Miners' Joint Committee.'

[3] Henry Crompton, *Industrial Conciliation*, p. 42.

The Conciliation Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce was formed, not for the purpose of *administering* conciliation, but of *constructing* a scheme, and organising its practical development. Some misunderstanding has arisen on this head. It will be sufficient for my purpose to record the fact, that the permanent committees and board are at present in course of formation, but are not yet in existence. So soon as the new bodies are formed, my committee will be dissolved. During the progress of our constructive labours, however, we have had so many applications for assistance in labour disputes, that the Council of the Chamber advised and authorised us to render such help as we could afford when directly applied to, but in no case to proffer our assistance unasked—a rule which we have strictly adhered to. In some cases one side has applied, whilst the other has declined. In two instances both parties agreed to meet, but the employers objected to meet particular officers of the men's union. It is hardly necessary to say that in such cases the negotiations were fruitless. But in cases where each side has agreed to meet the delegates chosen by the other, I am glad to say that we have had no failure in effecting satisfactory arrangements, and that bargains entered into have been loyally kept.

The process in such cases has always been that so graphically described in the North as '*the long jaw*.' The delegates on both sides, thoroughly acquainted with the subject, have discussed and threshed out each item in turn, sometimes conferring with each other *sotto voce*. When an agreement was finally arrived at, it was decided by acclamation; a vote was never taken. I am bound to say that the chairman has never had the slightest difficulty in maintaining the order and amenities of the proceedings, and his suggestions have always been cheerfully responded to. Notes have been taken by a shorthand writer, and an agreement, *carefully worded, with all requisite business details*, has been drawn up in the presence of the parties, and revised and signed by them. A most essential and important part of the duties appertaining to labour conciliation consists in very painstaking attention to this last point. I think that we may claim our experience in the practical work of settling labour disputes as a confirmation in every respect of the theory which underlies the plan proposed by the Chamber. Some important lessons have been learned, some tests have been applied to our system, and we have had the satisfaction of restoring a large number of workmen to their occupations, and of enabling their employers to resume their suspended operations.

I have read with great interest the paper of Mr. Tom Mann which appeared in the May number of this Review. The greater part of that paper is taken up with matter, some of which is most admirable, although other portions may be objected to by political economists. I refrain, however, from straying outside the limits to which I have

confined myself in the present article. But with regard to his allusions to labour conciliation, Mr. Mann will not, I am sure, object to a few friendly words from me. I hail with satisfaction his appreciation of the good intentions of the London Chamber of Commerce, and his conviction that some such scheme is desirable, and that the Chamber might, with advantage, provide a final Court of Appeal. But he goes on to state his 'want of complete confidence in committees arranged by an outside machinery, unnecessarily elaborate, and likely to be handled by men who, through lack of experience in labour difficulties, would increase, rather than lessen, the friction they seek to avert.' And he remarks that the union of which he is chairman 'would far rather deal direct with a committee of dock directors, wharfingers, and granary-keepers, than they would conduct negotiations through the medium of another committee not directly representing the interests at stake.'

If Mr. Mann's objections, as above quoted, apply to the scheme of the London Chamber of Commerce, they are written under a complete misunderstanding of the scheme itself. Were his trades-union to join our organisation, it would be invited to form a conciliation committee under the precise conditions which he desires, and to deal direct with the dock directors, wharfingers, and granary-keepers. There would be no 'other committee,' through whose medium they would have to conduct negotiations. I ask him to refer to the rules at the end of this article, to the explanation thereof which I have given, and to the letter addressed to the London Trades Council, of which a copy is annexed. By virtue of his remarks quoted above, I claim Mr. Mann as a fellow-worker whose whole influence should be exerted in support of our scheme.

In conclusion, I would add that we have already received the support of a considerable number of employers of labour, and of twenty-five trades-unions. After allowing for all shortcomings, I hope that I may have convinced my readers that those who proposed the scheme herein described are not visionary enthusiasts—

> Bound to abolish original sin
> By a Bill that will bring the Millennium in—

but practical men, who have made an earnest endeavour to contribute, however humbly, towards the solution of a problem important beyond most others to the vital interests of society.

S. B. BOULTON,
Chairman of the Conciliation Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce.

APPENDIX.

London Chamber of Commerce (Incorporated),
Botolph House, Eastcheap, E.C.,
April 10th, 1890.

To the Chairman of the Meeting of the London Trades Council.

DEAR SIR,—As I hear that the Labour Conciliation Scheme of the London Chamber of Commerce will probably be discussed by your Council this evening, may I ask that the following brief explanation may be read at your meeting?

Our Chamber has already been asked to assist in settling several labour disputes, and its efforts have not been without some success, especially in the case of Oliver's Wharf, and in that between the Bargemen of the Medway and the Cement Manufacturers, but the scheme will not be in proper working order until the representative working men have joined the organisation.

OF WHAT DOES THE SCHEME CONSIST?

1. Its most important feature is that every trade in London is invited to form a Conciliation Committee of its own particular trade, half of employers, half of employed—to whom any labour dispute in that particular trade may be submitted if the disputants so desire. It is believed that in most instances such disputes may be arranged by amicable discussion between men practically acquainted with the trades, without outside interference.

But if the Trade Committee cannot settle the dispute, the disputants will have the advantage of referring it to the Conciliation Board, a body composed half of working-men representatives, half of representatives of capital, and upon which, it is hoped, will sit members of the principal trades of London. This Board will endeavour to arrange disputes referred to them, by discussion, conciliation, and advice. If unsuccessful in arriving at a settlement by these means, it will then recommend and assist in promoting arbitration, but a resort to arbitration will in no case be compulsory.

3. Both on the Trade Committees, and also upon the Board, the representatives of labour will be elected or appointed by the working men of London in the manner which they, through their various organisations, may themselves decide upon.

4. The rooms of the London Chamber of Commerce will afford neutral ground for the meetings of the committees and of the board, to which employers and employed will have equal right of access.

5. No scheme of such importance as the one now proposed can be expected to be perfect in the first instance, but any imperfections which it may now contain can be remedied by the light of experience and by friendly co-operation.

A few last remarks as to Chambers of Commerce. They have long existed in this country, and their main object is to maintain, to increase, and to promote the prosperity of the trade of Great Britain. That object is of vital importance to every working man; the greater the trade, the greater the demand for labour. Up to the present time, however, whilst those trading in most of the principal commodities dealt with by the commerce of this country have taken an interest in Chambers of Commerce, men who supply the labour indispensable to commercial prosperity have taken no part in connection with such bodies. Workmen are now asked to represent labour and to assist in the endeavour to remove some of its difficulties, in friendly co-operation with the Chamber of Commerce of this great trading city. They can, at least, lose nothing by trying the experiment.

It is proposed by the London Chamber of Commerce in good faith and in sincere hope that it will tend to remove difficulties and to promote amity and goodwill between those who cannot prosper without the aid of each other.

Yours faithfully,

S. B. BOULTON,
Chairman of the Conciliation Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce.

Adopted at a Special Meeting of the Council, and Council of Reference, of the London Chamber of Commerce, on Thursday, the 6th February, 1890.

ADJUSTMENT OF LABOUR DISPUTES.

REPORT OF THE LABOUR CONCILIATION COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL OF THE LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

YOUR Committee has endeavoured to devise some practical methods for carrying out the scheme contained in the Interim Report provisionally adopted by the Council on the 12th December.

The Committee offers the following suggestions:—

I. That a permanent body be constituted, to be called 'The London Conciliation Board,' which shall be affiliated to the London Chamber of Commerce, and that its composition shall be as follows, viz.:—

(*a*) Twelve members representing Capital or Employers, to be elected by the Council of the Chamber.

(*b*) Twelve members representing Labour, to be elected by the employed.

(*c*) To these shall be added representatives from the separate Trade Conciliation Committees as hereinafter referred to.

(*d*) The body thus constituted shall add to their number six other members, who, from their position, authority, or experience, may be useful in promoting the objects of the London Conciliation Board, three to be appointed by the Labour representatives on the Board, and three by the representatives of Capital.

(*e*) Four members, viz. the Lord Mayor of London, or some member of the Corporation to be nominated by him, the Chairman of the London County Council, or some member of the Council to be nominated by him, two representatives of London Labour Organisations, to be selected by the Labour Representatives on the Board.

The elections shall take place every three years, and the first election shall take place on the

II. The duties of the London Conciliation Board shall be as follows:—

(*a*) To promote amicable methods of settling labour disputes and the prevention of strikes and lock-outs generally, and also especially in the following methods:—

1. They shall, in the first instance, invite both parties to the dispute to a friendly conference with each other; offering the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce as a convenient place of meeting. Members of the Board can be present at this conference, or otherwise, at the pleasure of the disputants.

2. In the event of the disputants not being able to arrive at a settlement between themselves, they shall be invited to lay their respective cases before the Board, with a view to receiving their advice, mediation, or assistance. Or, should the disputants prefer it, the Board would assist them in selecting arbitrators, to whom the questions at issue might be submitted for decision.

3. The utmost efforts of the Board shall, in the meantime, and in all cases, be exerted to prevent, if possible, the occurrence or continuance of a strike or lock-out until after all attempts at conciliation shall have been exhausted.

The London Conciliation Board shall not constitute itself a body of Arbitrators

except at the express desire of both parties to a dispute, to be signified in writing, but shall in preference, should other methods of conciliation fail, offer to assist the disputants in the selection of arbitrators chosen either from its own body or otherwise. Any dispute coming before the Board shall, in the first instance, be referred to a Conciliation Committee of the particular trade to which the disputants belong, should such a Committee have been formed and affiliated to the Chamber.

(*b*) To collect information as to the wages paid and other conditions of labour prevailing in other places where trades or industries similar to those of London are carried on, and especially as regards localities either in the United Kingdom or abroad where there is competition with the trade of London. Such information shall be especially placed at the disposal of any disputants who may seek the assistance of the London Conciliation Board.

III. The separate Trade Conciliation Committees shall be composed of equal numbers of employers and of employed.

Each trade shall elect its own representatives, employers and employed voting separately for the election of their respective representatives. The number of members and the general rules of procedure shall be determined by each particular trade, subject to the approval of the London Conciliation Board.

The Trade Conciliation Committees shall be affiliated to the London Chamber of Commerce, and shall be represented upon the London Conciliation Board. Any Trade Conciliation Committee constituted as above, representing a body or trade in the Metropolitan districts of more than 1,000 individuals, shall send two representatives to sit on the London Conciliation Board, one being an employer and the other an operative workman, each to be separately elected by employers and employed respectively. In the case of Trade Conciliation Committees representing bodies or trades in the Metropolitan districts smaller in number than 1,000 individuals, two or more such committees may unite together to elect joint representatives to the London Conciliation Board.

It shall be the duty of the Trade Conciliation Committees to discuss matters of contention in their respective trades; to endeavour amicably to arrange the same, and in general to promote the interests of their trade by discussion and mutual agreement. In the event of their not being able to arrange any particular dispute, they will refer the same to the London Conciliation Board, and in the meantime use their most strenuous endeavours to prevent any strike or lock-out until after the London Conciliation Board shall have exhausted all reasonable means of settlement.

They may from time to time consider and report to the London Conciliation Board upon any matter affecting the interests of their particular trade upon which it may be thought desirable to employ the action or influence of the London Chamber of Commerce as a body.

IV. The London Chamber of Commerce places its rooms at the disposition of the London Conciliation Board and of the Trade Conciliation Committees for holding their meetings. Any alterations in the rules and regulations of these bodies which may be from time to time proposed shall be submitted for approval to the Council of the Chamber.

V. The above regulations shall be subject to bye-laws, to be specially framed for the purpose, and which shall be open to amendment as required from time to time, on agreement between the Council of the Chamber of Commerce and the London Conciliation Board.

THE STORY OF A CONSPIRATOR.

(*Concluded.*)

We left Wolfe Tone in the spring of 1793 damning the Catholic bishops, and cursing the great majority of their flocks, because they were accepting—as at least a long step in the right direction—the great measure of relief which abolished the old penal code, admitted them almost completely to civil equality, and, even as regards political power, opened to them the citadel of the constitution in the possession of the elective franchise. We have seen him furious and desperate because all parties in the Irish Parliament were practically unanimous in arming the Government with all necessary powers for the suppression of revolutionary conspiracies. We have seen him recording in his private memoranda his hopes for the defeat of the British armies, and for the opportunity it might afford of securing the invasion of his native country by a force of ten thousand Jacobins.

From this date we lose for some time the benefit of those private journals which we have seen casting such a clear though lurid light on the habits, on the manners, and on the designs of those who, under his leadership, were to regenerate society in Ireland. His son tells us that these journals for the rest of 1793, for 1794, and for 1795, were irrecoverably lost.[1] But we can still track him by his peculiar footprints. One of his favourite tricks was to write not only under assumed names, but under false characters. Just as in 1792 we have seen him writing, after a drunken debauch in Belfast, in the assumed character of a 'Northern Farmer,' so now in this spring of 1793 we find him writing in the character of a 'poor weaver in the liberty of Dublin.' In the very same month, March 1793, in which he was jotting down his aspirations for an invasion which would, of necessity, involve a long and a bloody civil war, he was trying, as one of themselves, to impress upon the working classes in Ireland that they should not allow themselves to be tempted to enlist in the king's army, because all wars must fall most severely upon them, and be paid for in their suffering and in their blood! This man who had been eager to flesh his youthful sword in the subjugation of the American colonists, now, personating a weaver, tells his countrymen:

[1] *Life*, i. 71.

'I remember in the American war it was with great difficulty that I preserved myself and my family from utterly starving.'[2] Nevertheless he takes care to speak in the character of a good and loyal subject of his Majesty George the Third. Again, in July of the same year, we have a much more important paper, signed with his own name, in which he reverts to his former argument on the apprehended Spanish war—that Ireland was united to Great Britain by no other link than that of a common crown, and that it was nonsense to talk of any Irishman rebelling against Great Britain. But, as this paper was directed specially against the Irish Administration, he exults over the pressure notoriously exerted upon it by the Cabinet of London in procuring the passage of the Catholic Relief Bill. In this connection he does not hesitate to bestow his hypocritical laudations on the great Minister whom, as we have seen, he so cordially hated. 'The English Minister, a wise and temperate man, saw the Catholics were not to be trifled with,' &c.[3] This paper is a signal illustration of the cobweb strength of the tie of a united crown. Tone revelled in the pretext that he could be perfectly loyal to George the Third as 'King of Ireland,' without any obligation whatever to be loyal to him as King of Great Britain. And even as regarded the King of Ireland it was obviously easy to object to all he did, and to all he claimed, so long as he was not acting on the advice of a separate Irish ministry, and of a separate Irish Parliament. Logical quibbles of this kind are handy weapons in the armoury of conspirators who wish as yet to conceal their full hand. They are, however, also most useful lessons to those who in all times are liable to mistake the empty phrases of an orator, or of paper constitutions, for the only effective bonds which can solidly unite political societies.

Meantime Tone was busy burrowing underground. He had to a large extent corrupted what remained of the old Irish volunteers, especially the Dublin corps. They held meetings, under flags on which the emblem of the crown was removed from the Irish harp and was replaced by the French cap of liberty. Their venerable founder and old leader, Lord Charlemont, still their general, complained with sorrow that they no longer followed his advice. Yet he, too, had been at first an enthusiast in favour of the French Revolution. He now explained pithily the cause of his own disenchantment. '"For a week they were old Romans, and have since been savage Gauls."'[4] But the propaganda of Tone and of his band had done more than this. Not only had they succeeded in corrupting the old volunteers, but they had proceeded to found another armed force upon this model, and aspired to follow, with more extreme intentions and with more determined purpose, the worst example which the volunteers had ever set. There is no record of

[2] *Life*, i. 369–372. [3] Vol. i. 499.
[4] Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*, ii. 305.

the proceedings of 'Grattan's Parliament' in Ireland so creditable as that of the stormy indignation with which, ten years before—on the 29th of November, 1783—they had resisted the audacious attempt of the armed convention of volunteers to overawe their deliberations and to dictate their measures.'

In December 1792, Wolfe Tone was himself absent in London with the celebrated deputation which the Catholic Committee had sent direct to the Sovereign, in order to mark most effectually their distrust and hatred of the Irish Administration. But his old confederates reflected that what had been attempted once could be tried again, under better auspices, and in a more inflamed state of the popular mind. So, towards the close of 1792, they had organised the United Irishmen into an armed body, and they had called it the National Guard. It was to put an end to this imminent and immediate danger that an Act against unauthorised conventions formed part of the series of precautionary measures passed by the Parliament in 1793 along with the Catholic Relief Act. But Tone, though discouraged, and in some directions checkmated, remained indefatigable with his pen. Nor is there anything more remarkable about him than the skill with which he could maintain, as a constitutional writer, the mask which, as a conspirator, it was convenient to wear. Two of his papers written in August 1793 are admirable expressions of all that could be said in favour of continued discontent and even of renewed suspicion on the part of Irish Catholics, in spite of all that they had gained. The pretext of loyalty is admirably sustained. The gracious courtesy with which the Sovereign had received the Catholic delegates in London is warmly acknowledged—just in so far as it could be used as a foil to set off the ungracious spirit of certain powerful members of the Dublin Administration. The private conversation of these well-known persons is described—probably with exaggeration—and dark hints are thrown out as to a possible reaction involving the loss of everything that the Catholics had gained. The whole is interlarded with phrases of orthodox loyalty. 'Warm attachment to the best of Sovereigns, whom, above all his predecessors, they (the Catholics) are bound by gratitude as well as duty to reverence and love,' is one of these unctuous expressions. Nor is this applied only to George the Third as 'King of Ireland.' No hint in this paper escapes from its practised author of any such distinction. On the contrary, the second paper concludes with a pathetic and eloquent appeal to those high arguments for religious equality which were to be found in a true regard not only for 'the glory of his Majesty,' but for the honour and advantage of Great Britain.[6]

It is characteristic, however, of Wolfe Tone, that at this time, amidst all his profound duplicity in his relations with the moderate

[5] Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*, ii. 135, 136. [6] *Life*, i. 517.

party, his essentially non-political mind was never for a moment carried away on the other side by the nonsense of the Democrats. When addressed as 'Citizen' Tone he expressed nothing but disgust and ridicule. He laughed at the affectation which led them to adopt the cant phrases of the Parisian Jacobins. 'Call yourselves,' he said, 'what you please. But you are no more citizens for shutting yourselves up in a room and calling yourselves by that name than you would be all peers and noblemen by calling each other "my Lord."'[7] It is clear that the revolutionary party was then breaking loose even from the control of ordinary prudence. It is clear also from Tone's own papers that the measures taken by the Government were being worked in a more and more conciliatory spirit towards all Catholics who were loyal. The Government was rigorous, as it was its duty to be, in suppressing violence, and in trying to detect conspirators. But we have it from the pen of Wolfe Tone himself, in speaking of the Catholics, that the ranks of the new militia were being 'filled by their members.'[8] In the appointment of magistrates, the old jealousy of them was sensibly breaking down. Nothing was needed to accelerate and confirm this blessed change, except abstention from all conspiracies, and the establishment of confidence on the part of those who had so long enjoyed supremacy, and were still agitated more or less by ancient hereditary fears.

Yet it was in this conjuncture of affairs that Wolfe Tone seized the first opportunity of acting on his long-cherished design of bringing about a civil war in the worst of all forms—that of a foreign invasion. In April 1794, the French Committee of Public Safety sent over an Irishman of the name of Jackson to organise a rebellion in Ireland. Tone immediately offered to help in this savage work, and to be the organ of communication between the conspirators in Ireland and the conspirators in Paris. Jackson was discovered, and immediately arrested. Tone's complicity with him was well known to the authorities in Dublin.

It speaks volumes for the mildness with which the Government of that day desired to act, whenever they could do so with tolerable safety to the State, that Tone was allowed for some fifteen months to remain in Dublin not only without arrest, but with repeated efforts to warn or to reclaim him. There were, no doubt, some special causes for this lenient treatment. Wolfe Tone, like many other unprincipled men, had not a few personal charms to recommend him. He had the favour and protection of acquaintances of all kinds whom his son designates as his 'aristocratic friends.' Grattan alone is said to have hated him, perhaps because Grattan felt and saw, more than others did, the fatal influence of his politics on the prospects of Ireland. But apart from politics Tone seems to have been very popular. He was a most agreeable member of society. He was a still better boon

[7] *Life*, i. 111. [8] *Ibid.* p. 516.

companion. He was good-natured, even when he was drunk, and when he was sober he was witty, brilliant, and at least superficially good-hearted. Almost everybody knew him, and almost everybody liked him more or less. He had served the Whigs; he had served the Catholics; he had served the Jacobins. He had betrayed nobody—except indeed those higher interests of his country which he was too passionate to see. The consequence was that nobody wished to see him hanged. At last, after the long-postponed trial and death of Jackson in April 1795, Wolfe Tone was told that he must positively leave Ireland if he wished to avoid arrest. The younger Tone hints that there was another reason for the general reluctance to deal severely with him—namely, the number of persons among the Opposition who had been equally compromised by their own conduct, and who were by no means anxious to see him tried.[9] We cannot attach too much importance to this statement made by Tone's son,—as justifying the apprehensions and precautions of the Government. Tone the younger had ample means of knowing whatever his father knew. But, on the other hand, we ought not to interpret this statement as involving the leaders, still less the great mass, of the Catholic party. We know from his own journals how strongly he had felt the opposition of the Catholic Bishops, and it is very difficult to conceive that any earnest Catholics could have sympathised with a man who was plotting to bring over into Ireland an army which represented a new form of heathenism. But this observation of the younger Tone does at least remind us that some of the last months of Wolfe's residence in Ireland were contemporary with that episode in its political history to which such extravagant importance has been attached by later partisans, namely, what is known as the 'Recall of Lord FitzWilliam' from the Viceroyalty of Ireland. It is constantly pretended now that to this recall was due the condition of men's minds which culminated in the rebellion. It is enough to recollect the dates and events we have now reviewed in connection with the life of Tone, to see how unjustifiable, and indeed how absurd, this doctrine is.

The United Irishmen had been founded in 1791. The organisation had been deeply rooted, and its arms had been widely spread in 1792. Towards the end of that year it had reached its highest point of daring and audacity. On the other hand, never were there two sessions of the Irish Parliament which gave more certain hope than those of 1792 and 1793, that all constitutional reforms could be certainly attained by a steady perseverance in constitutional methods. They were sessions of continuous progress towards religious equality; yet during the whole of those two years, and the whole of 1794, the revolutionary party was busy with its designs. Lord FitzWilliam did not land in Ireland till January 1795, and his recall did not take place till March. Moreover, it is probable that if he had not been

[9] *Life*, i. 112–13.

recalled, a civil war would have resulted all the sooner. The old Protestant interest had not been reduced to so low an ebb as to tolerate the hasty and intemperate attack which he made upon it. Within two days of his arrival he had sent a notice of dismissal to two of the most prominent officers of the Administration. He did this in direct breach of an engagement made with Mr. Pitt, and in obvious contempt of every argument of policy in favour of a conciliatory course towards both religious parties. It ought not to be forgotten that his recall in consequence was sanctioned and approved as an admitted necessity by the unanimous assent of all his own Whig friends in the Cabinet of Mr. Pitt. That Minister was indeed personally in favour of complete equality to all religions in Ireland, as he had been in favour of complete concessions of equality to Irish trade. At that very time, in response to a memorial from the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, he was about to sanction the endowment of a college for the education of the priesthood. But he was not a fanatic, or a man of one idea. He looked all round him, as a wise man must always do, and he saw that neither in England nor in Ireland was it possible at that time to press forward too fast in such directions. Wolfe Tone attached not the smallest importance to the mission of Lord Fitz-William. And in this he doubtless represented the feelings of all his associates. The Whigs tried once more to attach him to their cause, and perhaps one of the most honest passages in his career was his refusal to be bought by them. His son tells us, indeed, that if he had been offered service under the East India Company he would have taken it—a curious reversion to one of his old fields of predatory adventure. But no Government could trust him even there. In all probability he would soon have been found leading the Mahrattas, or any other native race at war with England. In that capacity he might have tried to contest the empire of India with his illustrious compatriot, Lord Wellesley, and with that Arthur who was Lord Wellesley's still more illustrious brother. But Tone would not accept peaceful employment at home. He preferred the alternative of exile. He left Dublin for Belfast on the 20th of May, 1795. There, in company with his old Republican friends, he says, 'we took a solemn obligation never to desist in our efforts until we had subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted her independence.'[10] On the 13th of June he embarked, and sailed for America.

The peaceful industry of an American farm, although it had seemed almost ideally attractive to the far nobler character of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, had no charms at all for the fierce hatreds and vengeful vows of Wolfe Tone. He called it 'lethargy.'[11] In his heart he was always listening for the sounds of insurrection, and

[10] *Life*, i. 128. [11] *Ibid.* i. 134.

waiting for signals from the conspirators with whom he had left his exhortations. And so, within seven months after his departure from Belfast he was crossing the ocean again, determined, if he could, to force his way into his native country with a French army at his back. He landed at Havre on January 1, 1796, on his way to Paris. Henceforward we have again the advantage of his private journal, and the interest of its revelations does not abate. We see the conspirator as in a glass, and we see him on a stage of action crowded with larger interests and with greater men. His journal in Ireland has revealed to us how hard he drank. We now see him revelling in the delights of French cookery, and in discovering that the new democracy could afford as rich and luxurious living as the old *régime*. 'A superb crimson damask bed' gave rest to his weary limbs. 'Excellent soup and fish,' delicate small mutton like the Welsh, superb turkey, ducks, with delicious vegetables, pastry, fruit,' with 'wine ad libitum,' dissolved his fears of any inconvenient Republican simplicity. But most of all does he seem to have been delighted to find that the pretences of equality which he had ridiculed among his associates in Dublin did not practically offend his own sense of superiority in France. 'Servants were remarkably civil, attentive, and *humble*,' nowhere had he ever met with more 'respectful attendance.' What blockheads those men had been who had so often tormented him by arguing that '"liberty and equality" were subversive of all subordination.' The theatre pleased him much, and so did the Republican finance. His seat cost him eighty livres—which sounded large, but then it was reckoned in assignats, and was equivalent to about fourpence sterling! On February 10, in a carriage 'lined with blue velvet,' he was off to Paris, arriving on the 15th—150 miles through France, and not 150 acres uncultivated; the very orchards under grain. This he mentions as he 'had been so often bored with the famine in France.' It is curious, however, because only six years had elapsed since the year of the Revolution, and the actual or dreaded scarcity and starvation in Paris had undoubtedly largely contributed to the ferocity of the people. If Tone had ever heard any Tories in Ireland ascribing the scarcity of 1789 to Republican institutions they must have been fools indeed. In the first place France at that time was not under a Republic at all but under chaos, and whatever economic causes of distress might be acting upon it were undoubtedly due to the long accumulations of a corrupt development. But Tone travelled to Paris on the heels of a counter-Revolution which had once more established security of life and property—that first grand necessity in all production. He noticed as he passed one of the churches the famous inscription; 'Le peuple français reconnaît l'être suprême et l'immortalité de l'âme'—a most gracious and condescending intimation, which was only the symbol of what Revolutionists call reaction, and is nothing but a

return to common sense and to the acknowledgment of fundamental truths.

The young Napoleon had now taught the mob of Paris a lesson which they needed to learn, that their own furious passions and anarchic will were to be supreme no longer. From a window opposite the Tuileries he had seen in 1792 the brutal multitude invade the palace and insult the Queen. He saw them fly like cowards before the first discharge from the Swiss Guards. He knew how they had rallied only when they discovered that those from whom they fled were few and unsupported, and by the weight of overwhelming numbers might be massacred with impunity. Turning from the scene with indignation and contempt, he is said to have exclaimed, 'The wretches! they should cut down the first 500 with grape, and the rest would soon take to flight.' And this is what the young general had done about five months before the date of Tone's arrival. Thus he found France steadily drifting to that government by soldiers which in all ages has laid, and in some ages has been called to relay, the foundations of society. The wonderful exuberance which he noted in every form of activity was the awakening of all energies, first, from the long sleep of centuries, and then, from the horrid nightmare of the Reign of Terror. It took especially at that moment the direction of military enthusiasm. At all the theatres even the ballets were turned into military spectacles. Battalions mustering for the campaigns of the militant Republic were the favourite scenes, whilst the 'Marseillaise' and the 'Chant du départ' were sung amid such rapturous applause that Wolfe Tone declared he never before knew what real enthusiasm was. It was, he said, a people in arms. And this was exactly what he desired to see in Ireland. But for what? The French people at least believed that they were fighting for a Republic. At first they may have had no thought except to resist foreign aggression. By this time, indeed, their military ardour had enlarged its scope, and was passing through the stage of a desire to propagate opinions by the sword. The catchwords of liberty were still in their mouths, and death to tyrants was one of their most effective stage appeals. They still thought they were fighting for freedom and not for a mere military despotism. But what was the aim of Wolfe Tone? In his journal he is as frank as usual. Every day for many months he was now buttonholing the Directory, which then represented the new government of France, endeavouring to persuade them to send an army of not less than 10,000 men to Ireland. For this purpose it was necessary to assure them of a widespread popular support in the land to be invaded. But if such support was really to be obtained, the French minister was acute enough to see that so large a demand as that of Tone was excessive. Might not a smaller force with arms, artillery, ammunition, and leaders be enough, if the Irish people were ready to do so much for themselves?

Tone was ready with an answer, addressed to ears professedly republican. The minister's suggestion might do very well for setting up a sort of military government. But that was not what he would prefer, unless as a matter of absolute necessity. 'In this,' says Tone in his private journal, 'I lied a little, for my wishes are in favour of a very strong, or in other words a military, government in the outset.'[11] He had no scruple in deceiving the Directorate if he could. He soon came to despise it thoroughly. The only member of the body whom he names with even a semblance of respect is Carnot. The degree of that respect, however, may be measured by the fact that Tone tried to extract money out of him by an anonymous letter, threatening assassination unless the money was deposited at a certain place before a certain day.[13] Of all the other members of the Directory he speaks with undisguised contempt, and even Carnot, it may be suspected, owed his reputation mainly to the youthful generals who then commanded the armies of France. The very appearance of the Directors was fantastic and almost effeminate. Tone describes with astonishment the aspect and dress of De la Croix, the minister with whom he had most to do. 'He was dressed to-day in a grey silk *robe de chambre*, under which he wore a kind of scarlet cassock of satin, with rose-coloured silk stockings, and scarlet ribbons in his shoes.'[14] Even Carnot was not superior to the tricks of stage effect. Folding doors thrown open at the ringing of a bell to give notice to the people preceded the entrance of Citizen Carnot, already known as the 'organiser of victory.' He appeared 'in the *petit costume* of white satin with crimson robe, richly embroidered, all very elegant, and exactly resembling the draperies of Vandyke.' In one thing only was Wolfe Tone in hearty accord with these men, and that was in a common enmity. But unfortunately it was difficult to say which was greatest—their hatred of England or their utter ignorance of its condition, and even of its geography. They did not know the simplest outlines of the coast. Tone was ready with any amount of 'lying a little.' He told Carnot that Ireland contained a population of 4,100,000, and that the sentiments of all those people were unanimous in favour of France.'[15] Tone was as delighted with his reception by a minister so richly be-robed, as he had been in 1790 by a civil note from the Duke of Richmond. He candidly enters in his journal, 'I am as vain as the devil.'[16] But his untruthfulness was intended to deluge his native country in blood. At the same time that he was assuring Carnot of the unanimity of the Irish people, he was confessing to a compatriot, who was then high in the service of France, that the whole Catholic clergy might be regarded as hostile,[17] though he did not think they could give any effectual opposition.[18] On another occasion he railed against all priests, and

[11] *Life*, ii. 44. [13] *Ibid.* ii. 159. [14] *Ibid.* ii. 15. [15] *Ibid.* p. 27.
[16] *Ibid.* p. 31. [17] *Ibid.* ii. 51. [18] *Ibid.* p. 153.

especially the Catholics, who had always shown the greatest antipathy to the Revolution. Moreover, the whole gist of his argument was that a large French force was absolutely requisite, since the people 'would never move' without it, and that this force must be under the command of some general of established reputation, such as Pichegru or Jourdain.[19] And lastly we have the striking fact that Tone was urgent that the invading force should be landed—not in any Catholic district of Ireland, but as near as possible to Belfast, because among the Protestant dissenters there he expected to find the strongest republican support. He knew, therefore, that, so far from having to expect unanimity, he must expect a sanguinary contest. He knew that the foreign army he was about to send into Ireland was hated by the whole Catholic priesthood, and by all who agreed with them. He knew that it would be resisted also by a large number of the Presbyterians, and by the whole of those whom he called the aristocracy, which meant all who possessed any property whatever. Accordingly he contemplated the most sanguinary and revolutionary methods. He knew that even as regarded the regular army of the Republic at that time, it could only pay its way by living at free quarters on the country. At the very time of Tone's residence in Paris, the famous first Italian campaign of Napoleon was marked by a proclamation from the young general, pointing to the rich cities of Lombardy as the legitimate prey of the soldiers whom he addressed. But Tone was not content with even this as an essential part of his programme. He listened without a shudder to the suggestion that the French Government should employ for the invasion of England and Ireland the villainous bandit forces whose ferocities in La Vendée were the horror of Europe. Tone did indeed object to such a scheme if it stood alone. He knew what short work would have been made of the 'Chouans,' whether in Ireland or in England. But he did not object to it on principle. On the contrary, he thought it an excellent plan to be put in execution after the landing had been effected of a more substantial force. Then, indeed, the 'Chouanerie' would have some chance of doing effective work in massacre and in plunder. From such infernal schemes Wolfe Tone used to retire to spend his evenings in the restaurants of Paris, swilling his whole bottle of Burgundy per night, or seeking entertainment at the Opera. Not that even now, in the central atmosphere of revolutionary ideas, was he ever for a moment led away by political theories or aspirations of any kind. One night he gets hold of Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*, reads it for a little, and flings it down with the exclamation, 'damned nonsense.' There is a horrible fascination about the anatomy of his mind thus laid bare by the scalpel of confession. He seems to have felt no compunction in his plans. But the mere intellectual conception of a scruple did

[19] *Life*, ii. 17.

now and then cross his brain. He dismissed it, however, by the use of one of those catch phrases under which bad men so often retreat from the too bare contemplation of their own enormous wickedness. 'Revolutions could not be made with rose-water.' Monarchs have been described as often wading 'through slaughter to a throne.' A throne, however, is at least the emblem of a government which has often been strong for good. But this Irishman was ready to wade through slaughter to anything—he did not care what, but which in his mind took the form of a purely military despotism. He had a vision of himself being at the very least the Ambassador of an independent Ireland to a military French Republic. This idea of a permanent location amidst the luxuries of Paris filled him with such joy that he breaks out in his journal into rapturous and blasphemous exclamations of delight.

For these ends he was willing and eager to see butchery and devastation overwhelm his native land and thousands in it with whom he had been a convivial companion, and who had combined to secure his escape from justice. Nor is it less loathsome to find that he was at the same moment taking such care as he could to secure his own life against possible contingencies. He was then a civilian, and if he were taken prisoner he might be hanged. Tone did not like this prospect at all. He wished to provide a special bottle of 'rose-water' for his own skin. So he applied for a commission in the French army in order that he might claim the privileges of a prisoner of war—'my only object being,' as he tells us, 'a certainty of being treated as a soldier, in case the fortune of war should throw me into the hands of the enemy.'[20] Then he had another reason—he was becoming penniless. 'Hang economy!' had been his exclamation even at Havre, and the fat living of Paris had soon exhausted his purse. On the 13th of July he writes: 'I am almost on my last louis, and my commission is not yet made out.'[21] On the previous day he had first met with General Hoche—'a very handsome, well-made young fellow, in a brown coat and nankeen pantaloons.' Failing Pichegru or Jourdain, Hoche was the man on whom Tone had set his affections as commander of the invasion of Ireland. He was most connected with the Jacobin party, and he had just 'pacified' the unfortunate La Vendée. On the 20th of June Wolfe Tone got his commission as 'Chef de Brigade' in the army of France. He was fretted by interminable delays, but at last he was attached to the 'Army of the West,' and left Paris on the 18th of September, 1796.

Three months followed of preparation for the new Armada, during which there seems to have been a further development of Tone's vanity and ambition, and not less of his ferocity. His vanity and ambition appear in a very broad hint that he himself should occupy a high position in the new Government of Ireland. He was quite

[20] *Life*, ii. 71. [21] *Ibid.* p. 156.

willing, on this condition, that the new Government should be practically subordinate to France. Speaking to an Irish Colonel Shee —who was then high in the service and in the counsels of the French Republic—Tone says: 'He knew my zeal and affection for the cause of the Republic, as well as my gratitude to the Directory; and I left him to consider whether, in framing our Government in Ireland, it might not be desirable for France to have in an efficient position a man on whose principles and attachment she might safely count.'[22] A baser proposal and bargain than this can hardly be conceived. His growing ferocity is shown in the part he took in helping and preparing another expedition under a Colonel Tate (an American adventurer), which was to be purely predatory. A descent was to be made on the English coast by a force consisting mainly of the 'Black' or 'Infernal Brigade,' which had done such hideous work in the burning of women and children in La Vendée. On the 10th of November, 1796, we find the following entry in Tone's journal: 'Saw the "Légion Noire" reviewed: about 1,800 men. They are the banditti intended for England, and sad blackguards they are. They put me strongly in mind of the Green Boys of Dublin.'[23] He drew up the instructions by which the truly infernal operations were to be directed. He gloated over the idea of the horror and distress which its passage would inflict on the peaceful homes of England. Colonel Tate was instructed to try to take the city of Bristol by surprise, and if he succeeded he was to burn it to the ground. 'I cannot but observe here,' says Wolfe Tone, 'that I transcribed with the greatest *sang-froid* the orders to reduce to ashes the third city of the British Empire.'[24]

The passage above quoted—in which he compares the Black Legion with the 'Green Boys' of Dublin—is thoroughly characteristic of Wolfe Tone. Just as his politics had no principle, so his patriotism had no illusions. His country was to him simply a symbol and an embodiment of his own passions. This, of course, is very apt to be the case where a man's country has never been a united nation, with noble traditions and a great history. But Tone, as we have seen, had not even any aspirations for the future which could take the place of ennobling recollections in the past. In perfect consistency with this condition of mind, he has not only no pride in the character of his compatriots, but he describes at least the less educated classes and masses of them in terms of ridicule or contempt. Thus, in another passage of about the same date, he says he would like to make a piratical expedition himself against Liverpool, 'with some of the gentlemen from Ormonde Quay (Dublin), though I must say the citizens of the Légion Noire are very little behind my countrymen either in appearance or morality.'[25] Here the implication and the joke is that the Dublin Irish were the worse of the two. And so again, when the French ministers wished to

[22] *Life*, ii. 213. [23] *Ibid.* ii. 283. [24] *Ibid.* p. 240. [25] *Ibid.* ii. 289.

bribe some Irish prisoners of war to engage in the expedition, Tone's advice was this:—'I know the Irish a little. The way to manage them is this. Let them be marched down—under other pretences—to the port of embarkation. When everything else is ready, let them send in a large quantity of wine and brandy, a fiddle, and some French *filles*; and then, when Pat's heart is a little soft with love and wine, send in two or three proper persons in regimentals and with green cockades in their hats, to speak to them—of whom I should be gladly one—and then . . .' &c.[26] Appeals to the lowest motives, and these made to characters already more savage in propensity than the trained hell-hounds of the Vendéan War—such are the sketches presented us of Irishmen by Wolfe Tone in this extraordinary record of his life and of his crimes.

At last, on the 1st of December, 1796, Tone was ordered to embark with the État-Major on board the 'Indomptable,' 80-gun ship, at Brest. The total force collected was fifteen sail of the line, ten frigates, and seven or eight transports. The military force was about 15,000 men. It was not till the 16th that they put out to sea with a favourable wind. They sailed through a dangerous passage called the Raz, and at daybreak next morning only eighteen sail were in company. Among the absent were two of the admirals and the general. From that moment the expedition was pursued by misfortune. Dense fogs, dead calms, and execrable seamanship combined to confound it. The ship carrying the general never joined again. They had some days of clear and moderate weather, but the French captains could not manage to rejoin each other. One day they lay rolling like logs upon the ocean, unable to move with every stitch of canvas set. Another day they could not see each other unless almost in collision. They could not signal with flags at any distance, because they were invisible. They could not signal with guns for fear of the British fleet. Besides being most unfortunate, and probably fatal, Tone could not help perceiving that such weather was most unnatural for the season. 'Damn it to hell for a calm, and in the middle of December,'[27] was his characteristic observation. On the morning of the 19th there were only sixteen sail together out of a total of forty-three. A French lugger was met, which told them that on the night of their departure the 'Séduisant,' one of their number, a 74-gun ship, had been lost with all on board except thirty-three men. This was another damper. In the night of the 20th they 'contrived to separate again.' 'It was scandalous to part company twice in four days in moderate weather.'[28] At last they reached the rendezvous under Cape Clear on the Irish coast. But there was no Hoche! Cherin, who commanded the ships, was a poor creature. Grouchy, who was the general in the absence of Hoche, was little better. The whole État-Major were down in the mouth, except when playing cards. At twelve o'clock the ships were so near the land

[26] *Life*, ii. 64. [27] *Ibid.* ii. 254. [28] P 253.

that the proverbial 'biscuit' could be tossed ashore. On the 22nd they opened Bantry Bay. But a head wind was now setting in from the east. For six hours they were tacking against it, and Tone felt sure they had not gained one hundred yards. The fleet was again dispersed, some of them far to leeward. By the night it came to blow a furious gale, and, as Tone again observed, 'out of the thirty-two points of the compass, it blew exactly in the direction worst for them.'[29] Twenty ships were blown right out to sea. On the 23rd the wind was high and 'as usual right ahead.' The main object of the expedition was already unattainable. Tone begged he might be allowed to take the 'Légion des Francs' and be landed at any risk in Sligo Bay. No decision. The English fleet would soon be down upon them. Tone 'could tear his flesh with rage and vexation.'[30] But the wind, the wind! 'This infernal easterly wind continues without remorse.' In proportion as Tone began to feel and see that the elements were strangely combined against him, he became more blasphemously violent. He paced the decks like a hyæna in a cage. 'Damn, damn it.' On the 25th the gale was still blowing steadily from the east, whilst the English fleet was expected any moment. At last, on the night of the 26th, in a furious gale the Admiral's frigate passed under the quarter of the 'Indomptable,' and shouted the order to cut her cable and put out instantly to sea. In the roaring of the wind and the darkness of the night the captain was uncertain of the identity of the ship that hailed him. So he waited till the morning. The dim daylight broke with both a gale and a dense fog. 'Well,' said Tone, 'England has not had such an escape since the Spanish Armada, and that expedition, like ours, was defeated by the weather—the elements fight against us, and courage is here of no avail.'[31] On the 27th they got off with such difficulty that they had to cut and run. On that night, under a 'perfect hurricane,' they were nearly lost. Tone lay down in his hammock 'expecting every instant to go to the bottom.' On the 29th orders were given to steer for France. At 10 A.M. they met an unfortunate little Irish brig laden with salt for Cork, 'which we sunk,' says Tone, unconscious apparently of the irony of this gloss upon the whole spirit of the expedition. On the 1st of January, 1797, they returned to Brest, mustering in all seven sail out of the forty-three with which they started, and without having seen a single English ship of war, going or coming back.[32] 'Non nobis, Domine.'

Thus at the beginning of the new year, 1797, Tone was cast back, a derelict, upon the shores of France. He had hoped to secure, by the grace of a foreign army, a good revenue out of his own subject country. He was now once more dependent on the Directory in Paris for his daily bread and his nightly Burgundy. He addressed to them the strange petition that they would allow him to retire from the French service whilst 'preserving his pay and appoint-

[29] *Life*, p. 259. [30] *Ibid.* p. 260. [31] *Ibid.* p. 266. [32] *Ibid.* p. 269.

ments.'[33] Of course this was impossible, but his friend Shee, through whom he had begged before that he might have a high place in the new Government of Ireland, now again encouraged him; Hoche also was favourable, and by the 8th of February he was fixed in the French service.'[34] Some well-known figures pass before us in his journal at this time. In March 1797, he met Tom Paine. We have seen what he thought of Tom's writings. In manifestos to the Irish he had quoted them as unanswerable. In his own heart he saw them to be 'damned nonsense.' He now found the author to be as vain and vaporous as his philosophy, and 'drinking like a fish.'[35]

At last he was assigned a place on the staff of his friend, General Hoche, who was now sent to command the army of the Sambre and the Meuse. As in this position he was attached to the writing department of the État-Major, he had the advantage of being always in the rear, and therefore always out of shot. This he explained as a comfort to his wife, and humorously implies that it was not altogether disagreeable to himself.[36] He was thus, as he had asked to be, on full pay and in no danger. But suddenly his old visions were awakened. On the 12th of June, Hoche told him of the arrival of a fellow-conspirator from Ireland—a man of the name of Lewines. Did Tone know him? Yes, perfectly well, and 'had a high opinion of his virtue and patriotism.' He was sent by a body calling itself the 'Executive Committee of the United People of Ireland,' to apply for troops, arms, and money from all the confederate enemies of England, France, the new Batavian Republic, and Spain.[37] Hoche was eager for a renewed expedition. The Directory approved. But this time it was to start not from France, but from Holland. Tone was pleased, for now he made a confession to his friend Hoche which proves how reckless he had lately been as regarded the dearest interests of his own country. His confession was that in the previous year he had been most uneasy as to 'the degree of influence which the French might be disposed to arrogate to themselves in Ireland.'[38] The Dutch commander was to be a General Daendels. To him Tone confessed further that in the Brest expedition they had 'a little army of French commissaries ready to eat up the country, and would have sacrificed the liberty of Ireland, the interests of the Republic, and the honour of the general for half-a-crown.'[39] If that expedition had succeeded, Tone knew that he 'would have had damned work with those scoundrelly administrations.' This, then, had been the condition of his mind when, as we have seen, he had fawned on the French Directory for the purpose of securing through them 'an efficient place' in the new Government of his native land. Of course he now pretended to Daendels that with the Dutch he had no such uneasiness. And yet he was eager that the foreign army should be large, up to 18,000 or 20,000 men.

[33] *Life*, ii. 340. [34] P. 343. [35] P. 348. [36] *Ibid.* p. 402.
[37] *Ibid.* p. 408. [38] *Ibid.* ii. 416. [39] *Ibid* p. 418.

It is, however, of more importance to observe the desperate danger with which the Irish conspirators were at this moment threatening Great Britain. The three greatest maritime Powers were to be united in one great combined fleet. The moment was favourable for the enemy. Early in the spring of 1797 England was in a great monetary crisis. Cash payments had been suspended. A new, and indeed an unheard-of, peril had arisen in an extensive mutiny of the fleet. Even the very squadron which watched the Dutch was reduced to a feeble remnant. The Admiral had to keep signalling to imaginary ships and to empty space, in order to deceive the enemy. The Funds had fallen to 42. General Buonaparte was carrying all before him in Northern Italy. Towards the end of April he seemed to be advancing on Vienna. Austria had succumbed under a disastrous treaty. Yet out of all these dangers England emerged triumphant. She had no need of gold when she had in abundance the more precious metal of a noble confidence in herself. Cash payments were suspended, but her promises to pay were as good as ever. She was saved by the spirit and courage of the great majority of all classes of her people. And this extended to all the three divisions of the United Kingdom, rallying under the indomitable will of their great Minister, Mr. Pitt. Nobly seconding these sources of strength came the genius and conduct of her glorious naval captains. In February the Spanish fleet was destroyed off Cape St. Vincent by Jervis and Collingwood and Nelson. Off the Texel the gallant Duncan kept watch over the armament in which Tone hoped to sail. Again the elements befriended his hated enemies. Week after week the winds were adverse—blowing as continually from the west as in Bantry they had blown persistently from the east. Tone raged and stormed and blasphemed as he had done before. The delay exhausted the stores, and gave time to the English Admiralty to reinforce the squadron when the great mutiny was quelled. At last a magnificent fleet of twenty-one sail of the line was seen from the Texel spreading its canvas to the wind, and covering the water with its broadsides. By the first week in August it was clear that the expedition would have to be abandoned. Then came the death of Hoche—carried off in September by a rapid consumption—the only French General who had any stomach for the Irish cause. Again, following this calamity came another. Early in October the Dutch Admiral, getting a fair wind at last, had the gallantry to try conclusions with Duncan and his fleet. We all know the result. In the famous fight of Camperdown that revolutionary bantling called the Batavian Republic received its quietus as a competitor with England for the dominion of the seas.

But new came the greatest blow of all to Tone and his fellow-conspirators. When he saw that the game was up at the Texel, he had returned to Paris, where for a moment a new hope appeared. On the death of Hoche, General Buonaparte had been appointed to the command of the 'Army of England.' Would it be really possi-

ble to enlist this man—the greatest man then in Europe—in the Irish cause? Of all the incidents in Tone's journal perhaps the most curious and interesting is that which brings across the stage of his petty intrigues the physically slender, but the intellectually massive figure of General Napoleon Buonaparte in the closing days of the year 1797. Tone had three interviews with him. He does not give to us of him the detailed description which he gave of the fantastic creatures in the Directory, with their robes of silk and satin and their embroidered slippers. Tone's sketch of him is slight, but it is characteristic. He saw a little man about five feet six inches in height, slender, well made, but stooping considerably. He looked at least ten years older than his age—due to the great fatigue of the immortal campaigns in Italy, from which he had just returned. The face was that of a profound thinker, but bore no marks of that great enthusiasm and ceaseless activity by which he was so much distinguished. It was rather the countenance of a mathematician than of a general. He had a fine eye, and a great firmness about his mouth. He spoke low and hollow. He seemed ignorant about Irish affairs, but listened well, saying very little. He was perfectly civil, but his manner was cold. It was impossible to augur anything either good or bad.

We now know, what Tone then could not know, but which he soon began to suspect—that the mind of the great General was set elsewhere. In the dark counsels of a spirit which perhaps hardly at that time fully knew itself, he was revolving, no doubt, those dreams of an Eastern empire, which were to be soon shattered at Aboukir and at Acre. His nominal command of the Army of England was a mere blind to take off the English fleet from watching Toulon. But this was not all. Tone must have had a good guess of another reason for the coldness and silence of Buonaparte to himself and his compatriots. As the intimate personal friend of Hoche, Tone knew the different politics of the two generals, and how heartily Buonaparte hated and despised the Jacobins, with all their works. He may have been ignorant of the population of Ireland, but he could not be ignorant of the party in French politics with which the Irish refugees who now crowded Paris were connected. He knew them to be essentially anarchists, thinking of nothing but destruction, and incapable of a thought beyond securing supreme power for a little coterie of themselves. If Tone did not know all this, he very soon had occasion to discover it. Early in February 1798, the Irish emissary, Lewines, was present in a company with the General, when he was addressed in whispers by an officer connected with the police, on some subject connected with the Jacobin party, then beginning again to raise its head. Buonaparte suddenly sprang into the middle of the room with great heat, vehemently denouncing Jacobin politics. 'What would these gentlemen have? They want the domination of thirty or forty individuals founded on the massacre of three or four millions; they want the constitution of 1793, but they

shall not have it, and death to him who should demand it!'[40] This was plain speaking, and was doubtless intended to intimate to certain persons present that he would allow no new revolution, and would suppress it as he had suppressed the sections. He spoke 'with admirable eloquence.' Tone soon came to feel equal disgust with many of his own compatriots. One of these was the celebrated Napper Tandy, whom he discovered to be behaving himself in Paris with egregious vanity, emptiness, and imposture.[41] Another Irishman, famous in the same connection, Tone describes in his journal thus: 'Of all the vain, obstinate blockheads that ever I met, I never saw his equal.'[42] Conspirators are always very virtuous and very angry when they are themselves exposed to anything but the most honourable conduct, and so poor Tone and his friend Lewines bitterly complained to Talleyrand of being 'tormented with dirty cabals and factions' among their own countrymen.[43] Nor had even his fellow-conspirators in Ireland been behaving better. They had sent out poor Lewines to do their work in France, and yet they had not sent him a sou to live upon. Altogether, if he had any conscience or any principle, he must have had serious misgivings as to the materials out of which the new Government of Ireland would have to be constructed.

But of this incongruity he was himself the most signal illustration. At this very time, in the month of March 1798, he heard of the dethronement and of the personal captivity of the Pope. It does not need even now, and it ought still less to have needed at that time, to be a Catholic, in order to regard with disgust and indignation the brutal treatment of the aged Pontiff by the soldiers of the Directory.[44] It was possible for Protestants to remember—and millions of them did remember—that the Pope was at least the chief pastor over a large part of the Christian world. It was possible for them to remember, too, that he was an aged and a venerable man. Above all, an Irish Protestant, not himself a mere bigot, must have known that nothing could be more horrible in the eyes of the whole Catholic clergy and people of Ireland. Yet Wolfe Tone heard of this event with savage exultation. He breaks out into ecstasies about it.[45] No heated declaimer in Exeter Hall, not even the fiercest Orangeman in Derry or Belfast, could pour out with more unction, as applicable to the Papacy, those well-known passages of denunciation in the Jewish Prophets against the bloody monarchies of Babylon and Assyria with which, in this doubtful connection, we used to be so familiar. All this is thoroughly characteristic of the man. It is the same man who, when he desired to conciliate the Catholic populace of Newry, went ostentatiously to high mass before them—not failing to notice in his journal what he called the 'too much trumpery' of the service. Nothing could more clearly indicate the animating spirit of his conduct than this rejoicing

[40] *Life*, ii. 462–3. [41] *Ibid.* ii. 461–466, 467. [42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.* p. 472–3. [44] Alison, *Hist.* chap. xxv. [45] *Life*, ii. 466.

over one of the most unjust and discreditable acts of the French Directory. It was a spirit of rebellion, not against the Irish Government—not against what he calls England—not even against his hated enemy, Mr. Pitt—but against all law, human and divine.

But the doomed career of this unhappy man was now drawing to its close. Disgusted with the fellowship of his own countrymen in Paris, which was probably neither worse nor better than his own, Wolfe Tone once more took refuge in the camp of what was still called the 'Army of England.' It was then cantoned at Rouen, and afterwards at Havre. There he had once again to undergo more than all the trials which he had encountered in 1796 at Brest, and in 1797 at the Texel. The world-famed Buonaparte, who was its General, never came near its quarters. Tone had to watch as before the dawdling and confusion due to an empty treasury and to incompetent commanders. He had to watch the topmasts of an English fleet which was watching him. He had to listen even to the thunder of its guns, as it came close in shore, bombarded the forts which were close to Havre, and threatened the defences of that town itself. But for weeks previous to this he had been enduring even a worse discouragement. The best regiments, and the best men in all the regiments—the best officers of all ranks—were being silently withdrawn and drafted off for some secret purpose, and in some utterly unknown direction. It was rumoured that their march was always directed to the south. At last, in May, news came that Buonaparte himself had disappeared from Paris. It was soon known that he had left the shores of France, and that the sails of his fleet, when last in sight, were seen, in the sunrise of a glorious morning, pressing over the blue waters of the Mediterranean and steering for the East.

From that moment there was chaos, not only at Havre, but at Paris. Tone the younger gives us a bit of his mind on the true character of the republican Government which the surges of revolution had placed in office. He tells us that the 'rapacity of the Directors' disgusted all the friends of France. Their prodigality wasted its resources, their incapacity disorganised its armies.[46] Their counsels were distracted. A brave but sickly and almost invalided officer of the army of Italy, General Kilmaine, an Irishman by birth, was appointed to command the 'Army of England.' But all thoughts of a great expedition and of a serious invasion were given up. The miserable substitute was to despatch small separate, and therefore little better than piratical, expeditions from separate ports, from Rochelle, from Brest, and from Havre. One of these sailed in August, under a General Humbert, and successfully landed at Killala in Connaught. General Lake destroyed them about a fortnight later.

But it was not until the 20th of September, 1798, that the fatal expedition was ready, in which Tone himself embarked. On that day it set sail from the Baie de Camaret, consisting of only one 74-gun ship,

[46] *Life*, ii. 515.

the 'Hoche,' and eight frigates, commanded by an Admiral Bompart, with a little army of only 3,000 men, under a General Hardy. As usual, contrary winds delayed their arrival on the north-west coast of Ireland till the 11th of October, when they were seen off the mouth of Lough Swilly by the British squadron of greatly superior force. They were at once attacked. The 'Hoche' fought furiously in her own defence, and did not strike her colours till she was almost destroyed. Wolfe Tone directed one of the batteries, and was seen in the middle of the action fighting with the desperate courage of a man who knew he was fighting with a halter round his neck. He seemed to be courting death—which no doubt he was. Dressed, of course, in French uniform, and speaking like a Frenchman, nobody at first knew him. But at a breakfast to which the French prisoners were hospitably invited by Lord Cavan he was recognised by a man who had known him at college. In due course he was tried by court-martial in Dublin, and condemned to be hanged. He was undaunted before the tribunal, and cared only to secure the nobler death which, as we have seen, he had so long before calculated he might possibly secure under the military uniform of France. On the night of the 11th of November he secreted a penknife and cut his own throat desperately, but not at the moment effectually. 'I am sorry I have been so bad an anatomist,' he said. He lingered till the 19th, when he expired, thanking the surgeon who attended him.

This is, indeed, an awful story—awful in its whole course, and in all its details. There is hardly any amount or degree of human criminality which we are not almost always willing to forget, and often even to forgive, when it comes to the last scene of all. We remember, and we ought to do so, that the dead have passed to a tribunal where all temptations and all illusions, and all elements of virtue, even when perverted, are known as they can never be known to us. But when the memory of the dead is revived again, and made part of the capital invested by the living in the deception of themselves and others, then the interests of society and the interests of truth demand a clear vindication of facts from us. We must remember what this man had done, and still more what he had tried to do.

It is, indeed, useless to vilify in the abstract all insurrectionary movements which have invoked the aid of foreigners. Each case must be considered with its own special circumstances. Our own great Revolution of 1688 has been quoted as an example. But this is substantially erroneous. The small foreign element in it was purely accidental and adventitious. But indeed, that Revolution stands almost alone in the history of the world. The words 'glorious and immortal' as applied to it have unfortunately acquired, at least in Ireland, the tones of faction. They have been 'soiled by all ignoble use.' Yet the truth and justice of them, in the most rigid sense, has been recognised in our own time, alike in the fervid eloquence of Macaulay and in the well-measured language of the calm and

venerable Hallam. It was the only revolution which has ever been accomplished not to destroy or to upset, but to maintain and vindicate the law. That the next heir to the Crown was the wife of a foreign prince, and that his strong character was an additional attraction, and an additional ground of confidence to the British people, is not a circumstance which brings the changes of 1688 within the category of alien-aided revolutions. On the other hand, our revolted American colonies invited and greatly profited by the help of a foreign government. Yet nobody blames them now.

Therefore it is in all the surrounding circumstances of each case that we must judge of those who conspire with aliens for the invasion of their own country, whether their conduct in so doing has been a defensible and necessary act, or an act the most profligate and cruel. Much depends on the character of the warfare that is to be waged, much upon the probabilities of success, and much, above all, on the assured sympathy of the great body of a nation in the objects to be attained. In all these circumstances, and in many others, the conspiracy of Wolfe Tone and of his associates in 1798, belongs to the lowest type. The war he sought to wage was not the war of civilised armies, but the war of armed brigands. He had no prospect of success except under conditions which he knew to be unattainable. He had no definite political ideal or aim to set before his country, to compensate for an invasion which he knew would lead certainly to enormous misery and bloodshed, and to possible subjection under foreigners. Lastly, he not only had no assurance that he was acting with the full sympathy of the great body of the nation, but he had, for months before he last embarked, the fullest proof that the great mass of the country was vehemently opposed to his conspiracy.

All these propositions are established by the direct testimony of his own journals. In 1797, when the Texel expedition was in preparation, and still more when it was likely to be given up, there was no desperate act of outrage and of blood which he did not deliberately plan, and upon an enormous scale, against the people of the three kingdoms. In the very madness of rage and hate, he pored over maps to see where he could find the most defenceless tracts of country which might most easily be ravaged. He contemplated the burning of London, the seizure of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the establishment of a French army on the line of the Clyde and Forth Canal. In effecting the conflagration of London he counted on securing the aid of the Irish who were living there on the fruits of English industry. In his carousals over wine in Dutch taverns he and his confederates agreed that they would 'stop at no means,' or, in more familiar parlance, that they would 'stick at nothing.'[47] Yet in all those hideous schemes for acting 'like the French in La Vendée' he was not such a fool as to expect success. 'I feel,' he says, 'very sensibly there is no common sense in it. But after all,

[47] *Life*, ii. 437.

it is my disposition, and I cannot help it. I am growing utterly desperate, and there are times in which I could almost wish for death.' The overmastering power of wicked passions has never been more pathetically expressed.

Before his last embarkation in 1798, he had detailed information as to the loyalty of the great body of the people, at least so far as regarded their hostility to him and his French adventurers. The rebellion in Ireland broke out in May 1798, and he heard when he was still at Rouen full accounts of the fidelity to the Government not only of the regular army, but of the militia and volunteers. 'To their immortal disgrace and infamy,' says Tone in his journal, under date the 18th of June, 1798, 'the militia and yeomanry of Ireland concur with the English to rivet their country's chains and their own.'[48] Yet instead of all this suggesting to him serious doubts as to the justification he could have in procuring the invasion of Ireland by a foreign army, it only makes him the more savage, and the more determined that, if possible, his opponents should 'fall unpitied victims, with thousands of other like parricides,' to what he calls the 'just fury of the people.'[49] Accordingly, he is enchanted when about the same date (the 20th of June, 1798), he gets a proclamation of the executive body of the rebels in Ireland, in which one essential feature of their plan was that 'All Irish in the British service now employed in Ireland who shall be taken with arms in their hands, to be shot instantly.' Tone exults in this atrocious order, and remarks that it was exactly what he had himself urged on the French Directory two years before.[50]

In the face of these revelations of villainy, there is one redeeming feature in the journals of Wolfe Tone. His confessions of ferocity are at least not rendered doubly odious by the sickening hypocrisy of bitter complaints against the Government which was defending itself and its people from his assaults. Tone the younger, the son, does indeed indulge in the puerilities about 'coercion' which came so well from conspirators who were arming hosts of pikemen against the defenders of their country. But there is little of this cant in the journals of the father. There are indeed some natural, and not more than natural exclamations of anger and sorrow, when he hears of his confederates being seized and imprisoned, or tried and executed. But on the whole he is disposed to admit that governments are not to be blamed any more than individuals, if they decline to sit still with their hands in their pockets, when they come on the tracks of men who are seeking their destruction.

Both father and son give emphatic testimony, moreover, to the value and effect of the comparatively gentle measures taken in 1793 for the security of the country. The prohibition against the importation of arms and gunpowder is specially referred to as having cast great difficulties in his way. But Tone goes much farther than this. On one occasion he has the candour to throw himself into the

[48] *Life*, ii. 505. [49] *Ibid.* [50] *Ibid.* p. 509.

position of a British minister, and to tell us what he would have done to checkmate his own wicked game. He would have garrisoned England with an Irish militia, and he would have sent to Ireland the English militia to keep down conspirators.[51] Still more candid is the comment which he passes [52] on a debate in the Irish House of Lords on a motion by Lord Moira against the strong but most necessary measures taken by the Government in 1798. Lord Moira's speech had been answered by the Chancellor (Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare), who took occasion to state very fully the facts as to the extent of the conspiracy—as to its desperate character,—as to the iniquitous endeavours of Wolfe Tone and his associates in Paris to prevent a peace with France, which Mr. Pitt had desired to make—as to the plots to procure the invasion of Ireland. Tone praises the Chancellor's speech—declares that all he said of himself was perfectly true, and ridicules the weakness of his Whig friend Lord Moira, in condemning the Government for its measures of self-defence.

There are always men at such junctures as weak as Lord Moira. Let them listen to the confessions of Wolfe Tone, which are at least manly, even when they testify to his own dispositions becoming every day 'more and more savage.'[53] And when such men speak of the cruelties and excesses which marked the action of both parties in the outbreak of 1798—as such excesses do invariably mark the outbreak of every civil war—let them remember that the Government, and the soldiers, and the militia, and the volunteers of Ireland at that time were fully informed of the murderous orders and intention of Wolfe Tone's brigades. Moreover they saw these orders carried into cruel effect at the very first outbreak of the rebellion. The hideous butcheries in Kildare and Wexford were the Irish counterpart of the September massacres in Paris.

It is the custom and habit of many modern philosophers to find excuses for all the horrors of the French Revolution by ascribing them to the threatened invasion from across the Rhine. This, they say, fully accounts for, or palliates, if it does not justify, the Parisian orgies of blasphemy and blood. It is a very shallow explanation. Foreign aggression had its undoubted share in further inflaming passions which were already raging beyond control. Wordsworth, who hated the war against revolutionary France, has given us a more penetrating interpretation of the facts:—

> In France the men who, for their desperate ends,
> Had plucked up mercy by the roots, were glad
> Of this new enemy. Tyrants strong before
> In wicked pleas, were strong as demons now.[54]

But those who take this line respecting the German invasion of France had better recollect how it tells on the French invasions of Ireland. Let them recollect that every gentleman in Ireland, and every yeoman, and every Catholic priest, and every Catholic layman who cared for

[51] *Life*, ii. 61. [52] *Ibid.* ii. 467. [53] *Ibid.* ii. 472. [54] The *Prelude*.

his religion, and every soldier, and every man in the militia, knew that he himself, or his flock, or his family, or his friend, were deliberately doomed to death, if they were caught fighting against Wolfe Tone and his pagan bands. Very rarely in the history of the world were there accumulated against any conspirators such a combination of causes justifying more righteous indignation or exciting to more furious revenge.

To hold up such a character as Wolfe Tone as any type of Irish character may be the flattery of a vicious sympathy, or it may be a sympathy which is only ignorant of the facts and thoughtless as to their moral teaching. But it is a libel upon Ireland. That portion of the United Kingdom needs no flattery as to the ingredients of virtue which lie in the fountains of her blood. For examples of it, however, I venture to think we should turn by preference to Edmund Burke and to Arthur Wellesley, rather than to Wolfe Tone and to Napper Tandy. Or if this be too high a zone, we may express the like preference for the gallant Irishmen who largely manned the fleets of Duncan and of Nelson over the yelling savages who tortured their defenceless prisoners on the bridge at Wexford.

There is one lesson which, among many others, must impress itself deeply on the mind of all who read the life of Wolfe Tone, and that is the ingrained untruthfulness of all political conspirators of his class. Mere popular insurgents may be honest, and have been so in a thousand cases. But educated men who conspire against a civilised and constitutional government, under the impulse of such personal hatreds and antipathies, and such lusts and desires as we have seen in the confessions of Wolfe Tone, are never truthful. They cannot afford to be so. When we habitually suspect them of deceit we simply suspect them of handling the usual implements of their trade. In particular their pretences of moderation, and their declarations of limited aims, are nothing but the blinds essential for their purpose. Multitudes may be deceived by them, and honest men may become their partisans, sometimes simply through a generous credulity, more often through party passion. But if we have any independent reason to suspect the existence of a political conspiracy aiming at violent ends, we must expect to see these ends denied. Even the most sincere intentions on the part of individual men, have nothing whatever to do with the considerations which should determine us in our estimate of their value. Those considerations lie in the region of inevitable tendencies as attaching to certain political acts and to certain political conditions. Promised limitations are always illusory. Even those who make them sincerely are powerless to enforce them. Politicians who believe in such promises are generally mere bubbles on the stream, and will dance on its surface wherever it may go.

There is, however, a certain family likeness in the pretexts and professions of great political conspiracies in all ages, which a careful

eye can often recognise. Nothing has struck me more in reading the *Life* of Wolfe Tone than the close resemblance of his language on many occasions to the language now held by the more simple-minded and honest of the Anglo-Parnellites. The very phrases they use are the phrases of Wolfe Tone. The very words which they keep repeating, because they are vague and indefinite, are the very words he used because they had a very clear meaning to him, and because the repetition of them tended to inevitable results which it was his one great object to secure. Ireland 'regulating her own concerns;' the distinction between Ireland's 'interests' and other interests 'merely and purely English;' the application of the word 'foreign' to the Government of the British Empire; the appropriation to Ireland of the word 'nation' which, in the United States, is never used except as applied to the Federal Government; the iteration and reiteration of phrases implying that a clear distinction lies between what is 'merely and purely English,' and what is merely and purely Irish—all this is taken directly from Wolfe Tone, in one of the most insidious yet one of the boldest of his papers.

There is, however, one difference, and as regards the perceptive faculty in politics, it is all in favour of that arch-conspirator. In 1790, when he argued that Ireland had no interest in the Spanish war, and ought, therefore, to vote no supplies to the Crown for the prosecution of it, he was in a legal position to avow, and he did avow, that a control over peace and war—over foreign affairs—was one of the items he included in the right of Ireland to 'regulate her own concerns.' Irish blood and Irish treasure were surely among 'her own concerns.' Who could deny it? "Even Lord Charlemont admitted the claim," although he did not then advise the exercise of it. But good and weak men like Lord Charlemont are always doomed to see their doctrines accepted and their advice despised. For who can doubt the inevitable outcome of such claims? There is a logic in ideas, especially in ideas of self-assertion instilled into popular bodies, which cannot be resisted. Nothing can be more certain than that Pitt was right—except the correlative assertion that Wolfe Tone was right too. Both those men—each from his own point of view—saw how the British Empire could be most easily and most fatally assailed. Both of them saw that two separate Parliaments, each jealous for its 'own concerns,' each defining, or reserving, for itself what and how much was to be 'merely and purely' its own—must end in perpetual contention, in estrangement, in separation, and ultimately in civil war.

This was the result which the Minister saw and struggled to prevent. This was the result which the Conspirator also saw and conspired to compass. We must take our part with the one or with the other. With which shall it be?

ARGYLL.

[a] Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*, i. 29, 30, &c.

LORD ROSEBERY AND THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

THE review of the year's work which the Chairman addressed to the London County Council on its first sitting in the new chamber, gave the public some very needful information and corrected not a little misconception. Lord Rosebery is not the man to occupy time with conventional platitudes; and what he told the public of the Council's action comes with the authority of a statesman of the first rank and with the personal knowledge of that member of the Council who is most familiar with its work. A colleague of his with a turn for statistics has discovered that, in the twelve months for which the returns are made up, the Chairman presided at 14 public sittings of the Council, and attended 280 regular meetings of committees. As the informal conferences he held with the chairmen or other members of committees are quite as many, Lord Rosebery must have been occupied with the business of the Council at least as closely as any Minister of the Crown is busy during session with the work of his department.

After what the Chairman has said about the finance of the Council, and after the three lucid letters which Sir Thomas Farrer lately addressed to the *Times*, it seems almost unnecessary to deal with the stale sneer that the Council has largely added to the Metropolitan rates. The Council in its first year of office actually reduced the rate levied by the old Metropolitan Board *for the same purposes*. In 1889, it was 10·06*d*., as against 10·10*d*. for 1888. It is of course true that the London County rate is now much more than the Metropolitan Board rate used to be. But this increase is due to different services and charges, newly imposed on the County rate by Parliament. The London County Council has been created by the Act of 1888 as a wholly new body, entirely distinct in character from the Metropolitan Board of Works, taking over its functions, but receiving very many additional duties, and made liable by Parliament to many new charges. It is a vast new Municipality, in which a multitude of authorities are consolidated, and in whose Budget a group of other rates are converted. As the

Chairman well put it, the London County Council has been compelled to raise a larger rate than its much smaller predecessor, because Parliament has thought fit to impose upon it different duties; and if Parliament had thought good to charge on the County rate the cost of the School Board, of the British Museum, of the Brigade of Guards, it would have been larger still. The London County rate has been increased, not by any act or omission of the Council, but by legislation over which the Council has not the smallest control.

Not that taxation has been increased at all. No more is taken from the public than before. It is taken under a different name, and by different officials. Parliament thought fit in 1888 to make a complex readjustment of local taxation. It varied the funds from which certain public charges had to be drawn. It threw on the County rate nearly half a million for police, more than 100,000*l.* for pauper lunatics, nearly the same amount for asylums and industrial schools, and 328,000*l.* as a contribution for indoor paupers. Parliament has imposed on the London County rate new charges to the amount of 1,206,742*l.*, the whole of which goes to relieve other sources of taxation. On the other hand, Parliament handed over to the County rate out of Imperial sources 853,105*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 354,000*l.* to be made up by the County rate. This amounts to an increased rate of 2¾*d.* 'No part of the increased rate,' says Sir Thomas Farrer, 'is *new taxation*, it is simply a transfer from the poor rate and the old County rate to the new County rate.' On the contrary, a sum of 232,000*l.* is annually provided out of Imperial resources in relief of the metropolitan local taxation. But the transfers from the old County rate and from the poor rate to the new London County rate being upwards of 585,000*l.*, the County rate still is left liable for the difference between the new charges and the new Imperial subsidy, that is to say for 354,000*l.*

For this sum of 354,000*l.* an increased rate of 2¾*d.* has to be raised. But not a farthing extra is taken from the pocket of the London ratepayer. What he pays more on one rate, he now pays less on another. So far, it is as broad as it is long. A very great boon has been conferred on the poorer parts of London by the contributions to indoor paupers from the central fund. But with that the County Council has nothing to do. It is the act of the Legislature. It is plainly unreasonable to complain of the County Council because Parliament has thought fit to change the name of the rate under which certain fixed charges are raised. People are heard to complain that the County rate is increased, without observing that the poor rate is reduced. This is as if one were to grumble that the new 'Goschens' enormously exceed in amount the old 'Consols,' and quietly ignore the *per contra*—that the old 'Reduced' and the like have disappeared from our National Debt. Yet Mrs. Malaprop continues to repeat this grotesque blunder—that the London County

Council has increased the rates by $\frac{3}{4}d$. It has not increased the rates any more than Mr. Goschen has increased the National Debt. The new County rate might very well be christened *Ritchies*. It is a simple matter of financial readjustment, for which Parliament is responsible, not the Council.

But the readjustment of taxation does not rest here. Parliament has thought good to abolish the City Coal-dues. Thereby the Council loses a revenue of 332,000*l.*; and it has to meet it by a rate of $2\frac{1}{4}d$. This was not the act of the Council, but of Parliament. As the Chairman said, the Council had no more to do with the termination of the Coal-dues than they had with the construction of the Pyramids. He has himself consistently recommended the retention of the Coal-dues, as did a strong party in the Council. But he admits that a unanimous petition from the Council in that sense would not have altered the determination of Parliament. Both parties in the House were pledged to their extinction. The Coal-dues had been continually condemned by governments, committees, and official reports. Economists and statesmen have held these dues up to public reprobation as the type of an obsolete method of taxation. Those who studied the admirable letter of Sir Thomas Farrer of the 10th of May, in which he pointed out, how an indirect *octroi* on a necessary of life, is a far greater burden on industry and poverty than an equivalent direct tax, will hardly agree with the sentimental regrets of the Chairman for the condemned impost. Mrs. Malaprop still continues to burble that the County Council has not reduced the price of coal. No! nor have they entirely removed the big blue flies from the butchers' shops; nor made port wine as cheap as ale. Parliament has taken away from the Council 332,000*l.* of Coal-dues; and has thereby compelled the Council to make a rate of $2\frac{1}{2}d$. But if the public allow the 332,000*l.* or any part of it to remain in the pockets of the coal-dealers and their agents, it is the fault of the public. The Council have entirely reorganised the staff of inspectors for measuring coal; and have thus suppressed a great amount of petty fraud. But they have no more power to affect the price of coal than they have to reduce the price of bread or meat.

Now, the fact that the increase in the County rate is not caused by the action of the Council rests upon unimpeachable authority. It was lucidly explained by the Chairman in his address. It was fully worked out in detail by Sir Thomas Farrer. It is stated in the report signed by Lord Lingen, the Chairman of the Finance Committee. It is endorsed by Sir John Lubbock. If a financial statement formally presented to the public by men of the standing and experience of these four eminent public men is not to be trusted, we had better give up public accounts altogether. The idea that the London Council had raised the rates by extravagant undertakings is as wild a fable as that of Pope Joan. Part of the statutory constitu-

tion of the Council is this: that the Finance Committee must assent to every detail of expenditure exceeding 50*l.* after due notice and discussion. Now the Finance Committee has for its Chairman Lord Lingen, one of our greatest financial authorities; and it contains, besides Lord Rosebery and his official colleagues, active partners in four of the great London banks, and several other men of great experience in the City. It so happens that a majority of the Finance Committee are men who are not counted as of the (so-called Progressive) majority in the Council. So that, if the democratic rashness of the majority had really forced upon the Council extravagant estimates, they could only have done so by making partners in their folly some of the first financiers in the City of London, together with some of the most eminent and experienced officials in public life. The entire policy of the Council is by law subordinated to the statutory Finance Committee. And the Finance Committee itself is guided by responsible men with a reputation as high as any in our country, who have on the Committee a majority of so-called 'Moderates.' They are in fact ultimately responsible for the entire policy of the Council, so far as it involves the outlay of public money.

In minor matters the Council has effected some economies; and also has sanctioned some increased expenditure. The economies have been made by a stricter supervision in current contracts, by the consolidation of certain offices, and in largely-reduced salaries to certain superior officials. Many of us thought the latter an unwise economy: but it marks the reforming zeal of a newly-elected body. The increased expenditure has been caused by the immense increase of business, the consequent addition to the staff, and by greater cost of the Fire Brigade and the Parks. The Council has about twice the work of the Metropolitan Board of Works; it has held more than twice as many sittings, and has many times the printing and clerical business. It has been obliged to create some new departments, to find a new hall and five extra houses. In two departments, and in two only, it has added to the current expenditure of London. These are the Fire Brigade and the Parks.

One of the first cares of the newly-elected Council was to remedy the gross and almost scandalous deficiency in the protection of London from fire, which a few years ago was below that of almost any civilised city in Europe. The Council has added three engine-stations, 75 escape and hose stations, 200 fire-alarms, and 118 men. The cost in capital was about 30,000*l.*, and 16,000*l.* in annual outlay. This is far from being adequate or all that Captain Shaw requires; but it has mitigated the urgency of the peril to which this mighty city is exposed.

The expenditure on the Parks has grown by the generosity of donors and greater advantages in the public service. The Council

welcomed as gifts, Myatt's Fields of 14½ acres and 10,000*l.* in money; the Waterlow Park of 30 acres, 3 mansions, and 6,000*l.* in money; and Victoria Gardens at a nominal price. It has advanced 61,000*l.*, half the cost of Brockwell Park, and has acquired an open space out of Coldbath Fields. It has also greatly developed the usefulness of the Parks by giving fresh facilities for cricket and games, for boating, for bathing, gymnasia, refreshments, and conveniences in chalets; and it is endeavouring to secure public bands of music. The charge for parks and open spaces amounts, for 1890–91, to 65,000*l.*; being an increase over 1889–90 of 16,000*l.*, and over 1887 of 45,000*l.* Of this sum 20,000*l.* represents the cost of parks transferred to the Council by Parliament since 1887. The expenditure on parks and open spaces is one that is urgently demanded by public opinion; and so long as the ratepayers of the Metropolis are satisfied that the Parks are well cared for and managed with economy and forethought, they will heartily ratify the action of the Council.

It thus appears that the items of fire protection and parks are the only cases in which the Council has voluntarily added to the public burdens. These two items together (and for this we have the authority of Lord Lingen's report) *amount to an increase of less than one farthing.* As this farthing goes to give better protection to the lives, the health, and the property of the ratepayers, they are not at all likely to grudge it. Every one can see the new Fire Stations, and the increased advantages of the Parks. If the work has been well done it has been by virtue of incessant vigilance. The Fire Committees have held more than 50 sittings in the year, and the various Parks Committees 129. And considering the continual growth of the population, the extent, and the wealth of the Metropolis, an increase of less than one farthing for improved service to the public, in these two great essentials of civilised life, must be looked on as a very moderate outlay, amply justified by public necessity. All other increase in the Council's expenditure has been imposed upon it by Parliament for new business or by fresh statutory charges.

The Council, as a body, has indeed shown severe self-control in resisting a series of proposals which might well tempt a new and ambitious municipality. One of its very first cares was to abandon the Bill promoted in Parliament by its predecessor for street improvements at an estimated cost of 1,200,000*l.* Its next was to suspend all action on the Act obtained by the old Board for the Blackwall Tunnel at more than an equal outlay. The Council thus, in the first month of its existence, freed itself from liabilities which it had inherited at its origin of some 2,500,000*l.* It has resisted the temptation to make new street improvements at present, except in urgent trifling cases. Its one big London improvement, the widening of the Strand, awaits the decision of Parliament. This has long been demanded by public opinion. It is the earnest con-

viction of the Council that, if Parliament consents to the scheme as proposed, it will fall on the body of ratepayers in a mode more just and more economical than any street improvement of modern times.

But the most conspicuous instance of the anxiety of the Council to keep down the rates is shown by its steady refusal to provide itself with a suitable building. Every great city in Europe, almost every second-rate town in England, has housed its municipal authority more worthily than the greatest and richest city in the world. The old Board was cramped and cabined in its awkward and ill-contrived corner in Spring Gardens. The new Council, with more than twice the numbers and four times the work, can hardly cram itself into the old office. The convenience of members, the efficiency of the service, even the health of the staff, some of whom have to work in places lit by artificial light, all suffer from the want of space. Five houses in the neighbourhood have been leased wherein to board out the various departments. It was absolutely essential to have a hall which could hold 137 members, some 20 officials, the press, and the public. In spite of this severe temptation to build, not to say a suitable, but almost a necessary, Town Hall, the Council contented itself with enlarging the old premises at a cost of 6,600*l*. The want of proper rooms for the committees and the staff, for the documents, and the stores, remains as before. But the Council's architect, Mr. Blashill, has provided for a modest sum, and with singular ingenuity, a handsome, convenient, light, and airy chamber: which is obviously a working stop-gap, but which well suits the business-like tone of those who use it.

Mr. Blashill has had the courage and good sense to adopt the semicircular plan of deliberative chamber—which is a Continental and American type—and to discard the oblong parliamentary type, so familiar in England, but which is a mere accident derived from the old Chapel of St. Stephen's. The semicircular plan gets rid of the double-party arrangement of seats; it tends to equality; for it removes the prominence of the 'front bench;' it extinguishes ministerial benches; adds much to the command and supervision of the Chairman; brings all members alike into close contact and sight with each other; and reduces the inconvenience of exit and entrance of members. Both the public and the press have greatly-increased facilities in the semicircular chamber: which ought soon to supersede the oblong type for all deliberative bodies.

Whilst practising a stern economy where its own convenience and dignity are concerned, the Council has not been forgetful of the future. In spite of the economic protests of a very strong party, the Council has at last been induced by some of its most experienced members to consent to look for a site suitable to a Municipal Hall, if any such should turn up. But, notwithstanding some rather

seductive offers, the special committee charged with that task have as yet made no proposal, and no liability has been created. A grand scheme to connect the Strand with Holborn, recommended by the Improvements Committee, has been postponed by the Council on economic grounds. And the making of the Blackwall Tunnel, for which the old Board had obtained an Act and had made costly purchases of land, has been revived only after long deliberation and strong pressure from the Chairman, in a provisional way and subject to very strict conditions as to cost. Several schemes for street improvements, along with various proposals involving outlay, such as the somewhat academic idea of a new hospital for the study of mental disease, have been sternly suppressed by the Council on the ground that, however useful, they would hardly justify their cost. Thus on every side the Council has shown a constant anxiety not to commit the ratepayers to any new burden, and an almost parsimonious resolve to limit its own new undertakings to the strictest measure of necessity. How different is all this from the municipal policy of such cities as Paris, Berlin, Rome, Milan, Florence, and New York!

It seems difficult to convince the public that the London County Council is not, on the one hand, the old Board of Works; and that it is not, on the other hand, the sole local authority, like the municipalities of Paris or Rome. The public still persists, first, in looking on it as a mere enlargement of the old Board, and next, in holding it responsible for what belongs to the various vestries. The Council is a real County authority; though it has very imperfect control over the old district authorities. The public is too apt to underrate the extent of its new County work, whilst it overrates the power of the Council in all matters of district administration. Hence a person pretending to be well informed asks why London rates have gone up; and in the same breath he asks why the Council do not pave the road better and put more lamps at a street corner. The answer, of course, is that Parliament has thought fit to create a new municipal body, and has transferred to it fresh charges amounting to 1,200,000*l.* per annum; whilst, on the other hand, Parliament has left the vestries to pave, light, and sweep the streets, just as they did before. The County Council have no more power to override the legal acts of the vestry in matters of paving and lighting, than they have to prevent the Beadle of St. Martin's from wearing a cocked hat, or the Carlton Club from filling Pall Mall with smoke from their chimneys. These two cognate errors as to the powers of the Council are so common that a few words seem necessary as to each.

In the first place the Council takes over all the duties of the Metropolitan Board of Works as to main sewers, parks, streets, buildings, and the like. But it is not, as was the old Board, a simple commission of sewers and works. By the Act of 1888 the Council has all the administrative business that formerly devolved upon the

Justices in Quarter Sessions and out of session. Consequently it has the licensing of houses for stage-plays, for music and dancing; the provision of pauper lunatics; the maintenance of industrial and reformatory schools; the maintenance of County bridges; the salaries of coroners; the business of elections. Besides these sources of expenditure there are other contributions to be made by the Council under the following heads:—Teachers in Poor Law Schools, public vaccinators, medical officers of health, registrars of births and deaths, Poor-Law medical expenses, indoor paupers at fourpence per head per day; old County debt, ditto pensions, criminal prosecutions, Central Criminal Court, judicial salaries, maintenance of Sessions Houses, inspection of weights and measures, main roads, licensing slaughter-houses, rabies, electric-lighting. *All of these duties and charges are new.* And in addition, the Council has to pay 463,000*l.* for police, though they have no control over the force. Altogether, as we have previously shown, the new County Council has burdens involving an annual charge of 1,206,742*l.*, no part of which fell on the Metropolitan Board of Works. The London County Council is not a Board, but an administrative county; absorbing in value about seven-eighths of the county property of Middlesex, about two-thirds of that of Surrey, and one-third of that in Kent; the total amounting to a capital sum of nearly two millions.

On the other hand the Council is not the exclusive municipal authority in London, in the sense that the Municipal Council is in Paris and in other Continental cities. The Council has no direct authority over district administration. The parishes and unions pave, light, cleanse, and improve their own streets, build their own town-halls, maintain their own poor, provide for the convenience of their own quarter, maintain their own open spaces, provide for the health of their ratepayers, abate nuisances, and generally regulate their own affairs as they please. They do these things well, ill, or not at all. But the Council cannot do it for them, and have but very indirect and cumbrous methods of urging them to do their duty, or restraining them from mischief. The Council is constantly called on to lend them money, but it has very little control over the mode in which it is spent. Such is the anomalous and complex mode in which local government has shaken itself together in this enormous city.

The relations of District Councils to the Central Council form one of the most anxious problems which await the Legislature. But the County Council is in the hands of Parliament. It would gladly accept such increased powers over local administration as Parliament may assign to it. But it has formulated no scheme of its own; and it claims no rights. District authorities everywhere are anxious to thrust their own duties on the central body by ostentatious neglect of them, in the hope that the richer body may take them up, like starving foundlings, out of mere charity or shame. This the County

Council refuses to do. But in the meantime it cannot be held responsible for neglect or malpractice in district bodies over whose action Parliament declines to give it any real or efficient control.

Duties so varied and continuous as those of the Council can only be performed by unremitting labour. And its worst enemies will not deny the Council the credit of unremitting labour, even if they wish it had been less laborious. The Council and its various committees have held in the year 1,000 sittings. There are twenty-five committees and thirty sub-committees. In assiduous attendance the Chairman himself takes the cake with 324 recorded attendances. But many other active members can count their attendances by hundreds, occupying many hours for two or three days a week. Nor is attendance on committee for the busy members a mere form; for many of the committees are occupied in mid-session for four or five hours continuously in the closest scrutiny of papers and accounts. Business which is presided over by men of the administrative experience of Lord Rosebery, Sir John Lubbock, Lord Lingen, Lord Hobhouse, Sir Thomas Farrer, to name only a few chairmen of committees best known to the public, is not done, the public may be sure, in a perfunctory way. Many other committees have chairmen of experience quite as great as those just named, though, perhaps, not yet so well known to the public. The real temptation of the new body rather lies on the other side—towards an excessive eagerness for work. And some of the weaker Aldermanic vessels, who have not before their eyes an early re-election by a popular constituency, are suspected by their more democratic colleagues of murmuring in private the warning of Talleyrand about *trop de zèle*. Symptoms are to be seen of occasional over-pressure on the staff, and a forcing of the machine at a very high rate of speed. There are councillors, known amongst their colleagues as the 'gluttons,' who think we ought never to leave Spring Gardens, unless it be to sleep—and not always for that; and who hold that a County Council ought to be driven night and day like an Atlantic liner between New York and Liverpool.

A very grave difficulty arises in the organisation of this work—a difficulty with which the Council is not perhaps itself able to deal. A Council of 137 is far too large as a working executive. On the other hand, how is it to constitute an executive where all are equal, without any outside authority, and where local knowledge and interest are of special importance? The Council has nothing analogous to the 'Government;' and it fortunately cannot fall into 'ministerial' and 'opposition' parties. For fourteen months the Council has managed its business by a set of some eighteen committees, independent of each other, who report weekly to the General Council. It is curious that one of the most capable Governments which England ever had, during the whole period of the Commonwealth, was carried

on much in this way. But then the uniting link—the soul of the whole administration—was Cromwell. The Council has got on very well whilst it had a Cromwell of its own. But what will it do without one?

The enormous pressure of work, of hard, urgent, administrative detail, which could not be delayed for a day, in a few weeks convinced even the most talkative and casual members of the Council, that it is a working business department, and not a deliberative assembly for the discussion of opinions. Here and there a bore wastes time, now and then a fad trots out for an airing, and even still a fervid brother sometimes forgets that he is addressing 'a committee' and not a 'House.' But the amount of time thus wasted hardly exceeds two or three per cent. at the worst. And men wearied with four hours' grind over Highways, Building Acts, and Reformatory Schools, welcome the blowing off of a little steam, as the House fills to hear 'Lawson' on Publicans, or 'Saunderson' on Patriots. Unluckily a lively incident which may occupy twenty minutes and leads to nothing but 'a warning' to some committee, and a good laugh, fills a column in the morning newspapers; and they naturally find the other four hours of business too dull to report. All that the public gets is something that can be said to approach to an 'incident' in the public Tuesday sittings. Nor does a word reach the public of the forty or fifty hours spent by committees in steady work on the other days of the week. The Council suffers, like many public men and bodies, from the accident that it is too important not to be reported, and not important enough to be reported in full. No one can complain of the newspapers, whose business it is to give their readers something to talk about. A big impracticable scheme, a slashing party attack, and of course a personal 'row,' are more amusing than 'sludge-ships,' gas-meters, and pauper lunatics. And if anything of the kind arises, the public get a full, picturesque, if not absolutely literal account of it; and the real business of the day is compressed into the phrase—'the other committees then presented their reports; which, after debate and with some amendments, were adopted.' The public may rest assured that the quantity of *sack* is a pitiful modicum at best, and that the hunks of *bread* in the *agenda* are huge, stodgy, and altogether intolerable.

Take the latest *Agenda*-paper, with its Reports and Memoranda, as a specimen of the current work. First, the Finance Committee presents a report showing the weekly balances in detail, the weekly outgoings of 67,000*l.*, and recommending a series of cash advances. The weekly cash-paper consists of ten folio pages, with about 500 items, varying from 5*s.* to 10,000*l.* The Finance Committee's own report covers eight pages, and deals, beside current business, with a complex adjustment of property between the counties of London, Middlesex, and Surrey, amounting in the whole to more than a million

and a half. The adjustment relates to some fifty different establishments or liabilities, and has occupied Mr. Boulnois and his committee for an entire year. A thorough man of business might make himself master of the subject in a week of steady work, and his opinion would not be worth much till he had done so. This, however, is only one of fourteen reports in the day's work. The Standing Committee report as to the staff; the Parks Committee recommend the taking over of eleven open spaces offered to the Council, at a cost of 1,000*l.* per annum; the Improvements Committee put their foot down on a street widening suggested for Whitechapel; the Theatres Committee make fourteen recommendations as to various places of public amusement; the Bridges Committee advise four structural proposals; the Building Act Committee offer views as to the treatment of seventy-three structures, in various parts of London between Hammersmith and Greenwich. Perhaps Mr. Driver, or one of his staff, might be able to satisfy himself in about the space of a week as to the best course to take in these seventy-three cases, if he came to the matter *de novo*. But the Council are generally content with the word of Mr. Hutton and his colleagues as to the street-frontage in Kensington and the iron mission-house in Bethnal Green. The Highways Committee fill seven pages with references to about 100 streets, and a schedule of thirty-eight Vestries and Boards who apply for help; about which it is very likely the Council will trust Mr. Westacott's judgment. The Improvements Committee deal with six or seven new streets in various ways; and the Main Drainage Committee presents a short report in only four paragraphs. The Parliamentary Committee are more than usually moderate with only ten paragraphs, for the most part recommending a masterly inactivity in the corridors of the House; and the learning of Mr. Charles Harrison is condensed into less than two pages. Lastly, the Special Committee on Contracts report the result of an inquiry which began in October last; and the Special Committee on the Transfer of County Property report on the transfer of property between Surrey and London.

Altogether there are some forty-eight pages of reports and appendices to consider, with at least a thousand different items and figures; and the whole of this matter will have to be ratified by the Council in a single public sitting. It will be observed that this is not on the footing of Bills and Estimates presented to Parliament by a Government which is practically responsible for every clause and item. The Council has no 'government' out of itself; and, for London purposes, it is itself the only ministry. Technically, the Council, as a body, is responsible for the accuracy of every figure, and for the lawfulness and good sense of the smallest detail. In practice, of course, it has to trust to the energy and character of its committees and the skill and zeal of its officers. The whole of the

thousand figures and items will have to be passed before one of them can get to dinner. Of all the thousand the public will perhaps hear of three which may contain some element of what the reporter calls 'interest.' It is well for the public that it is so: for the 997 other items are far from exciting reading. And when the dull 997 and the spicy 3 are all cleared off, and Councillors have got home to a late (and let us trust not cold) dinner, they will read in the papers next morning that they had been occupied in restraining a refractory member from making a murderous assault on 'the Chair,' or in listening to a philippic by Mr. John Burns on Socialism and the Sweating System.

Under the standing orders of the Council, obstruction and irrelevant speeches are almost physically impossible. The fifteen minutes' limit and the systematic use of the Closure have finally cured all that. No speech may exceed a quarter of an hour unless by special leave on vote taken. Nor is the leave often asked, or granted of course. Except during the debate on the Blackwall Tunnel, which lasted over three sittings, and when every speaker had a mass of facts and figures to handle, the limit is hardly extended once in a sitting. Now the silent movement of the minute hand before the eyes of an impassioned orator, to say nothing of the suggestive smile of the Chairman, force a speaker to compress his views into a minimum of words, and as the audience know that in a few minutes they will have to listen to a fresh voice, there is no unwillingness to sit through speeches, the average length of which is about ten minutes. No one likes the effect of being cut short by the Chairman, even though it be by the pleasantest of silent smiles. The effect of the fifteen minutes' rule is to extinguish oratory, and to reduce all speaking within the Council to the bare limits of practical debating.

The effect of the Closure is even more stringent. The Closure is applied by a simple majority, with the assent of the Chairman. It is a matter of course, which usually terminates each debate, and it is often voted four or five times in a single sitting. The Council enjoys the services of a colleague, who, blessed with the voice of Stentor and the swoop of a hawk, moves Closure every half-hour, with all the ruthless pertinacity of Marat demanding more heads for the guillotine. Over and over again the Chairman curbs the impatience of members, who, having made up their minds, are eager to vote. Lord Rosebery is the last man in public life whom one would expect to be tolerant of idle talk. But day by day he exhibits the unique example of a Chairman of a deliberative assembly begging it, nay even compelling it, to listen to more of such highly instructive debate. But presently we all know our own minds: and the 'abhorred shears' cut off the eager word.

In point of fact, that great institution, the Closure, is of little use

until it becomes systematic and familiar, and has ceased to be exceptional and a grievance. The tendency of the Council, certainly in the Chairman's eye, accustomed as he is to the measured prolixity of the Upper House, is to debate too little rather than too much. Certain it is, that its experience of a time limit and of a simple closure affords invaluable examples of efficient reform for all working assemblies. And, as in the Council there is no ministry, no opposition, no front bench and no gangway, the resort to a uniform rule of convenience causes no irritation, and has no party character.

A student of our political institutions who cares to know how the London County Council does its work, should walk into the galleries at Spring Gardens, if possible before Lord Rosebery has resigned the chair. Let him not trust to the newspapers: he might as well trust Mr. Harry Furniss. We need not revive painful memories; but the truth remains that the constitution of the Council in January 1889 was a cruel disappointment to one party and a triumphant omen to the other party. Everything that has happened since has added fresh meaning to the revival of London as a reforming power, if London be not destined to prove the Hougoumont of the next Waterloo. The immense importance of this issue, on which it is needless here to enlarge, has sunk deep into the brain of all serious politicians and all thoughtful journalists. As the morning journals of London are, with one exception, supporters of the present Government, it was not in human nature to expect them to look kindly on the County Council. As a matter of fact their cue has been to discredit the Council by everything which wit, ill-humour, caricature, and partisan one-sidedness can devise. Mrs. Grundy and Mrs. Harris in the provinces no doubt take literally Mr. Harry Furniss's delightful cartoons in *Punch*. Attend a sitting of the County Council and you will find next morning in the press articles, paragraphs, announcements, and sketches, as veracious, as literal, though unhappily not so amusing. Our friends from the country, and indeed many of our friends in town, may rest assured that, when they read something ridiculous, something alarming, something revolutionary about the County Council, it is mere professional 'business' of the party scribe, doing his best to back up his own side.

The editors of these prints, one imagines addressing their young lions in some such strain as this: 'Let us have a stinger about the Council to-day. Its constitution is the most awkward mess our party has got into since Pigott's affair. The reports to hand are rather scanty; but we all know what they probably said and did. John Burns spoke; so we may take it the Council is full of socialists. Mr. Harry Marks picked holes with the accounts; so there is no doubt a job on hand somewhere. Sir Thomas Farrer objects to the licensing duties imposed on the Council by the new Bill; so rate him soundly for meddling with imperial politics. Don't trouble with the

Chairman, for he is popular everywhere; besides he might give you a nasty one back. But you can make game of most of the rest, unless they are on our side or represent the City. And you can always talk about Bumble, the increase of rates, closing the Music Halls, and the scandalous pavement in Pall Mall!' And so it goes on week by week. One party print, it is said, has amongst its contributors a member of the Council, who enjoys the singular opportunity of warming up, under an editorial 'we,' the Ciceronian periods which failed to convince his colleagues; together with innuendoes and imputations which he forgot to make in open Council.

The public have taken the measure of the party press; and they know how the party press foams and mouths over a bitter pill. The public will not fail to recognise, that in the London County Council it has a number of men with as much public spirit and practical knowledge as London can produce, or the task of administering this vast city can need. Exactly one in ten are members of the Legislature, and amongst them sit some of the most able and experienced administrators whom the public service of this country ever trained. At least a score of non-official members are responsible for the conduct of great concerns in this city: bankers, manufacturers, merchants, or traders. It is not a little that for once a great capital has a municipality in which fraud and jobbery are as completely extinct as vigilance can make them. A member suspected of leniency to either would run the risk of being torn in pieces, and the Chairman would hardly succeed in preventing bloodshed on the floor of the County Hall. The members of the County Council of London represent a new force in English politics, and embody a popular power of which we have yet no experience. They may have some of the over eagerness of a new body, set to work under novel conditions; conscious of a great mission before them, and a vast and incalculable popular force behind them. Lord Rosebery, in his noble peroration, said no more than literal truth when he told his colleagues: 'What has sustained you in this work has been neither fee, nor fame, nor praise; it has been the pure impulse of a clear duty, and a high hope, and a generous ideal.'

The counsel of its Chairman has not been given to his colleagues in vain; nor will his example of the model organisation of a difficult task be forgotten by the people.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

ACTOR-MANAGERS.

I.

THE growth of the system whereby actors have acquired the control of the most important play-houses is simply a process of evolution. It need not, I think, be hard to show that it is a matter of good effect not only to those immediately concerned, and to dramatic artists in general, but even, in greater or less degree, to literature and the arts, and so to the great public.

The history of the Stage reflects the history of the Nation, and a short view of the history of legislation on the subject may help us to understand the process of devolution of stage power into the hands of the players.

From the first in England, players seem to have been regarded somewhat in the light of members of a craft or guild. Thus, in the sumptuary enactments of Edward the Fourth and Henry the Eighth, 'Players in their Interludes'—the earliest allusions to them in the statutes—are exempted from the penalties of wearing apparel not allowed to their degree. In the early days of the creation of the English Drama they were under the protection of the monarch or of great nobles; and this protection, which was at first of certain service, was practically a bar to the formation of any guild or mystery, so that they were deprived of this form of aid to corporate advancement.

It was not until the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, 1572, that the first Act was passed which mentioned players in any way constructively lowering to personal dignity. This Act related to 'Roges, Vacabonds and Sturdie Beggars;' but in its defining clause it included players as follows:—'common players in enterludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any baron of this realme, or towards any other honorable personage of greater degree;' or who 'have not licence of two Justices of the Peace at the least, whereof one to bee of the Quorum, where and in what shire they shall happen to wander.' That the Act was not levelled specially at the Stage is shown by the list of unlawful occupations also included in the Act:—'unauthorized proctors, gamesters, palmestrists, physnomists, bearwards, juglers, pedlers, tinkers, counterfeitors, scholars of Oxford and Cambridge begging without licence, shipmen pretending losses, and all such like folk.' This law has been much misunderstood, for it treats

purely of vagrants, being merely a re-enactment of former statutes from the time of Edward the Third down, and applies only to those itinerant players who have not complied with the conditions laid down as necessary. A decree of the Sovereign and Council in 1556 prohibited strolling players through the country, whereas this Act gives greater freedom and provides for proper licences from those able to enforce protection and to accept responsibility. This power of licensing was, by an Act of 1598, afterwards amplified as follows: 'common players in enterludes and minstrels not belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or any other honorable Personage of greater Degree, to be auctorized to play, under the Hande and Seale of Armes of such Baron or Personage,' &c. Some five years later this power of licensing by nobles was taken away by an Act of James the First.

The vagrant statutes, however, although they were in various ways amended during the reign of nearly every successive monarch so as to follow in some degree the growing enlightenment of the age, continued the proviso against strolling players 'not being duly authorized by law' down to 1822. In this year was passed the last statute in which even strolling players are mentioned as rogues and vagabonds *in posse*; for before two years were over a new vagrant law had been enacted in which they are not mentioned. Though the inclusion in the statutes of players as rogues and vagabonds, when lacking legal authority, lasted for some two centuries and a half after 1572, the only unsatisfactory mention which I can find of them is in a marginal note to the Act 1 James I. c. 7. Here the Statute of 1598, made against rogues and vagabonds in general, is referred to as follows:—'Recital of Stat. 39 Eliz. c. 4, § 2, declaring Players, &c. to be Vagabonds:' it seems as if it was intended to convey that the recited Act had been made primarily against players, whereas in this very Act of 1598 the *ipsissima verba* of the Act of 1572 are used, whereby unlicensed players are only included amongst a crowd of other delinquents.

As time went on, however, the bounds of dramatic effort became enlarged, and players and theatres were sufficiently numerous to require some special enactment to duly regulate their undertakings. This came in 1736, with the Act under the elephantine title:—'An Act to explain and amend so much of an Act made in the Twelfth year of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, intituled *An Act for reducing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, sturdy Beggars, and Vagrants, and sending them whither they ought to be sent*, as relates to common Players of Interludes.'

The passing of this Act marks a change in theatrical history. Hitherto the only statutes affecting players had been the Vagrant Laws, with the exception of the early sumptuary enactments above mentioned, and an Act of James the First, forbidding profane language on the stage. These Vagrant Laws had always had some sort of

economic or utilitarian basis, and had been enacted and re-enacted, enlarged or modified, to suit the exigencies of the time—the strolling players seeming to only share the lot of certain other wanderers from having been originally included in the comprehensive description of rogues and vagabonds given in the Act of 1572, and to owe their disability to neglect of legal obligations. The Act of 1736, however, lays down the law regarding actors as such, and states the penalties to which they may be subject for non-compliance with the laws thus made. The following provisions ruled the position of actors for more than a century afterwards:—

That from and after the 24th June, 1737, every Person who shall for Hire, Gain, or Reward, act, represent, or perform, or cause to be acted, represented, or performed, any Interlude, Tragedy, Comedy, Opera, Play, Farce, or other Entertainment of the Stage, or any Part or Parts therein, in case such Person shall not have any legal Settlement in the Place where the same shall be acted, represented or performed, without Authority, by virtue of Letters Patent from His Majesty, His Heirs, Successors, or Predecessors, or without Licence from the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household for the time being, shall be deemed to be a Rogue and a Vagabond within the Intent and Meaning of the said recited Act, and shall be liable and subject to all such Penalties and Punishments, and by such Methods of Conviction, as are inflicted on or appointed by the said Act, for the Punishment of Rogues and Vagabonds, who shall be found wandering, begging, and misordering themselves within the Intent and Meaning of the said recited Act.

This Act of 1736, with an enlargement in 1787 continued in force up to 1843. An Act passed in this year still controls the management of theatres, subject to certain structural powers of the Metropolis Management Acts.

Briefly, then, the great Acts of Parliament affecting players were: (1) the Act of 1572 (14 Eliz. c. 5), which included them, if not under the protection of a patron or licensed by the justices of the shire, as rogues and vagabonds: (2) the Act of 1598 (39 Eliz. c. 4), which carried on this idea, having been accepted in successive reigns up to 1824; (3) the Act of 1603 (1 James I. c. 7), which abolished the privilege of great nobles to give licences; (4) the Act of 1736 (10 George II. c. 28), which recognised the existence of proper theatres, provided for the licensing of plays, and regulated the responsibilities of actors; and (5) the Act of 1843 (6 and 7 Vict. c. 68), which at present fixes the law on the subject.

Of course there have been other official ordinances besides statutes on the subject of theatres and players, but I have taken the Statute Book as the ultimate expression of the general tone or tendency of the law. There have been licences of the sovereign and great nobles, patents, royal warrants, and decrees of the Privy Council, and the Lord Chamberlain acquired certain powers under the common law; but all such were special exercises of power, and had some immediate purpose or motive in connection with individuals. It is in the laws made for all that we must find the general attitude of authority.

Let us, therefore, look at facts outside the Statute Book, and we shall see that all through the three centuries in which the Drama has flourished, public opinion has been almost invariably with the player, and not with the law, wherever and whenever it hampered the free development and exercise of the player's art. We shall see, moreover, that as public opinion became a more and more important factor in the government of the State, so such enactments became neglected, until they faded naturally out of the public view and became mere records of the existence of erroneous policy. Thus, certain statutes, whilst re-enacting the old laws, declare, not only by inference but even in words, that the previous law having fallen into disuse it now becomes necessary to enforce it, and so forth. Thus, again, theatres became organised, despite the monopoly of patent houses, granted by Charles the Second, as when the theatre in Goodman's Fields was started without the necessary authority. When, in 1741, the two patent theatres remained empty through the rush to see Garrick, then commencing his great career, it was by a threat of appeal to the law that the manager was compelled into a compromise, and Garrick joined Drury Lane. Again, the Act of 1736, which professed to rule theatres absolutely, enacted, amongst other matters, that no theatre should be erected anywhere except in Westminster or its Liberties, or where the King might be in residence; but with the growth of the population this clause became so near being a dead letter, that theatres sprang up in many places in defiance of it, just as the demand for them arose, and certain temporary licences by local justices were empowered by an Act of 1787 (28 George III. c. 30). We may find another instance in the growth of the music-hall system, which has gradually attained such colossal proportions. At first these places of entertainment were merely dancing houses, whose character was such that they caused the passing of the Act of 1747–51 (25 George II. c. 36). As time went on their number increased, and greater privileges were allowed them, until the present draft Bill of the London County Council allows them all the privileges of theatres proper, as to the production of stage plays. The reason, then, for this wide difference between the theory of protection and restraint, as expressed all along in the laws, and fact, as exemplified by daily life, was that the art was acquiring greater dignity, and the players were achieving a higher status amongst their fellow-citizens by degrees: the exercise of the art helped in many ways to advance the artists. At the start, the players were worthy people enough, some of them having acquired wealth and honour; but as under the Stuart dynasty the age of grosser luxury flourished, so they often fell into the common errors of the time. It would be too much to expect that one class should be free from a common vice, but yet we find that the stage was never without some great actor whose worthy life was an example to his time. Betterton succeeded Burbage, and was

followed by Wilks. Garrick was succeeded by the Kembles, Young, Macready, Phelps, Charles Kean, and so on to our own day. Indeed, if we take the succession of actors from Shakespeare down, we shall fairly find that the one who was crowned by public favour wore the golden circlet of his own kingdom quite as worthily as even the Monarch of the State in succession. It is in this very fact of public favour that we find the rationale and the genesis of the actor-manager. The public has its own discrimination; and its judgment, being the resultant of varied needs and interests and wishes, is sure to be in the main correct—*vox populi vox Dei* has a basis of truth which wise statesmen and students of men do well to consider. Public favour, when bestowed on a producer of work of any kind, is a valuable commodity; and to a player it is especially valuable, since his work is purely personal and cannot be reproduced or multiplied, like literature or music or work in the plastic arts. Thus, when the player has won his place, fortune follows, and his power can be turned into wealth, influence, position—that which he may aim at and which it is in him to achieve. Why, then, should he not use this power in the best direction and in the manner most serviceable to himself? Actors could have early used their power to this advantage, but that the road was barred on the one hand by the system of patronage or by patents which limited the number of theatres, and, on the other, by the laws which deemed them, if not under protection or licence, rogues and vagabonds. In the seventeenth century this double disadvantage was prohibitive of any effort at advance, for the actors were few, there was no system of provincial theatres at all, and the Court party, to which the subservient patentees belonged, was all-powerful. But with the growing liberties and larger population of the eighteenth century, things began to mend. In spite of the Vagrant Laws players travelled about, though in but a rough way enough, and new theatres which arose in spite of the patents were in time recognised even by the authorities.

The system of actor-management grew with the times. The foremost and most progressive managements have always been those of actors; and to-day nearly every theatre in London where serious plays are seriously produced under wholesome and permanent conditions is thus managed. That the fact is one worthy of the time is manifest; and when we come to think that though in London, with its many theatres, there are only a very few whose work is known to the great world, and that these are nearly all managed by actors, it is not hard to estimate that the actor-managers must exercise an enormous influence on the dramatic art of the time. It would be a strange policy, indeed, to strike off, in the cause of art, the heads of these taller poppies in its garden.

I have already explained how to a player popularity becomes a valuable stock-in-trade or capital, which only requires to be properly used to become realisable. This form of incorporeal property can of

course be used by others than its immediate possessors—as, for instance, when such a one parts with some of his monetary capital in the shape of fixed salaries to popular artists; but manifestly the successful player can do best for himself by dealing at first hand with the public, if his capacities and opportunities allow of such an effort. He is certainly wise in making the trial, if he is satisfied that his prospects justify the risk, and if he have in hand sufficient capital of the more material kind to meet such engagements with others as it is necessary to make. He may be sure that if there were not at least some possibility—if not probability—of great reward, the middleman himself would hardly be willing to take the risk. A manager must have some attractive personality in his theatre. No matter how good the play or how complete and pleasing its environment, there cannot be success without good players. The successful actor, therefore, who goes into management, starts with one great attraction—his own reputation with the great public.

Of course the actor who would thus capitalise his popularity and become a manager, without ceasing to be an actor, should first be assured of the support of the public. This is best shown by the public approval of what he has already done. 'It is germ of the future,' says Cousin, 'which history seeks in the past.' No man can become a favourite of the public without the possession of qualities on which such favour can be based; and the public taste is constant. Though it may take years to achieve a place in public favour, when once that place has been won it is seldom indeed that it is lost, unless it be forfeited through misdoing. The player, then, who aspires to management under such almost assured conditions, may fairly calculate on the limited amount in the world of true artistic worth, and may feel himself fortified in his purpose by the words of a great writer when touching on the subject of art-intellect: 'You have always to find your artist, not to make him; you can't manufacture him, any more than you can manufacture gold. You can find him, and refine him; you dig him out as he lies nugget-fashion in the mountain-stream; you bring him home; and you make him into current coin, or household plate, but not one grain of him can you originally produce.'

Let us now, acknowledging the fact that actors have become managers, and with some understanding of how they have achieved the position, consider of what value are the arguments which have been of late advanced against the wisdom of the system. It has been asserted that the reign of actor-managers is responsible for the following:—(1) the exclusion, through personal jealousy, of players of superior excellence; (2) excessive expenditure on the mounting of plays to the starving of the outlay on the company; (3) the acceptance of inferior plays when suitable to the idiosyncrasies of the manager; and (4) an insufficiency of new plays.

First, then, as to the jealousy which excludes good actors. The charge when made is a general one, and, so far as I have found, is unsupported by a single instance of any kind: therefore, as it cannot be refuted in detail, the answer must be a general one. Let it suffice that the same cry has always been made, and will always continue so long as there are inferior artists. The same charge was made against Garrick, and yet hear the comment of Dr. Doran: 'I know of no proprietor of a theatre, himself an actor, who collected around him such a brilliant brotherhood of actors as Garrick did; yet, when any of these left him, or was dismissed by him, the partizans of the retiring player raised a cry of "jealousy!"' He played with Smith, Bensley, Yates, and Palmer; he had in his company both the Barrys, and when he heard of the excellence of Mrs. Siddons's acting he engaged her also. Kemble engaged George Frederick Cooke for Covent Garden, and played Richmond to his Richard, and Antonio to his Shylock. Macready, when he heard of Phelps, then a country actor making a mark, wrote to an intimate friend to engage him for his company—not because he was jealous of him, but because the new-comer was reputed a good actor. The same anxiety to get good actors in actor-managed theatres is to-day in existence, although more intensified, because the growth in the number of the theatres is greater in proportion than is the increase of popular actors; and yet the cry still continues. Let the charge, then, be refuted entirely by a journalistic utterance made but recently regarding the engagement of a company for the next season of a London theatre: 'The company is one of the most powerful that could be brought together. This is well for the theatre; but for the public it has its drawbacks. . . . It will be much to have one play peerlessly acted; but the theatres generally will be placed under contribution for its excellence.'

We may well ask, Where are the good actors who 'never get a chance' through jealousy or from any other cause? A very little examination of the facts will throw a somewhat sad light on the subject, for the unsuccessful ones will be found to fail from some defect of their own in the way of conduct, of self-value, or of personal equipment suitable for the task which they have undertaken. We must not accept a man as justly aggrieved because the world does not take him at his own valuation. Only a year ago there was a meeting of a large body of unemployed actors. They set forth their grievances, which the press duly recorded, and a committee was formed. A small body of some half-dozen actor-managers sent for the committee of the unsuccessful and asked them what they wished for. Their answer was to the effect that they wanted a chance of doing something for themselves, and of managing a theatre in their own way. The managers then and there gave them the sum of money which they said they would require. The experiment was made: they took

a theatre and produced plays. In a very few weeks the whole organisation collapsed—there were internal dissensions, mutual recriminations, and unpaid balances. The scope of the effort was, it is true, humble, but it was sufficient to afford an object-lesson in theatrical management. The effort failed, although the adventurers were actors—the elements of their failure were perpetual. There is no royal road to success in theatrical management. The matter is a business which must be conducted in a suitable manner and with due knowledge; and as a skilled actor is more or less of an expert in stage matters the probability of his success is greater, *ceteris paribus*, than that of a less skilled person undertaking the same venture.

The second allegation concerning excess of decoration, to the detriment of the salary list, is best met by the simple fact that since the number of theatres has increased—the leading ones coming into the hands of actors—salaries of capable players have, on the average, nearly doubled. The young people of promise now get, at almost the very start of their working lives, larger salaries than were formerly obtained by players on the hither side of greatness. It is hard to believe, in view of current salaries—even taking the relative value of money then and now into consideration—that Garrick, with London in a *furore* at his phenomenal success, got only a salary of 600*l.* per annum—twenty per cent. greater than was ever before given to an English actor; that Mrs. Siddons came to Drury Lane at 5*l.* per week; and that Edmund Kean, when the public fought for admission to see him play, had his salary *raised* to 20*l.* per week. In the face of such facts as are within the knowledge of every person in connection with the stage or concerned in the management of a theatre, it is actually absurd to say that the salary list suffers *because* the production is complete. On the contrary, the perfection of one aspect of a play as given shows up any weakness that may exist elsewhere in it, and in every actor-managed theatre in London to-day it will be found that small parts are, almost of necessity, played by a class of capable actors which a few years ago could only have been found in the second or third ranks of the cast.

Thirdly, any question of the influence of the system of management under consideration on the play-writing of the time touches both the acceptance of plays by managers and the material in the shape of new plays annually produced. The statement that managers only accept plays which suit their individual capacities as actors is really hardly worth serious consideration. Of course a manager only accepts plays suitable to his company, if the company is made up before the play is accepted; and it must not be forgotten that in actor-managed theatres the manager is presumably, at the least, one of the best actors in the theatre, and that, consequently, in the selection of plays the fact has to be borne in mind. It would be silly for any manager to accept a play which could not be properly per-

formed, and, indeed, the first person to object to such a thing would be the author, who would thus see his work imperilled. It is actually now a custom with some authors, when arranging for the production of their plays, to retain the right of a veto on the cast. A manager committed for a season to one company cannot profitably engage another; economic requirements must, as a rule, restrain such business arrangements. When a good play is nowadays accepted, a company to suit it is engaged; but this is done at a time and in a manner to suit the policy of the management and the length of its purse. Were a manager to refuse a good play simply because parts in it were too good for others of his company to suit his own vanity, the result of such unworthy and suicidal action would not be uncertain. The house so divided against itself would soon fall.

Fourthly, with regard to the alleged insufficiency of new plays, it must not be forgotten that even dramatists and actors are not always of one mind with regard either to plays or characters in them. Indeed, the statement may be made more general, for many a literary work when subjected to the opinion of a third party does not meet the reception expected by its author; there is not an editor in the world who has not experienced this. Of course, the judgment may err—even an experienced actor may fail to realise the worth of a play; but as it is the aim of the manager to get good plays, and of the actor to get good parts, surely when both conditions have to be fulfilled, the result must be manifestly better plays, though the excluded ones may be more numerous and the judgment more captious than before. But the fact remains that under actor-management good plays increase, and lacking it they decrease. From the time Garrick ceased to manage Drury Lane the production of plays declined. Moreover, there never was a time with regard to the immense output of plays like the present, when the system complained of is in vogue; so that we can only wonder at the abysmal ignorance which underlies the charge. Roughly speaking, from an average of the past few years, a new play of some sort or another is produced for each working day of the year in England, though out of these there is not one, on the average, in each month which makes a success—either financially or *d'estime*. During the good months of the year in London, new plays are produced in large numbers. Certain theatres are conducted with regard to matinées for the purpose; plenty of capable actors are always available; stage managers with all the requisite knowledge abound, and costumiers are ready to supply dresses at reasonable cost. There is then no possible difficulty in any author having a play produced on his own account; and a good play when once produced will not have long to wait for a purchaser, or for some manager who will pay fee or royalty. If his wishes and aims be modest the author can easily fulfil them, for, even if he have no

capital of his own wherewith to pay expenses, he may obtain the help required by the ordinary method of poor inventors. Where, then, is the difficulty? For what part in the great negative result complained of is the actor-manager responsible? I fear that the answer is too sadly simple to please the carpers. Actor-managers, as a rule, know their business, and they will not produce bad plays. Too often the seeker after dramatic honours is not content to avail himself of the means of testing his work open to all. He wants to secure the services of the best artists and to have all done under the most favourable conditions; and he would pick a theatre whose record is such that the public will accept the work of its manager blindfold—partly, indeed, because that manager does not produce anything which is not good. If such manager will not see sufficient merit in a play to warrant its production, the writer is aggrieved. Not long ago Mr. Irving put the matter in a nutshell. 'We are told,' he said, 'that if we do not produce abundance of new plays, we crush the rising dramatist; whereas, if we do produce them, the rising dramatist crushes us!' Let any man bring with him a name already made famous in any branch of art or letters, or of professional or public life, and he will readily be granted a special consideration, for he has something to bring into the venture in addition to the work, whose intrinsic worth is unknown. But such men as this never complain. In fact, the unknown aspiring dramatist wants too much; he wishes to share, without any risk or equivalent whatever, a part of the fortune or distinction which other men have won for themselves. It seems *prima facie* unfair to ask that the manager, whose position has been partially assured by discretion in his choice of work, should imperil his acquisition by a divergence, without adequate cause, from his habitual policy. It is, of course, not a pleasure for any man to thwart budding genius, or even to disappoint springing hope; but the serious matter of any business must be considered in its proper place and sequence.

As to the influence of the control of theatres by actors on the other arts there is nothing to argue, for the complaint is made by the modern critics themselves that the stage is overladen with scenic effect. This same charge has been in existence ever since the very dawn of the English Drama. It was made even in Shakespeare's time. It was made against Betterton, and was, perhaps, justified in the worst days of Charles the Second, when, for instance, he contributed 500*l.* for robes for the performance of *Cataline*. It was made again when Garrick introduced costumes which he thought suitable to the play represented, and gave a large salary to Loutherbourg as his scene-painter. Later still it was made against Macready, when Clarkson Stanfield and David Roberts lent the aid of their genius to stage effects. Charles Kean's name became almost a by-word through a persistent body of detractors, who called him 'the

upholsterer.' That there is large expenditure on the appointments of a modern production is manifest, and that the arts benefit thereby is equally apparent. From time to time some of our best painters and composers are engaged in work for theatres. Alma Tadema, Marcus Stone, Seymour Lucas, Edwin Abbey and Keeley Halsewelle, Sir Arthur Sullivan and Dr. Mackenzie are amongst the instances. Beyond this, again, literature itself owes much to the Stage and the player. Some writers have derived incalculable benefit from the suggestions and the help of the actors, and have not hesitated to say so, as when Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton handsomely acknowledged the great services rendered him by Macready. Many plays would not have been successful when produced, or would never have been produced at all but for the changes made by the players; and when these have, as managers, power to carry out their ideas, surely the benefit must be increased. Is it, then, to be said, or even thought, that the professors of the cognate arts have no advantage in the work done for the Stage—that the great world has no gain by another channel being opened, through which the head waters of genius can send streams to the great sea of man's higher labours? or can any one for a moment argue seriously that such example, followed at intervals proportionate to their powers, is not good for the rank and file of all the workers in connection with the various arts and crafts?

If any side light be required on the efficiency of the system of actor-management, let us look at the progress of other countries. The modern critics are perpetually quoting the French method as an exemplar in management. Certainly the Comédie-Française is a great corporation, and one which has done splendid work; but then in it the plays are selected by the actors. It requires, however, certain improvements to be effected. So long, also, as mere talent is held in corporate esteem without the discriminating admiration which the public has for genius, so long will the Rachels and Bernhardts and Coquelin secede from its ranks, unless accepted under their own conditions. The Germanic nations, too, which have a principle of subsidy in the Court and Stadt theatres, are beginning to find out that genius has an explosive force of its own. When we find already the best theatre in Berlin controlled by an actor—Barnay—we may well look for further development. Every system which works honestly can attain certain good, if not great, ends; but if we look for an ideal system of art development we must find it in some orders of things where individual freedom has a part, and where national life and opportunities admit of their adapting themselves to the growth. Some years ago a good many of the leading actors of the world met at a social gathering in London; it was a rare occasion, for there were English, Americans, French, and Germans. The opinion of almost every individual present was so interesting that conversation became formulated, and

each took the torch in turn. Various opinions were expressed, but the most impressive amongst them was the comment of a great German actor: 'State aid is good, subsidy is good, and in Germany and France the art of acting flourishes; but your English freedom is worth them all!'

It is in things theatrical as in all other affairs of life—put matter in solution and it will crystallise if such be its nature, or it will become a sediment in its own way. English freedom has, despite all troubles, evils, and mistakes, made England what she is, and has invariably worked out in time its own economic salvation. Why, then, should there be this one exception to all its rules? The natural result of power cannot be denied the men who have passed through the *Sturm und Drang* of artistic endeavour, and who by their knowledge and their gifts can, without losing touch with the people, help to direct public thought. No good object can be achieved by carping at natural laws which fix direction as well as strength in the resultant of multitudinous forces.

BRAM STOKER.

II.

I ENTIRELY agree with those whose anxiety for the welfare of the stage would relieve actors from the cares of management, for I have often wondered how actors have ever been able to retain, as managers, the popularity which they may have won as artists, or why, experiencing the troubles of management, they have ever continued to hold the reins. In the exercise of their art, they are in some ways desperately handicapped; for a large portion of the time and labour which would almost insure artistic success is required by the needs of the purely business aspect of the undertaking. No one can know, except by personal experience, the worries to which a nervous or excitable manager can be subject; and when to this is added the fact that frequently actors have sacrificed in the vortex of management whatever fortune they may have achieved in the practice of their art, the surprise is not diminished. The small competence with which some of our greatest actors have retired was generally made after they had relinquished management. Thus, regretfully as Macready retired from the direction of Drury Lane—and his regret was almost equal to that of the public, whom he had so well and faithfully served—he was compelled to play engagements throughout the country, in order to realise some provision for his later years. Such, also, is the record of Charles Kean, Charles Mathews, Webster, Buckstone, Phelps, and others. It would certainly have been better for them if they had resisted the blandishments of management, and relied for their fortunes on their individual powers as actors. That the public would have been the losers I believe, for none know better than actors the value of a well-cast play, or are more willing to give to the public the full excellence which they can command. They, as artists, are generally more fastidious than others, and therefore more anxious for that thoroughness and completeness which they so well appreciate. The fitness of artists to deal with artists ought never to be called in question.

The charge of jealousy amongst actors is nothing—they simply share this quality with the rest of mankind. A somewhat similar allegation is equally made against lay directors, who are now and again accused of favouritism.

It will be asked why actors should desire at all to be managers if the benefit of such labour is not mainly to themselves. The answer may be given that there are sometimes other and higher aims than the mere accumulation of money. Fortune may follow enterprise, but every artist does not make it the chief end or aim of his effort. He loves his work. What pleasure, for instance, can be greater than that of guiding the talent of younger people? Any effort in this direction is a public good. In a country where there is no Academy the only professors of acting are the actors, and the only true school for acting is a well-conducted playhouse. For the first three years of my early stage life I had engagements at theatres then under the management of actors—Mr. Davis of Newcastle, Mr. Wyndham of Edinburgh, and Mr. Glover of Glasgow; and each of them took pleasure in imparting to the younger members of their companies, as well as circumstances permitted, some of their own stage knowledge and the rudiments of their art. I then spent some years in another theatre, under the management of a proprietor not an actor. During the whole of these later years I missed grievously the sympathy and advice of my old actor-managers, and I had to grope my way as well as I could without counsellor or friend. Such was my own experience of the system to which—as well as to the individuals—I owe a lasting debt of gratitude. I make no attempt to argue the question as to the right and proper people to become the managers of theatres. This is a matter which the public decide for themselves. I speak from an experience of over thirty years, and of this country only; and I can say, without hesitation, that the managements which have benefited and advanced our calling and added vastly to the intellectual recreation of the people have been those of actors.

HENRY IRVING.

III.

An indictment, vague but vehement, has, I understand, been preferred of late against the system of management of theatres by actors, and I have been asked, as a member of the assailed class, to justify this species of pluralism in the pages of this Review. It is necessary, in the discussion of this subject, to propound three questions: (1) What is the substance of the accusation? (2) Who are the accusers? and (3) Who are the accused?

1. Out of all the 'paper pellets of the brain' which have been launched against the system of actor-management, I can only lay hold of one which has in it even the appearance of solidity, and that is—to put it plainly—the contention that actors who are also managers habitually give themselves the best parts in plays, to the exclusion of other actors who are equally or more meritorious; that they insist—figuratively always and sometimes literally—on having all the limelight to themselves, whilst the rest of the company are relegated to the limbo of Egyptian darkness by their more than Egyptian taskmasters; that by such means art is degraded and the artist is effaced; finally, that while this system prevails and the baleful star floods the whole sphere with the isolated and insolent majesty of his usurped beams, the galaxy of unrecognised genius around him must for ever pale their ineffectual light.

It will be seen at once how difficult it is to deal with a criticism of this sort by serious argument. The practice assailed can, by the nature of the case, only be justified by success; and, equally, it can only be condemned by failure. It is not suggested, I suppose, where an actor has acquired the necessary capital, that there is any impropriety in his expending such capital in the management of a theatre any more than in the conduct of any other lawful business. Can it be with any greater reason suggested that there is anything improper in the manager of a theatre utilising his own talents as part of the assets of the concern? If he has over-estimated the value of this particular asset, so much the worse for him, and so much the worse for the theatre, which is speedily left to its own devices and transferred at a loss to other hands. But it is equally bad for the business if the actor-manager has under-estimated the value of the asset in question, and

equally productive of empty benches. What, for instance, would the public say if a manager commencing business with his personal past artistic record as his principal asset should suddenly announce his determination to abandon for ever important parts and, in the interests of art, should propose to come on with a letter? Management of a theatre is, after all, *quâ* management, a business that succeeds or fails on precisely the same principles and for the same reasons as any other business. A good business man makes the most of everything he has; if it be money, he gets the best and safest return for it he can by judicious investment; if it be goods and merchandise, he gets the best price he can for them; if it be land or houses, he improves and adapts them as much as is necessary to insure the highest rent; if it be the talent of an assistant, he is careful to retain that talent in his service by a salary sufficient to prevent its going elsewhere; and if it be his own brains and experience, he utilises them so far, but only so far, as they will bring in a profit no less than he could acquire by paying for the services of another and more talented man in the same kind of work. This is his obvious interest. Now what is the capital of the actor-manager? A theatre, the furniture, the scenery, dresses and appointments of the stage, the plays in which he has dramatic rights, the services of his company, and lastly his own talents as an actor, and his personal influence with the public. This last is for him an asset, it may be the least valuable asset of all, or it may be by far the most valuable. It is for him to judge its value. He misjudges it at his peril. If he assigns to himself parts for which he is unfitted, to the exclusion of the more meritorious actor, the hard school of experience will soon land him in a position in which he will no longer be at liberty to make experiments in self-valuation. But if his popularity with the public is tried and proved, he would be a fool if he threw away or did not utilise to the utmost penny the value of what would then be the most important property in his business. There are some kinds of goodwill which are transferable, there are others which are not; and among the latter class are the talent and popularity of an actor. All assets which are not negotiable or communicable must be used if their value is not to be lost altogether; and exactly the same considerations which induce a particularly gifted and popular member of a medical or legal or other professional firm to dedicate his own personal time and attention and skill to the practice of his firm, knowing that the public expects it and would otherwise keep away, induces the actor-manager to utilise for the benefit of his business the talents and experience which have commended themselves to the public voice.

I do not deny, on the contrary I maintain, that the theatres often have been and still are and can be well conducted by a manager who does not himself appear in the cast. I do it myself six months

in every year. Such a manager, though not an actor, may be an excellent judge of acting, may be a judicious instructor (it is doubtful but not impossible), a capable business man, and a keen observer of the public taste; all that can be said is that he has one asset the less, compared with the manager who is also an actor. But the fact that a manager who is not an actor is wise in not putting a fictitious value upon that which is valueless, is in no way inconsistent with the proposition that the manager whose personal talents have been accepted by his play-going public is equally wise in not ignoring or throwing away the benefit of that which is valuable.

In the one case, the success is assured by the wise self-restraint of the manager who does not act, but no less, in the other, it is assured by the wise self-expression of the manager who does.

2. Who are the accusers?

They are certainly not the public. Complaint is, in their case, out of the question. A certain amusement is offered them for a certain consideration. *C'est à prendre ou à laisser.* They either approve of the manner in which the actor-manager casts himself, and go to his theatre, or disapprove and stay away. In neither case have they, or could they with any reason pretend to have, any legitimate grievance. Then if not the public, who? Surely not actors. The really good actor of small or important parts need have no cause for fear. The dramatic critics, and better still the play-going public who, unlike the former, are unbiased by any of the personal sympathies or antipathies inherent in the weakness of individual humanity, are quick to detect genuine talent though moving in the smallest of spheres, and equally quick to insist on adequate recognition of approved effort. Assuming for the purposes of the argument that every actor-manager is so consumed with vanity and jealousy that his own inclinations would prompt him to withhold such recognition from any other actor in his company, yet it it is manifest that the public will (though perhaps individually and by degrees) force upon such reluctant manager the advancement of the actor who has so attracted their attention; and that the manager, whose interest, after all, consists in satisfying, and if possible anticipating, the general desire, will be compelled to take into consideration the monetary value of the actor's drawing capacity.

If the manager's vanity be so great as to blind him to these considerations, then, as I have said, he will assuredly not retain for long a position in which he can oppress that or any other actor; but vanity is rarely strong enough, in the conduct of a business, to shatter the force of self-interest, or to prevent the realisation and development of assets.

Again, as I have hinted above, the actor is likely to be far better off under an actor-manager than a speculator pure and simple. The public do not know, when an actor is beginning to be known and

appreciated by them, how much it is frequently due to this very actor-manager's fatherly assiduity and attention. Nor do they know how rarely the actor-manager gets thanked for it, or how undeservedly he is gibed at as an oppressor and a 'sweater' of talent.

3. Who are the accused?

Now it is time to ask at whom is 'our friend,' the enemy, shooting? Will he be so good as to specify the objects of his denunciation? Who are the accused? There is sometimes a delicacy in introducing the names of individuals into a general discussion, but surely this is one of the cases in which such a delicacy would be entirely misplaced.

These general and gaseous indictments can only be exploded by the 'bare bodkin' of individual instances. Actor-managers, therefore, have a right to ask their assailants to condescend to particulars, to point out by name the actors managing theatres in this country whom they charge with allotting better parts to themselves than the public hold they are entitled to. The readers of this Review shall be the jury. The accusers are hitherto as personally unknown almost and anonymous as the informers who used to drop their damning charges into the Lion's mouth at Venice in the days of the Council of Ten. But, at least, let us know who are the accused. In general, human nature is so constituted that there is no uncertainty about the direction of the finger of scorn, particularly when that finger is anonymous. The number of London actor-managers is limited. Surely the framers of the indictment can fix on some one glaring example or ghastly warning.

Again, who and where are the rising actors who have been crushed by their actor-managers? Did Mr. Irving crush Mr. Terris or Mr. Alexander when they were at the Lyceum? Did I succeed in oppressing Mr. Tree when he acted in my company? Has Mr. Tree himself succeeded as a manager in extinguishing Mr. Fernandez? Has Mr. Thorne prevented Miss Emery or Mr. Maude from rising in public estimation? Did Mr. Wilson Barrett obliterate Mr. Willard?

The fact is lost sight of that every actor-manager has himself gone through the salutary experience of what the indictment calls 'being crushed'—a process which, while it lasted, his youth and vanity may have prompted him to call oppression, but which the advance of years has taught him to be grateful for as a discipline. Each actor-manager has been compelled to wait and to prove himself, till one fine day the public 'discovered' him. And the process is still going on. Do we now see any instances of the actor-manager dismissing the actor who may achieve a success? On the contrary, he tries to help him, knowing that if he does not other managers with a clearer perception of the value of artistic merit will soon snap him up, and that if some inducement be not offered to him to stay

where he is, in the shape of better parts and increased salary, he will seek a market for his talents elsewhere.

Until a specific answer to such specific questions as the above is forthcoming—until the demand for particulars is satisfied—I must claim to regard the indictment which is the subject of this paper as the merest wind-bag, and to doubt the ingenuousness of the pretended zeal for the drama from which it is alleged to issue. The charge rests on generalities only, and generalities never convince.

CHARLES WYNDHAM.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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